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Withdrawer

KDB 1/7/2016

File Folder USSR (3/8/84) (1)

FOIA

F03-002/5

Box Number 25

SKINNER

375

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
172163 MEMO	S. STEINER TO R. MCFARLANE RE PUBLIC HANDLING OF THIRD EDITION OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER (W/ADDED NOTE)	1	3/8/1984	B1
172164 PROFS NOTE	FROM J. POINDEXTER RE CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM WITH SOVIETS PAR 10/8/2010 CREST NLR-748-25-24-2-2	1	4/24/1984	B1
172165 MEMO	J. POINDEXTER TO C. HILL RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-3-1	1	4/24/1984	B1
172166 MEMO	R. KIMMITT TO C. HILL RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-4-0	2	4/21/1981	B1
172167 MEMO	HANDWRITTEN DRAFT OF DOC #172166 (R. KIMMITT TO C. HILL RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR) R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-5-9	1	ND	B1
172168 MEMO	DRAFT (W/EDITS) OF DOC #172166 (R. KIMMITT TO C. HILL RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR) R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-5-9	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]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

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KDB 1/7/2016

File Folder USSR (3/8/84) (1)

FOIA

F03-002/5

Box Number 25

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375

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
172169	MEMO	J. MATLOCK TO R. MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR	2	4/17/1984	B1
172170	MEMO	C. HILL TO R. MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR	1	3/23/1984	B1
	R	4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-7-7			
172171	AGREEMENT	AGREEMENT WITH THE USSR ON CONTACTS, EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION	4	ND	B1
	R	4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-7-7			
172172	AGREEMENT	GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USA AND THE USSR ON CONTACTS, EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION (PAGES 1-13)	13	ND	B1
	R	4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-25-24-8-6			

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ID 8401949

UNCLASSIFIED UPO
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

11/7/16 KOB

RECEIVED 09 MAR 84 18

TO MCFARLANE FROM STEINER

DOC DATE 08 MAR 84

KEYWORDS USSR

MILITARY POSTURE

SUBJECT: PUBLIC HANDLING OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE: 14 MAR 84 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

De Stappenberg

COMMENTS

REF#

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	<i>C</i> MAR 1 2 1984	<i>Mcfarlane approved</i>		<i>KD, SS</i> <i>Kramer</i>

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

PA (C) *je*

1040 wpl 2

National Security Council
The White House

System #

I

ED

Package #

1946

9 A7:32

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	1	WFM	
Bob Kimmitt	2	IC	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall	3	✓	
Bud McFarlane	4	M	A
Bob Kimmitt	5	K	
NSC Secretariat	6		N
Situation Room			
Tom Shull			

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

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(Date/Time)

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USSR (3/8/84) (1)

FOIA

F03-002/5

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Box Number

25

375

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
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172163 MEMO

1 3/8/1984 B1

S. STEINER TO R. MCFARLANE RE PUBLIC
HANDLING OF THIRD EDITION OF SOVIET
MILITARY POWER (W/ADDED NOTE)

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

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TO MCFARLANE

FROM MATLOCK *11-7-16 KOB*

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

HILL, C

16 MAR 84

MATLOCK

19 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

EXCHANGES

MARITIME

CONSULATES

SUBJECT: BILATERAL ISSUES W/ SOVIETS - BUREAUCRATIC HANDLING - NEGOTIATIONS RE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN KIEV & NEW YORK / CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS

ACTION. FOR DECISION

DUE. 13 APR 84 STATUS C

FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS ** SEE ALSO SY4 LOG 400270 RE KIEV CONSULATE ISSUE

REF# 8407952 LOG 8390641 8390802 NSCIFID (*C* / B)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	- 4/21	Mcfarlane approved (consular)		
	- 4/21	Mcfarlane approved (exchanges)		
	- 4/21	Pomdexter sgd (exchanges)		
	- 4/23	Pres noted		
	C 4/24	Pomdexter sgd (exchanges)		

DISPATCH *al* *D sheet 4/21 / al 4/24* W/ATTCH FILE *D sheet* (C)

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IV ID 8490307 6

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FROM MATLOCK

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

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19 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

EXCHANGES

MARITIME

CONSULATES

SUBJECT: BILATERAL ISSUES W/ SOVIETS - BUREAUCRATIC HANDLING - NEGOTIATIONS RE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN KIEV & NEW YORK / CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS

ACTION. FOR DECISION

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FOR ACTION

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Down	S 4/14	further action		
Mcfarlane	X APR 17 1984	for decision (consular)		
Mcfarlane	X 4/17	for decision (exchanges)		
	APR 21 1984	Pendexter sig (consular)		JM, KD, DD, JL RL

DISPATCH *ed Dsheet* APR 21 1984 W/ATTCH FILE (C)

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TO MCFARLANE

FROM MATLOCK 1/7/84 KOB

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

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16 MAR 84

MATLOCK

19 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

EXCHANGES

MARITIME

CONSULATES

SUBJECT: BILATERAL ISSUES W/ SOVIETS - BUREAUCRATIC HANDLING - NEGOTIATIONS RE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN KIEV & NEW YORK / CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS

ACTION. FOR DECISION

DUE. 21 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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COMMENTS ** SEE ALSO SY4 LOG 400270 RE KIEV CONSULATE ISSUE

REF# 8407952 LOG 8390641 8390802 NSCIFID

(C /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Mcfarlane	X 4/03	for decision		
Mcfarlane	X 4/04	ap for decision		
Matlock	S 4/07	for the action		
	D APR 10 1984	Kamuntt spd memo		
Poundstone	X APR 10 1984	do for decision		
DISPATCH	ed LDX APR 10 1984		W/ATTCH	FILE (C)

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11/7/16 LOD

RECEIVED 09 MAR 84 10

TO MCFARLANE

FROM MATLOCK

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

HILL, C

16 MAR 84

MATLOCK

19 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

EXCHANGES

MARITIME

CONSULATES

SUBJECT: BILATERAL ISSUES W/ SOVIETS - BUREAUCRATIC HANDLING - NEGOTIATIONS RE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN KIEV & NEW YORK / CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS

ACTION. FOR DECISION

DUE: 21 MAR 84 STATUS X/S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF# 8407952 LOG 8390641 8390802 NSCIFID (C /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Matlock	x/s 3/20	Recd State memo (consular)		
Matlock	S MAR 2 3 1984	ap recd state memo (agreement)		
Mcfarlane	x 3/27	for decision		
Mcfarlane	x 3/29	for decision		
Matlock	S 3/30	further action (exchanges)		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

SYSTEM II PROFILE

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 09 MAR 84 10

TO MCFARLANE

FROM MATLOCK

11-7/16 603
DOC DATE 08 MAR 84

HILL, C

16 MAR 84

MATLOCK

19 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

EXCHANGES

MARITIME

CONSULATES

SUBJECT: BILATERAL ISSUES W/ SOVIETS - BUREAUCRATIC HANDLING - NEGOTIATIONS RE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN KIEV & NEW YORK / CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS

ACTION. FOR DECISION

DUE. 21 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS ** SEE ALSO SY4 LOG 400270 RE KIEV CONSULATE ISSUE

REF# 8407952 LOG 8390641 8390802 NSCIFID

(C /)

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Mcfarlane	X 3/20	g/o for decision		
	MAR 2 1 1984	Poundexter approved #1		
	MAR 2 1 1984	Mcfarlane approved #3		
	MAR 2 1 1984	Mcfarlane disapproved #2		
Matlock	MAR 2 1 1984	further action		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

SYSTEM II PROFILE

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9
ID 8490307

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 09 MAR 84 10

TO MCFARLANE FROM MATLOCK 1/7/86 KOB

DOC DATE 08 MAR 84

KEYWORDS USSR

SUBJECT. BILATERAL ISSUES W/ SOVIETS - BUREAUCRATIC HANDLING

ACTION. FOR DECISION

DUE: 12 MAR 84 STATUS X FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

(C /)

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MAR 1 2 1984

MAR 1 2 1984

MAR 1 6 1984

Matlock s/o
McFarlane X 3/19
Matlock S 3/20
DISPATCH W/X & D Sheet MAR 1 2 1984

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

SECRET

4/24/84

To: NSRCM --CPUA BUD MCFARLANE

-- SECRET --

NOTE FROM: JOHN POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Cultural Exchange Agreement with Soviets

In our reviewing of that package last week I think we both missed a key point that had been raised by the intelligence community. The draft agreement now states "Academic programs drawn up at the beginning of the year can, with the approval of the academic advisors, be corrected and supplemented in the the course of the academic year."

25X1

cc: NSRCM --CPUA BOB KIMMITT

4/24/84

*90307

RCM agrees with
JMP to drop sentence.
JMP informed via
PROFS note.

SECRET

Rosie: let's file this
with original folder.

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BY *Crest*
DATE *1/23/12*

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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NLRR 748-25-2431

172165
April 24, 1984

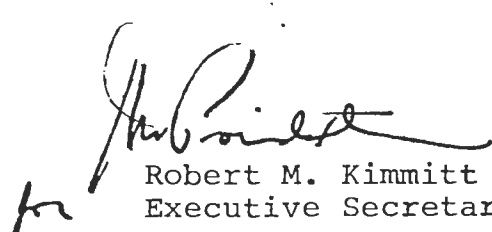
BY LOB NARA DATE 4/8/83

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Supplemental Instructions on Agreement with USSR
on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation (ST)

In addition to the instructions in my memorandum of April 21, 1984 the following change should be made to the draft agreement.

The last sentence of paragraph 8 on page 27 which reads "Academic programs drawn up at the beginning of the year can, with the approval of the academic advisors, be corrected and supplemented in the course of the academic year," should be deleted. This provision would provide a loophole to avoid our technology transfer restrictions.


for Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 90307

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
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Date

APR 24 1984

Subject: USSR Contacts, Exchanges, & Cooperation

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET

☒ SECRET

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_____ Ltc. Cobb	_____ Mr. R. Lehman	_____ Mr. North	_____ Mr. Shull	_____ NSC MSG Center
_____ Mr. De Graffenreid	_____ Mr. Levine	_____ Mr. Pollock	_____ Mr. Sommer	
_____ Ms. Dobriansky	_____ Col. Lilac	_____ Mr. Poe	_____ Mr. Teicher	

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Date

Time

Received/Signed For By:

THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE HILL
Exec sec/Room 7241

ORIG

4-24-84 11:30

1. Young

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
Main Bldg/Room 3422

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
The Pentagon

DIRECTOR, ACDA
Room 5933/Dept. of State

CHAIRMAN US START DELEGATION
C/o ACDA, 5933 State

CHAIRMAN US INF DELEGATION
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Room 252 OEOB

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Room 6333, State Dept.

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14th & Const. Ave. NW, Room 5851

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GA257, Forrestal Bldg

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Room 5942, Dept. of State

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Dept. of Justice, Room 5119

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400 C Street, S.W.

THE SECRETARY OF INTERIOR
18th & E. Street NW

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
Independence & 14th SW

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
Room 209 Winder Bldg 17 & F St NW

THE DIRECTOR, FEMA
500 C Street,

DIRECTOR, DMSPA
Room 3E813, Pentagon

DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: BT MERCHANT, SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

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SYSTEM II
90307

NLRR 14825-24-4-0

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

172/66

BY KOB NARA DATE 4/8/83

April 21, 1984

~~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, subject to the reservations and guidelines for implementation noted below. (S)

1. Before submission to the Soviets for negotiation, the draft agreement should be expanded to provide for some features which would be desirable from the U.S. point of view even though they are unlikely to be accepted by the Soviets. This could include a proposal for the establishment of cultural centers in both capitals, and other measures which, in the opinion of the Department and USIA, would be useful to provide increased negotiating room for the U.S. negotiators. (S)

2. In negotiating the agreement, and in implementing any agreement reached, U.S. objectives should include the following:

a. Maximizing people-to-people contact and minimizing Soviet manipulation of the exchanges to reward loyalists and exclude independent-minded Soviet citizens.

b. Maximizing the opportunity for participation of groups which hitherto have not been importantly involved in the exchange program, such as young people, workers, farmers, and members of unofficial groups.

c. Insuring that all exchanges which have the potential for unauthorized technology transfer be reviewed by the appropriate agencies or interagency committees before they are concluded.

d. Making every effort to reach younger scholars in the academic exchanges, and minimizing any disproportion in the balance of scientific and non-scientific topics studied.

e. Insuring reciprocity in all aspects of the various exchange programs. (S)

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

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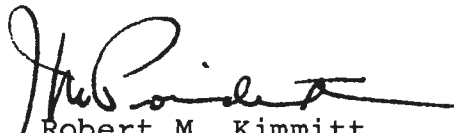
- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

3. If an agreement is concluded, the Department and USIA should establish a program for briefing U.S. participants and hosts in advance of actual exchanges, and for debriefing them following their exchange experience. Such briefings and debriefings should be considered mandatory for all participants and hosts in exchanges financed in whole or in part by the U.S. Government.

(C)

When the suggested changes noted in numbered paragraph 1 above have been introduced into the draft agreement, it may be presented to the Soviets with a proposal that negotiations begin in Moscow at a mutually acceptable date. The Department's suggestions regarding composition of the U.S. negotiating team are approved. (S)


for Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

C

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

84 APR 24 AM 11:17

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OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

1/7/16 KOB

MESSAGE NO. 7416 CLASSIFICATION **SECRET** PAGES 1

FROM John Pendergast
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
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B

Charles H. H.

REMARKS NSC # 90307

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 90307

UNCLASSIFIED
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

1/7/16 LCB

Date APR 21 1984

Subject: AGREEMENT w/ USSR

CLASSIFICATION: ☐ TOP SECRET ☒ SECRET ☐ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

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_____ Sit. Room	_____ Mr. Helm	_____ Mr. Martin	_____ Gen. Russell	_____ Mr. Wattering
_____ Mr. Bailey	_____ Mr. Kemp	_____ Mr. Matlock	_____ Col. Rye	_____ Exec. Secretary
_____ Mr. Brazil	_____ Mr. Kraemer	_____ Mr. McMinn	_____ Mr. Sapia-Bosch	_____ NSC Secretariat
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_____ Ms. Dobriansky	_____ Col. Lilac	_____ Mr. Poe	_____ Mr. Teicher	

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Log Number 90307

Date APR 21 1984

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1/7/16 KOD

Subject: AGREEMENT w/ USSR

CLASSIFICATION: ☐ TOP SECRET ☒ SECRET ☐ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

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National Security Council
The White House

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II

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Bob Kimmitt	2		
John Poindexter	3		
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	4		
Bud McFarlane	5		A
Bob Kimmitt	6		
NSC Secretariat	7		D
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	6		

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COMMENTS

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NLRR 748-25-245-9

BY 608 NARA DATE 4/8/13

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90307
Add-on 19
17267

Memo for Charles Hill

Subject : Supplemental Instructions on Agreement
with USSR on Contacts, Exchanges
and Cooperation (S)

In addition to the instructions in my
memorandum of April 21, 1984 the following
change should be made to the draft agreement.

The last sentence of paragraph 8. on page 27
which reads "Academic programs drawn up
at the beginning of the year can, with the
approval of the academic advisors, be corrected
and supplemented in the course of the academic
year;" should be deleted. This provision
would provide a loophole to avoid our
technology transfer restrictions.

R.M.K.
Exec. Sec.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

NLRR 748-25-24-5-9
BY KOB NARA DATE 4/8/0

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, subject to the reservations and guidelines for implementation noted below. (S)

1. Before submission to the Soviets for negotiation, the draft agreement should be expanded to provide for some features which would be desirable from the U.S. point of view even though they are unlikely to be accepted by the Soviets. This could include a proposal for the establishment of cultural centers in both capitals, and other measures which, in the opinion of the Department and USIA, would be useful to provide increased negotiating room for the U.S. negotiators.

2. In negotiating the agreement, and in implementing any agreement reached, U.S. objectives should include the following:

a. Maximizing people-to-people contact and minimizing Soviet manipulation of the exchanges to reward loyalists and exclude independent-minded Soviet citizens.

b. Maximizing the opportunity for participation of groups which hitherto have not been importantly involved in the exchange program, such as young people, workers, farmers, and members of unofficial groups.

c. Insuring that all exchanges which have the potential for unauthorized technology transfer be reviewed by the appropriate agencies or interagency committees before they are ~~implemented~~ concluded.

d. Making every effort to reach younger scholars in the academic exchanges, and minimizing any disproportion in the balance of scientific and non-scientific topics studied.

e. Insuring ~~the maximum feasible degree of~~ reciprocity in all aspects of the various exchange programs. (S)

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172169	MEMO J. MATLOCK TO R. MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT WITH USSR	2	4/17/1984	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]

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]

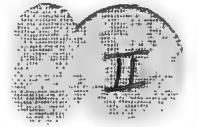
B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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BY EOB NARA DATE 4/8/03

March 23, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

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

Pursuant to the National Security Council memorandum of
March 12, 1984, attached herewith for review by the President
is a strategy paper for negotiations and proposed texts for a
new US-USSR General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges and
Cooperation, and for the more specific 3-year Program of
Cooperation and Exchanges.

for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
As stated

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ATTACHMENT

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NLRR 748-25-247-7

BY EDS NARA DATE 4/1/83

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Agreement with the USSR on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation

BACKGROUND

From 1958 through 1979 the United States and the Soviet Union were parties to a series of General Agreements on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation which served as the general document for cultural, educational, scientific, technical, and other types of exchanges with the USSR. Negotiations to renew the last Agreement broke down in late 1979 and were terminated following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Secretary Shultz, with the authorization of the President in June 1983, proposed to Ambassador Dobrynin that negotiations leading toward conclusion of a new bilateral Agreement be renewed. The Soviet Government responded positively to the Secretary's proposal on July 15, 1983, but we suspended further movement toward negotiations following the shootdown of the KAL airliner. Pursuant to the NSC memorandum of March 12, 1984, the Department and USIA have prepared language for a U.S. proposal for a new General Agreement (attached at Tab A) and for a specific 3-year Program of Cooperation and Exchanges (attached at Tab B) for interagency coordination if this general approach is approved.

NEGOTIATING STRATEGY

Our strategy for the negotiations is to seek full reciprocity from the Soviets within the framework of an official Exchanges Agreement. This recognizes that unless the U.S. has an effective official framework for handling exchanges, the Soviets may make separate arrangements with private U.S. sponsors, while denying us reciprocal access to the Soviet Union. To ensure that U.S.-Soviet exchanges are properly monitored to protect U.S. security and intelligence interests, the Office of Soviet Union Affairs in the Department of State will be tasked to serve as the central clearinghouse, in close liaison with USIA, for exchanges conducted under the General Agreement and the Program of Cooperation and Exchanges. Moreover, the Department intends to pursue the objective of rescinding or modifying the McGovern Amendment in order to strengthen its control over authorization or denial of visas to Soviet groups and individuals.

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Following are brief notes on the major types of exchanges proposed in cultural, educational and informational fields [the science and technology fields are covered by separate agreements; Article II of the General Agreement (Tab A) lists the seven agreements which are still operative.]

1. Travelling thematic exhibits These highly effective exhibits, viewed by millions of Soviet citizens throughout the USSR, have great impact among the Soviet populace. We propose at least two such thematic exhibits to circulate in the Soviet Union during the 3-year period of the Program of Cooperation and Exchanges and a total of at least four during the 6-year validity of the General Agreement. Each would be shown in six cities of the Soviet Union, with one month's actual showing time in each city.

2. Television Appearances We are introducing this as part of a new Agreement in order to reach the Soviet population with statements of U.S. policy. The draft Agreement provides for an annual exchange of at least six television appearances by representatives of each country, including at least one exchange by the Chiefs of State. We believe that we can obtain the cooperation of the U.S. TV networks on this exchange when we explain to them that we are not trying to place any limits on their access to Soviets, but simply concerned that we obtain improved TV access to the Soviet people.

3. Performing Arts Groups and Individual Performers In spite of the absence of an Exchanges Agreement, the Soviets have continued to show interest in sending performing arts groups (PAGs) and individual performers to the U.S., and there are signs of a resurgence of interest by American impresarios. The draft Program provides for tours of at least 10 major PAGs and at least 20 individual performing artists from each side during the 3-year period of the Program. We have inserted language of reciprocity in the draft Program providing that, should one side send more than the numbers indicated above, the other side would be accorded the opportunity, if it wished, to send like numbers of additional PAGs or individual performing artists. With these provisions in an official agreement, we will be able to send our performers on tour in the USSR and to have control over the quality and type of American PAGs and individual performing artists touring the Soviet Union. In turn, we will have better control over the Soviet PAGs and individual performers coming to the United States. American PAGs such as

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the New York City Ballet, the Alvin Ailey Dancers, Duke Ellington and his Orchestra, and the American Conservatory Theater of San Francisco had tremendous impact in the Soviet Union.

4. Educational/Academic Exchanges Despite the absence of an official exchanges agreement since 1979, both countries have continued the higher educational/academic exchanges, although in reduced numbers. These exchanges are organized and administered by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) in close coordination with USIA and our Embassy in Moscow. They will continue to be implemented on the basis of reciprocity in numbers under any new agreement. We are, moreover, seeking in the draft Program agreement that not more than half of the participants on either side will be in the natural and physical sciences, which is where the Soviets seek to concentrate their exchangees. The U.S. currently has numerous private academic programs which are in our favor, for which the Soviets have not raised questions of reciprocity. Hundreds of Americans go to the Soviet Union annually under such programs primarily to study Russian for academic credit. The Soviets have avoided such programs in the U.S. for that age group, but we have inserted language in the draft Program to encourage them to send Soviet youngsters to the U.S.

5. America Illustrated and Soviet Life Magazine Exchange Our Russian-language America Illustrated magazine is extremely popular in the Soviet Union. Its sales in the USSR are permitted only through the Soviet government's distributing organization, which can control the number of copies sold out of the total number of copies of each issue delivered to it each month. Supposedly "unsold" returns of America Illustrated have been a problem through most of the history of the exchanges program, and currently average about 10,000 copies per issue. The provision in the draft Program that both sides may distribute unsold copies of the magazines free of charge to visitors to mutually arranged exhibits is a crucial factor in implementing the contingent provision that the distribution level of the magazines might possibly be increased once the currently agreed distribution level of 62,000 copies per issue has been achieved.

6. U.S. Film Weeks and Film Premieres in the USSR Although we have not been active under this provision in our previous exchanges agreements, we intend to use every opportunity aggressively to implement it under any new agreement, in reciprocity for Soviet film weeks and premieres organized in the U.S.

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7. Congressional and Other Governmental Exchanges Article X of the Agreement allows for the exchange of members of Congress, officials of the national governments, and representatives of municipal, local and state governments of the two countries, which has proven an especially effective means of gaining access to Soviet political leaders.

8. Sports Exchanges and Tourism Articles XII and XIV of the Agreement provides a framework for continuing these types of activities which have been supported by the private sector in the U.S. and are useful in providing low-key access to "non-political" sectors of Soviet society.

MAJOR OBJECTIVES

The major problems in negotiating a new Exchanges Agreement with the Soviets will involve our highest priority objectives -- reinstituting USIA thematic exhibits and assuring access to Soviet television by our representatives, including the President. Unless we achieve those objectives in the negotiations, the overall value for the U.S. of an Exchanges Agreement will be in doubt. In any event, we should be prepared to refuse to conclude an agreement if we judge the balance of benefits inadequate in relation to our objectives.

VENUE OF NEGOTIATIONS

The exchanges negotiations should be held in Moscow. This would balance the negotiations on the establishment of additional consulates to be held in Washington at about the same time. More important, it should accelerate the decisionmaking process for the Soviets by providing them with ready access to senior levels of their regime. Ambassador Hartman would be protocolary head of the delegation, with the Embassy Counselor for Press and Cultural Affairs, an officer with extensive experience in Soviet exchanges, conducting the day-to-day talks for the American side.

RECOMMENDATION

That this strategy paper and the attached drafts of a General Agreement and Program of Cooperation and Exchanges be forwarded to the President for his review and approval.

Attachments:

- A. Proposal for a New General Agreement
- B. 3-Year Program of Cooperation and Exchanges

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NLRR 748-25-24-8-6

BY 603 NARA DATE 4/8/13

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GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
ON CONTACTS, EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION

The Government of the United States of America and the
Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Desiring to promote better understanding between the peoples
of the United States and the Soviet Union and to help improve
the general state of relations between the two countries;

Believing that the further expansion of strictly reciprocal
and mutually beneficial contacts, exchanges and cooperation will
facilitate the achievement of these aims;

Taking into account the positive experience achieved through
previous agreements on exchanges in the scientific, technical,
educational, cultural and other fields;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. The Parties will encourage and develop contacts, ex-
changes and cooperation in the fields of education and culture,
the humanities and social sciences, the natural sciences,
technology, and in other fields of mutual interest on the basis
of strict and full reciprocity, equality and mutual benefit.

2. Such contacts, exchanges and cooperation shall be subject
to the Constitution and applicable laws and regulations of the
respective countries. Within this framework, the Parties will
make every effort to promote favorable conditions for the ful-
fillment of these contacts, exchanges and cooperation.

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ARTICLE II

1. The Parties take note of the following specialized agreement on cooperation in various fields and reaffirm their commitments to achieve the fulfillment of them:

a. The Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environment Protection between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on May 23, 1972 and extended until May 23, 1987, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes;

b. The Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Medical Science and Public Health, signed at Moscow on May 23, 1972, and extended until May 23, 1987, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes;

c. The Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture, signed at Washington on June 19, 1973, and extended until June 19, 1988, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes;

d. The Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean, signed at Washington on June 19, 1973, and extended until December 15, 1984, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes;

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e. The Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in Artificial Heart Research and Development, signed at Moscow on June 28, 1974, and extended until June 28, 1987, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes;

f. The Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, signed at Washington on June 21, 1973, and extended until June 20, 1986, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes;

g. The Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Housing and Other Construction, signed at Moscow on June 28, 1974, and extended until June 28, 1989, by means of an exchange of diplomatic notes.

2. When it is considered mutually beneficial on the basis of strict and full reciprocity, the Parties will encourage within the framework of this Agreement, conclusion of specialized agreements, including mutually agreed upon amendments, between:

a. The National Academy of Science of the United States of America and the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

b. The American Council of Learned Societies and the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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3. On the basis of strict and full reciprocity the Parties will encourage the conclusion of additional agreements in other specific fields within the framework of this Agreement.

ARTICLE III

1. The Parties will encourage and facilitate on the basis of strict and full reciprocity contacts, exchanges and cooperation between organizations of the two countries in various fields of education, the humanities and social sciences, natural sciences, technology and in other related fields of mutual interest which are not being carried out under specialized agreements concluded between the Parties. These activities may include:

a. The exchange of students, researchers and faculty members for study and research; professors and teachers to lecture, offer instruction, and conduct research; as well as specialists and delegations in various fields of education; and the organization of lectures, seminars and symposia for such specialists;

b. The participation of specialists in professional congresses, conferences and similar meetings being held in the two countries, and the conducting of specialized exhibits and of joint research work;

c. The facilitation of the exchange, by appropriate organizations, of educational and teaching materials on methodology, samples of teaching instruments and visual aids; and,

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d. The facilitation of other forms of contacts, exchanges and cooperation which may be mutually agreed upon on the basis of strict and full reciprocity.

2. The Parties will also encourage the study of each other's languages through the development of the exchanges and cooperation listed above and through mutually agreed upon, and other, measures.

ARTICLE IV

In order to promote mutual acquaintance with the cultural achievements of each country, the Parties will facilitate on the basis of strict and full reciprocity:

1. Exchanges of theatrical, musical and choreographic ensembles, orchestras, other artistic and entertainment groups, and individual performers;

2. The development of contacts and exchanges in the fields of the performing arts, thus to increase in the host country:

a. The production of the sending country's works, and

b. Performances by the sending country's artists including on the premises of the sending side's Embassy or Ambassador's or Consul General's Residences.

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ARTICLE V

1. The Parties will encourage the organizations of the film industries of both countries, as appropriate, to consider means of further expanding the purchase and distribution of a commercial basis of films produced in each country.

2. Film weeks and the holding of film premieres in each country will be organized on the basis of strict and full reciprocity for the other country.

3. The Parties will facilitate the exchange of delegations of creative and technical specialists in various aspects of film making.

4. The Parties further agree that, when requested to do so by organizations and individuals of their respective countries, they will consider proposals for joint production of feature films and short and full-length educational and scientific films and proposals for filming or production of films in the other country.

ARTICLE VI

1. The two Parties agree that the views of their governments on issues of interest to the world and important to their bilateral relationship should be communicated directly to the publics of the host country through that country's television and radio programs. This will be accomplished by, among other means, an exchange of television appearances by official representatives of each country on the other's nation-wide television on the basis of strict and full reciprocity.

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2. The Parties agree also that, when requested to do so by organizations and individuals of their respective countries, they will consider proposals for joint production of television films and proposals for filming of television specials or programs and production of radio programs in the other country. The Parties further agree that each side will facilitate access by representatives of the other's television and radio organizations to the sources of information they consider necessary to the success of such proposals.

3. The Parties will, on the basis of reciprocity, facilitate contacts and encourage exchanges between organizations of the two countries in the fields of radio and television, including the exchange of radio programs and television films, both for purposes of study and for transmission to local audiences, and exchanges of delegations of creative and technical specialists in various aspects of radio and television production.

ARTICLE VII

The Parties will encourage:

a. The exchange of books, magazines, newspapers and other publications devoted to scientific, technical, cultural, and general educational subjects between libraries, universities and other organizations of each country, as well as the reciprocal distribution of the magazines Amerika and Soviet Life; and

b. Exchanges and visits, on a strictly reciprocal basis, of journalists, editors and publishers, translators of literary works, as well as their participation in appropriate professional meetings and conferences.

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ARTICLE VIII

1. The Parties will encourage and facilitate:

a. The exchange of exhibitions on various topics of mutual interest, with showings in a total of 20 cities in every five-year period of 3 to 4 different exhibits, each to show in up to 6 different cities. The exhibits will be concerned with various topics of mutual interest. The organization and themes of these exhibits will be subject to additional agreements, contracts, and protocols between the sending organization and the receiving organization.

b. Appropriate participation by one Party in exhibitions which may take place in the other's country.

2. The Parties will also render assistance for the exchange of exhibitions between the museums of the two countries.

ARTICLE IX

On the basis of strict and full reciprocity the Parties will provide for exchanges and visits of architects, art historians, artists, composers, musicologists, museum specialists, playwrights, theater directors, writers, specialists in various fields of law and those in other cultural and professional fields, to familiarize themselves with matters of interest to them in their respective fields and to participate in meetings, conferences and symposia.

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ARTICLE X

1. The Parties will render assistance to members of the Congress of the United States of America and Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as to officials of the national government of both countries, making visits to the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively. Arrangements for such assistance will be agreed upon in advance through diplomatic channels.

2. The Parties will encourage exchanges of representatives of municipal, local and state governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to study various functions of government at these levels.

ARTICLE XI

The Parties will encourage, on the basis of strict and full reciprocity, exchanges between appropriate organizations active in civic and social life, including youth and women's organizations. (See 79 agreement)

ARTICLE XII

The Parties will encourage exchanges of athletes and athletic teams as well as visits of specialists in the fields of physical education and sports under arrangements made between the appropriate sports organizations of the two countries.

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ARTICLE XIII

The Parties note that commemorative activities may take place in their countries in connection with the celebration of anniversaries recognized by major international bodies.

ARTICLE XIV

The Parties will encourage the expansion of tourist travel between the two countries and the adoption of measures to satisfy the requests of tourists to acquaint themselves with the life, work and culture of the people of each country.

ARTICLE XV

The Parties agree to hold a meeting each year of their representatives for a general review of the implementation of contacts, exchanges and cooperation in various fields and to consider exchanges which are not being carried out under specialized agreements concluded between the Parties.

ARTICLE XVI

1. In implementation of various provisions of this Agreement, the Parties have established a Program of Exchanges for 1985-89, which is annexed to and constitutes an integral part of this Agreement. The terms of this Program shall be in force from . . . to December 31, 1989, and thereafter, unless

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and until amended by agreement of the Parties, will provide the basic guidelines for the Program of Exchanges in 1991-1994.

2. The Parties agree that their representatives will meet prior to the end of 1989 and will develop the Program of Exchanges for the succeeding three years.

ARTICLE XVII

The Parties agree that:

a. The programs and itineraries, lengths of stay, dates of arrival, size of delegations, financial and transportation arrangements and other details of exchanges and visits, except as otherwise determined, shall be agreed upon, as a rule, not less than thirty days in advance, through diplomatic channels or between appropriate organizations requested by the Parties to carry out these exchanges;

b. Applications for visas for visitors participating in exchanges and cooperative activities shall be submitted, as a rule, at least fourteen days before the estimated time of departure;

c. Guest-of-the-Ambassador or Guest-of-the-Consul General visas to accommodate visitors participating in exchanges, cooperative activities, exhibits, performances by groups or individuals or involved in any way in organizing or carrying out these activities shall be handled expeditiously and with priority attention within this fourteen day period.

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d. Unless otherwise provided for in specialized agreements between the Parties, and except where other specific arrangements have been agreed upon, participants in exchanges and cooperative activities will pay their own expenses, including international travel, internal travel and costs of maintenance in the receiving country.

ARTICLE XVIII

1. This Agreement shall enter into force on signature and shall remain in force until December 31, 1989. It may be modified or extended by mutual agreement of the Parties.

2. Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prejudice other agreements concluded between the two Parties.

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DONE AT _____, this _____
day of _____, in duplicate, in the English and
Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION
OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

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