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Folder Title: Background Book, Meetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev December 1987 (3)
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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name	ERMATH, FRITZ: FILES	**Withdrawer**	CAS 3/19/2009
File Folder	BACKGROUND BOOK: MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, DECEMBER 1987 (3)	**FOIA**	M08-125/5
Box Number	RAC BOX 2		CHARLES

166

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
67231	BRIEFING PAPER	RE PROPOSED MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE ***R 12/5/2005 NLRRM1472 #13***	1	ND	B1
67232	BRIEFING PAPER	RE SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA ***R 12/5/2005 NLRRM1472 #14***	1	ND	B1
67235	BRIEFING PAPER	RE REGIONAL OVERVIEW	1	ND	B1
67236	BRIEFING PAPER	RE AFGHANISTAN	2	ND	B1
67237	BRIEFING PAPER	RE CENTRAL AMERICA	1	ND	B1
67238	BRIEFING PAPER	RE SOVIETS AND THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR	2	ND	B1
67239	BRIEFING PAPER	RE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS	1	ND	B1
67240	BRIEFING PAPER	RE SOUTHERN AFRICA	1	ND	B1
67241	BRIEFING PAPER	RE TERRORISM	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]

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

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Collection Name	ERMATH, FRITZ: FILES	**Withdrawer**	CAS 3/19/2009
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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
67242	BRIEFING PAPER	RE EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC ***R 12/22/2015 M554/1***	2	ND	B1
67243	BRIEFING PAPER	RE INDIA-PAKISTAN NUCLEAR ISSUE ***R 12/22/2015 M554/1***	2	ND	B1

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

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PROPOSED MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

I. SOVIET PROPOSAL

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

II. US POSITION

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

III. CURRENT STATUS

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

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BY CH, NARA, DATE 12/9/05

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SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA

I. SOVIET ALLEGATIONS OF US HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE

- As Soviets have accepted the notion of dialogue on human rights, they have raised what they consider U.S. violations of human rights.

- Frequently raise social and economic problems, such as unemployment, but do not seem serious about seeking resolution.

- Also raise specific issues, such as war crimes investigations, technology transfer and our human rights activities in the Soviet Union, about which they wish to engage us in detailed consultations.

- Soviets have publicly accused us of denying them access to KGB defector Anatoliy Bogatyy. Bogatyy and his wife have on several occasions told the Soviets they want to meet with them, but have backed out at the last minute each time.

II. SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR COOPERATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS

- In a recent discussion with Deputy Secretary Whitehead, Soviets advanced suggestions for increased exchanges and cooperation in the area of human rights.

- Soviets are seeking cooperation in areas of importance to us, such as:

  -- Exchange of information about laws of both countries;
  -- Expanding the scope of our discussions about emigration and immigration;
  -- Collaborating in fighting terrorism and drug and alcohol addiction;
  -- Consulting about the use of psychiatric institutions.

- As a means of expanding the human rights dialogue, we have indicated willingness to explore these areas, many of which we already cover in bilateral discussions with the Soviets. We have stressed that such dialogue is not an end in itself, but a means to achieve improved performance.

III. SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR MOSCOW HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE

- As noted above, Soviets are pressing us to accept their proposal for a CSCE conference on human rights in Moscow.

- We have said neither yes or no, linking our ultimate decision to improved Soviet performance on human rights and credible guarantees of openness and access.

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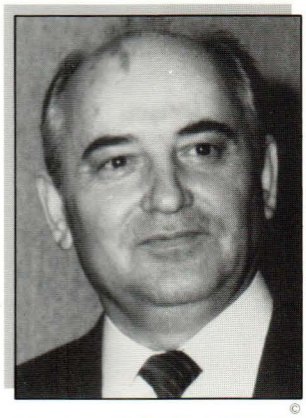
NLS M03-1472 #14
BY CAS NARA, DATE 12/9/05

Soviets at the Summit: Washington, 8-10 December 1987

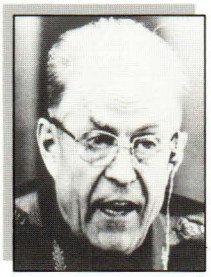
Legend

E=Speaks English[a] **G**=Attended Geneva Summit November 1

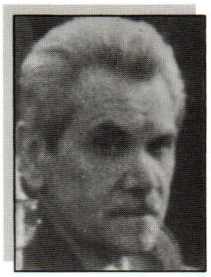
Principals



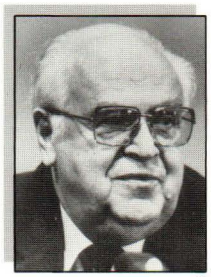
Mikhail **GORBACHEV**



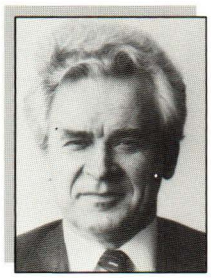
Sergey **AKHROMEYEV**
R
Marshal; First Deputy Minister of Defense and Chief of the General Staff; principal military adviser on arms control



Anatoliy **CHERNYAYEV**
E,R
Personal adviser to Gorbachev; key player in formulating policy toward US

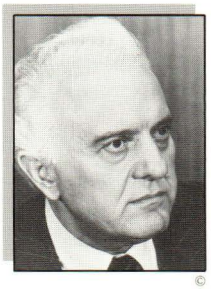


Anatoliy **DOBRYNIN**
E,G,R
Party secretary; chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee; top Gorbachev adviser on foreign policy; spokesman for "new" political thinking

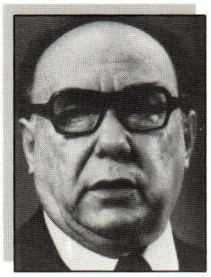


Yuriy **DUBININ**
E,R
Ambassador to the United States; specialist on West European issues

Vladimir **KAMENTSEV**
Chairman, Foreign Economic Commission, Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers; oversees foreign economic activity, formulates trade policy; major role in joint venture efforts



Eduard **SHEVARDNADZE**
G,R
Politburo member, Minister of Foreign Affairs; key role in formulating INF treaty

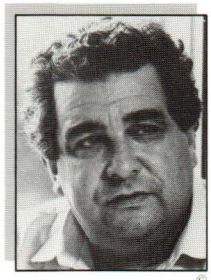


Aleksandr **YAKOVLEV**
E,G,R
Politburo member, party secretary for ideology, propaganda, culture; foreign affairs specialist; proponent of *glasnost'* policy.

[a] Where known.

985[a] **R**=Attended Reykjavik Summit October 1986[a]

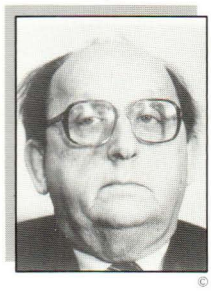
Advisers



Abel **AGENBEGYAN**
E
Academican secretary, Economics Department, Academy of Sciences; Gorbachev economic adviser

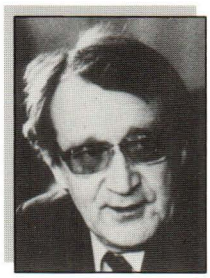
Viktor **KARPOV**
E,G,R
Chief, Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament Administration; arms control expert

Yevgeniy **PRIMAKOV**
E,G,R
Director, Institute of World Economics and International Relations; expert on Middle East arms control issues



Georgiy **ARBATOV**
E,G,R
Director, Institute of the USA and Canada; expert on US domestic, international politics

Dmitriy **LISOVOLIK**
E,G,R
Head, USA Sector, International Department, CPSU Central Committee; specialist on Middle East

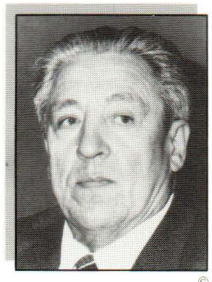


Roal'd **SAGDEYEV**
E,G,R
Director, Space Research Institute; leading civilian space scientist; top adviser on SDI

Aleksandr **BESSMERTNYKH**
E,G,R
Ambassador; Deputy Foreign Minister; major player in US-Soviet bilateral affairs, arms control

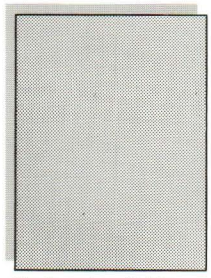
Lem **MASTERKOV**
E
Ambassador; head, current START delegation at the nuclear and space arms talks; arms control specialist

Yevgeniy **VELIKHOV**
E,G,R
Vice president, Academy of Sciences; Gorbachev's chief science adviser; head research efforts in nuclear energy, computerization



Nikolay **CHERVOV**
G
Colonel general; chief of Directorate of General Staff; arms control expert

Yuriy **NAZARKIN**
E
Chief, Questions on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy and Space Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; expert on chemical warfare, nuclear testing



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Vitaliy **GUSENKOV**
R
Staff official, CPSU Central Committee; adviser on European affairs

Aleksey **OBUKHOV**
E
Ambassador; deputy head, nuclear and space arms talks delegation and unofficial head, INF group at NST

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Yevgeniy **PRIMAKOV**
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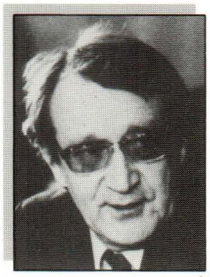
Director, Institute of World Economics and International Relations; expert on Middle East, arms control issues



Roal'd **SAGDEYEV**
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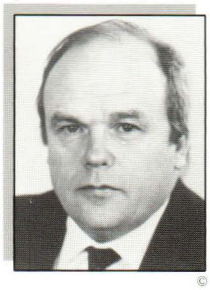
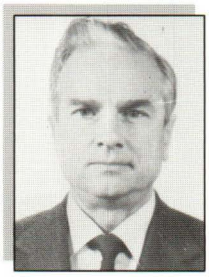
Director, Space Research Institute; leading civilian space scientist; top adviser on SDI



Yevgeniy **VELIKHOV**
E,G,R
Vice president, Academy of Sciences; Gorbachev's chief science adviser; heads research efforts in nuclear energy, computerization

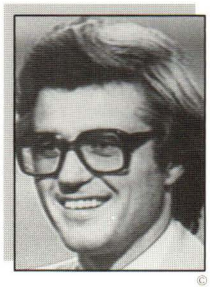
Others

Aleksandr **AKSENOV**
Chairman, State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; oversees implementation of *glasnost'* campaign in Soviet media

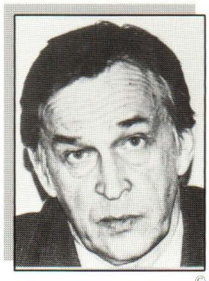


Geliy **BATENIN**
Major general; consultant, CPSU Central Committee; arms control expert

Fedor **BURLATSKIY**
E,G,R
Political commentator, *Literaturnaya Gazeta;* reform-minded journalist; unofficial adviser to Gorbachev



Vitaliy **CHURKIN**
E
Employee, CPSU Central Committee; arms control expert; former interpreter at arms talks; media spokesman at Soviet Embassy in Washington in mid-1980s



Valentin **FALIN**
E,R
Head, Novosti Press Agency; leading spokesman on domestic, foreign affairs and arms control; Ambassador to West Germany 1971-78

Gennadiy **G**
E,G,R
Chief, Inforr
Department
Ministry; pre
spokesman

Vladimir **KU**
Director, Ins
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legal expert
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Sergey **LOS**
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Vladimir **PO**
E,R
Radio, telev
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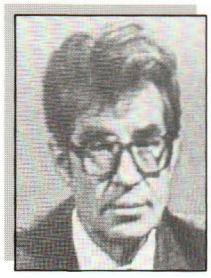

Nikolay **SHI**
E,G,R
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r **AKSENOV**
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Gennadiy **GERASIMOV**
E,G,R
Chief, Information Department, Foreign Ministry; press spokesman

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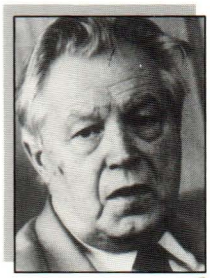
Stefan **SITARYAN**
First Deputy Chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan); career in economic bureaucracy



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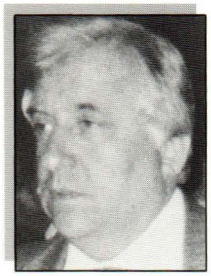
Vladimir **KUDRYAVTSEV**
Director, Institute of State and Law, Academy of Sciences; legal expert, specialist on human rights issues

Viktor **SUKHODREV**
E
Deputy chief, USA and Canada Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; interpreter



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commentator,
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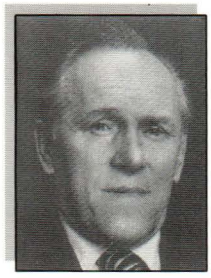
Sergey **LOSEV**
E
Director general, TASS; veteran journalist; foreign affairs specialist

Sergey **TARASENKO**
E,R
Aide to Foreign Minister; specialist on Third World, disarmament issues



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HURKIN
e, CPSU
Committee;
trol expert;
terpreter at
s; media
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in Washington
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Vladimir **POZNER**
E,R
Radio, television commentator; broadcasts in English; host of telebridge exchanges

Photo not available

Mikhail **UL'YANOV**
Chairman, RSFSR Union of Theatrical Workers; director of Moscow's Vakhtangov Theater; actor

FALIN
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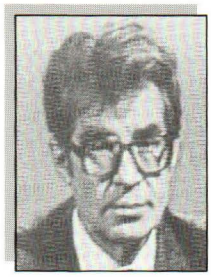
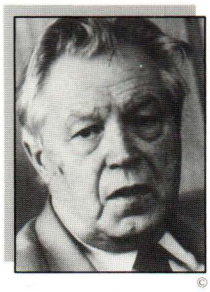


Nikolay **SHISHLIN**
E,G,R
Deputy chief, Propaganda Department, CPSU Central Committee; spokesman on foreign affairs, particularly East-West and arms control issues

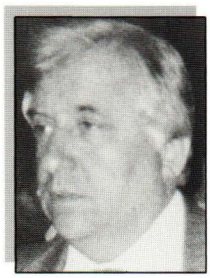
Yegor **YAKOVLEV**
E
Chief editor, *Moscow News;* leading *glasnost'* proponent

Stefan **SITARYAN**
First Deputy Chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan); career in economic bureaucracy



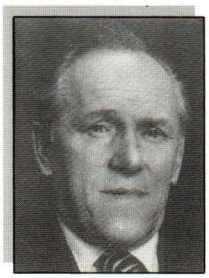
Sergey **ZALYGIN**
Chief editor, *Novyy Mir;* author; leader of USSR's environmental protection movement

Viktor **SUKHODREV**
E
Deputy chief, USA and Canada Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; interpreter



Vitaliy **ZHURKIN**
E
Deputy director, Institute of USA and Canada; spokesman on arms control, general international issues

Sergey **TARASENKO**
E,R
Aide to Foreign Minister; specialist on Third World, disarmament issues



Nikolay **ZINOV'YEV**
E
Chief, Administration for Trade With Western Countries, Ministry of Foreign Trade; the Ministry's specialist on the US

Mikhail **UL'YANOV**
Chairman, RSFSR Union of Theatrical Workers; director of Moscow's Vakhtangov Theater; actor

Yegor **YAKOVLEV**
E
Chief editor, *Moscow News;* leading *glasnost'* proponent

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III. REGIONAL ISSUES

III. REGIONAL ISSUES

1. Regional Dialogue
2. Afghanistan
3. Central America
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THE CARIBBEAN

- Democratization continues with elections in Suriname and electoral process in Haiti.

- We are encouraged by the faith that the people of these countries are placing in the electoral process as a means of overcoming intimidation and repression.

- We believe stability in the region is best promoted by progress toward democratization and economic development.

- To this end US provides significant economic aid to the region -- about $300 million last year.

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SECRET

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EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

GENERAL

- Soviet's East Asia policy remains based on military power, but Gorbachev is imaginatively pursuing improved political and trade ties, especially by playing on denuclearization schemes.

CHINA

- Beijing sees its strategic interests as different from Moscow's, and PRC conditions for improved ties are hard for Soviets to accept. Yet, both termed their 1987 border talks "positive".

- The 13th Party Congress showed continued Chinese emphasis on economic reforms and "open door" policy.

JAPAN

- Gorbachev has failed to improve relations with Tokyo, in part because he has shown no flexibility on Japan's demand that Moscow return the "Northern Territories," seized by the Soviets at the end of World War II. We support Japan on this.

KOREAN PENINSULA

- The U.S. and Soviets want reduced tensions on the Korean Peninsula, but the Soviets tend to support North Korea's inflexible bargaining positions.

- U.S. fully supports North-South talks at high-level, with open agenda, and hopes the North and South can find an acceptable forum.

- Soviet's clear intention to attend the Seoul Olympics reduces chances that its client states -- other than North Korea -- will boycott.

VIETNAM/CAMBODIA

- Soviets apparently desire a Cambodian settlement but seem unwilling to risk their investment in Vietnam -- especially basing rights at Cam Ranh Bay naval facilities -- by leaning on the Vietnamese to withdraw.

- U.S. supports ASEAN's Cambodian position, which includes Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia and Cambodian self-determination.

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PHILIPPINES

- The August 28 coup attempt was a setback for political and economic stability, but President Aquino is being assertive and economic progress is being made.

- Communist insurgents stepped up activities after August's events but do not appear to be receiving any East Bloc military aid.

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SECRET

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INDIA-PAKISTAN NUCLEAR ISSUE

I. BACKGROUND

- India detonated a nuclear device in 1974. It retains the capability to do so again, but decided for political reasons not to acquire or build nuclear weapons.

- Pakistan has acquired the capability to build nuclear bombs, including a plant to produce weapons-grade enriched uranium. Pakistan has not yet built a nuclear device.

II. US POSITION

- US has used leverage provided by our aid program to discourage Pakistan from opting for nuclear weapons.

  -- You told Pakistanis that our ability to provide aid is dependent on Pakistan abiding by agreed limits on its nuclear program.

  -- Aid is now suspended because Congress has not voted to waive Symington amendment's nuclear sanctions; while concerned about illegal Pakistani nuclear procurements in the US, Congress likely eventually to waive sanctions for a limited time.

- We continue to press Pakistan on problem areas such as enrichment above five percent and illegal procurement of material for a nuclear weapons program.

- We favor an India-Pakistan agreement not to acquire nuclear weapons and to take effective regional non-proliferation steps.

III. PAKISTAN'S INITIATIVES

- Pakistan is, so far, unwilling to abide by the 5% limit on enrichment.

- Pakistan has offered to accept far-reaching non-proliferation measures, if India will do likewise.

- India has so far opposed any discussions with Pakistan.

- Rajiv Gandhi told you that near-nuclear states and other nuclear powers could make an arms control contribution. We have asked Gandhi to elaborate on his ideas.

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IV. SOVIET POSITION

o Despite their strong support for non-proliferation, Soviets have been reluctant to take actions that would antagonize India.

-- Soviets have sought to exploit the nuclear issue to undermine U.S.-Pakistan relationship.

-- We want Soviets to involve India in a diplomatic effort aimed at a South Asian non-proliferation understanding. We have also asked India to weigh in with the Soviets on support for a regional non-proliferation regime.

-- We oppose Soviet supply of a nuclear reactor to India without safeguards on all its nuclear activities.