

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0275-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Gates, Robert M. Files
Subseries: Memorandum of Conversation Files

OA/ID Number: 91166
Folder ID Number: 91166-007

Folder Title:
I Bob Gates Memcons 1989 - 1992 [7]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	34	49	2	3

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: Thursday, February 1 [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	2/1	(b)(1)	
02a. Handwritten Notes	Re: Monday, January 22 [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/22	(b)(1)	
02b. Handwritten Notes	Re: January 23, Tuesday [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/23	(b)(1)	
02c. Handwritten Notes	Re: Thursday, January 25 [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/25	(b)(1)	
02d. Handwritten Notes	Re: Friday, 26 January [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/26	(b)(1)	
03. Handwritten Notes	Re: P, VP, JB, DC, CP, JS, BS, RG [President, Vice-President, James Baker, Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, John Sununu, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates (3 pp.)	11/28/90	(b)(1)	
04a. Handwritten Notes	Re: Arms Control (5 pp.)	5/16/90	(b)(1)	
04b. Handwritten Notes	Re: 5:20 (7 pp.)	5/17/90	(b)(1)	

Page 1 of 3

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Gates, Robert M., Files
Subseries: Memorandum of Conversation Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: I Bob Gates Memcons 1989 - 1992 [7]

Pinksheet Number: cap1366
OA/ID Number: 91166-007
Date Closed: 9/3/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0275-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
04c. Handwritten Notes	Re: Humanitarian (2 pp.)	5/18/90	(b)(1)	
04d. Handwritten Notes	Re: Summarize on Arms Control (4 pp.)	5/19/90	(b)(1)	
05. Handwritten Notes	Re: Roh Tae Woo (8 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
06. Handwritten Notes	Re: DC, JB, CP, BS, RG [Dick Cheney, James Baker, Colin Powell, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	3/8/90	(b)(1)	S
07. Handwritten Notes	Re: Moscow Ministerial (7 pp.)	2/8/90	(b)(1)	
08. Handwritten Notes	Re: Regional Issues (7 pp.)	2/8/90	(b)(1)	
09. Handwritten Notes	Re: Arms Control Report (1 pp.)	2/8/90	(b)(1)	
10. Handwritten Notes	Re: Gorbachev Meeting (7 pp.)	2/9/90	(b)(1)	
11. Handwritten Notes	Re: Private Meeting with Baker (8 pp.)	2/9/90	(b)(1)	

Page 2 of 3

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
12. Handwritten Notes	Re: Arms Control (1 pp.)	2/9	(b) (1)	
13. Handwritten Notes	Re: Friday Night (2 pp.)	2/9/90	(b) (1)	
14. Handwritten Notes	Re: P, VP, JB, DC, JS, CP, BS, etc. [President, Vice-President, James Baker, Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, Brent Scowcroft, etc...] (6 pp.)	2/1/90	(b)(1)	

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AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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 the 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.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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]
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 (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

Friday, February 2

✓ Carter letter

✓ China - World Bank loans

✓ Cartagena

? Call to Bill Gray

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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02a. Handwritten Notes	Re: Monday, January 22 [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/22	(b)(1)	

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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02b. Handwritten Notes	Re: January 23, Tuesday [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/23	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Gates, Robert M., Files
Subseries: Memorandum of Conversation Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: I Bob Gates Memcons 1989 - 1992 [7]

Date Closed:	9/3/2009	OA/ID Number:	91166-007
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02c. Handwritten Notes	Re: Thursday, January 25 [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/25	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Gates, Robert M., Files
Subseries: Memorandum of Conversation Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: I Bob Gates Memcons 1989 - 1992 [7]

Date Closed:	9/3/2009	OA/ID Number:	91166-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
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RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02d. Handwritten Notes	Re: Friday, 26 January [Briefing Notes] (1 pp.)	1/26	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Gates, Robert M., Files
Subseries: Memorandum of Conversation Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: 1 Bob Gates Memcons 1989 - 1992 [7]

Date Closed:	9/3/2009	OA/ID Number:	91166-007
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Resume 8/27/93 inventory

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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03. Handwritten Notes	Re: P, VP, JB, DC, CP, JS, BS, RG [President, Vice-President, James Baker, Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, John Sununu, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates (3 pp.)	11/28/90	(b)(1)	

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04a. Handwritten Notes	Re: Arms Control (5 pp.)	5/16/90	(b)(1)	

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(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

Bush / Roh
Dinner

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Roll THE 500
DINNER
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R- Role of Japan in ^{NIC} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~the~~ ^{world}
Japan's idea of its
role is dif from that
of other Asian states
Japan is econ superpower
& now trying to raise
their dip & pol role to
superpower status.
But many Asians have
not forgotten Jap crimes
against Asia.

The Germans accept
their history & take resp,
but many Japs try to
avoid or downplay their
history. So Asians ack
Jap econ role but are
allergic to pol. or dip
role.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I went to Japan in 1990 & called for Jap to accept its history. Much Jap press agreed w/ me, but Japs haven't changed their attitude.

In sci + tech Japs are genius at copying. They have talent for commercializing science + tech.

P at Pearl Harbor, many US rats were unforgiving²

But I decided to focus on a future - & they seem to appreciate it.

G Koreans think if we coop in semi cordentias we can win back some of Jap market but only if we work together.

R Korean business structures are like Jap, not like US. So

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

if we combine Korean bus.
structure w/ our know
how, we can succeed.

I try to take business &
labor leaders when I travel.
Helps them understand foreign
business.

P This 1st time a US R has done
it, so we copying you.

R We didn't succeed w/
our businessmen w/ Japan.
They talked well, but
after a year we found
a bag was empty.

P There are ugly mood in
US. If they don't coop on
this trip, I fear result will
be harsh legis against
them. Political climate is
very bad & I couldn't stop
a legis. I think they begining
to understand.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R One way to persuade Japs
is to remind them who helped
Japan recovery after WW II.
They should now repay that
debt. They should do it volun-
tarily, you shouldn't beg for it.
But just their contract isn't
enough. You have to follow
them to insure they carry
out their contracts.

Our economy is so inter-
twined w/ yours it goes up
& down right w/ yours.

But we should ask Jap
talent for X & for MI tech.

Japs give a lot of aid to
E Asia countries, but it
not appreciated cause they
don't do it w/ good will

P Euros don't treat Japs
w/ maturity & respect.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R In '87 I spoke w/ Mitterand
my fears EC would become
an eco bloc. Mitterand
said it was necessary
to protect against CUS +
Jap superpowers.

P We having big probs
w/ En now on Uruguay
Round.

R Yes. And he lost prestige
in EEC + ME.
You shouldn't worry
too much about domestic
probs. The big task is AID
+ if you must put
domestic probs 2nd US
people will understand.

P I don't lose sleep over it,
but it will be very ugly
year.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R We are facing 4 separate elections this year, but I think as long as you don't quit it will come out OK.

Earlier we were talking about China. How is your ambassador doing

P Steps Key - doing well, but very little success. I'm trying to keep relationship on track w/ MFX, but it is getting harder & harder. Cong would condition MFX to severely. PRC would reject it. We're trying to get China to forgive students & change climate.

R Your approach to China is proper. Patient. Chinese

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

think deeply but their
actions are rather slow.
If Chinese aware you are
exercising patience, you
will succeed.

We have been patient
& now finally China
is moving toward us
& away from R & S

P Bad time is working
against us in US.

R For Chinks, & Chinese
are dif from E mos.
They have stayed
bloody pure

P Yes, and economically
they are doing quite
well in most areas.

R As soon as 1st generation
leaders go, things will

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Change rapidly. 2nd
generation has a dif
outlook. But HK may
transform more quickly
than PRC & that would
affect PRC

P Maybe, but Li Peng
a young man & is
very hard line.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Handwritten Notes	Re: DC, JB, CP, BS, RG [Dick Cheney, James Baker, Colin Powell, Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates] [FOIA restrictions redacted] (3 pp.)	3/8/90	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Gates, Robert M., Files
Subseries: Memorandum of Conversation Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: I Bob Gates Memcons 1989 - 1992 [7]

Document Partially Declassified
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 By MM on 4/27/2023

Date Closed:	9/3/2009	OA/ID Number:	91166-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0275-S	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	2010-1237-MR(505)
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	Released in Part
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	10/3/2016

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 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

~~SECRET~~

DC, JB, CP, BS, RG

300-400 8 March 90

File to # King
notes

Subj - Arms Control / START II

DC - events coming, prob. w. both mobile ICBMs, FOTL,
time - when we go w. arms control. Trade in START
24 for MX, long term - de-MIRV ICBMs. - NOT find or cancel
mod prog. - arms control strat. Stay when are - lose FOTL,
start. prog. Long term objectives.

BS - Like idea. RG for 85 24 - long term START II de-MIRV
ICBM force

JB - Not inconsistent my view. 90 days away from summit.
Conclude I - If declar. - P. lay out long term proposals.
Reluctant to back off getting I initiated

BS - Get agree on that. Arms or proposal on mobile
now to be discussed at summit. Wrap up I,
strategy for II

DC - Match our legis. timetable. (House - Kill both
Aspin kill both -

BS - Gen. agree. on substance

CP. This deal - I agree. JCS have centered START
on basis of approval of mod. program. Sep B-2.
Can lose Mals, but B-2 has a big problem.

Fresh look at targeting. Need to look at philosophy
of new targeting. 3.3(b)(5); 3.3(b)(6) If behind Urals, you
wanting time, etc. - have Mals.

DC - Long term can strike size of force + bring chips along -
take a long time

BS - NOT focus on what's in Start II. Improve stat.
Chips as prob w. RGans.

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DC - will reduce size of B-2 buy

JB - timing?

BS - need to work out for DC purposes - statement w/ jt declar. R6-24s before summit - (jt ann. - plan at summit meeting start on START II focus on 24/RS, prelim. disc. in April).

JB - Summit not deal w. outstanding start issues

BS - Start II a ceremony at Summit. Keep it Start II - "build on START I".

JB - No other countries?

BS - Sars might

JB - Build on Start

- Negot ^{Formal} begin only after START I enters into force.
not complicate START I ratif.

CP - debate that. NOT act. before '91.

JB - Bilateral

- jt declaration.

DC - Reserve on jt declar. Say something now - preempt Cong

CP - Then lose the start

BS - Rpts Sars consid - hate to be preempted

DC - Why not in ^{ap} Min - announce. Agenda for Sum - Sign St. I, begin negot on BOSTART. obj 1) do away with rail work 2) long term work on de-mov out ahead.

JB - okay, if agree. Pull aside in Nam - think about jt sum. after min.

Take package to him.

BS - Will look ~~like~~ unbalanced to SWS. Will see
early going into Start II for AKH - you're
getting on force.

JB - Only 2 who ^{turning} ~~are~~ Seize and from ~~the~~ Cong.

DC - High I

Rail mobile

It Statement - Start II

CP - Sam Nunn - do it in Start I?

BS - Too many details.

JB - agree, put in Start I.

DC - de-Moving only long term thing makes sense.

JB - Do both

CP - Chiefs buy both.

DC - Let's think about timing de-Moving

→ RB - offer as phased.

JB - Heavies?

DC/BS - get when de-Move

JB - Think about "entry into force"

BS - might have to wait til late '91

JB - Mobile limits - Minis -

DC - If they buy swap, doesn't matter

CP - Get all this, need \$30k for SICBM?

BS - need single w/h met. Don't like downloading systems

Keep it clean - no downloading

DC - Be realistic about budget push.

Look at various options for single warhead ICBM
Midgetman, MMIV.

↓
RB - ^{prepare similar}
Rail mobile
de-Move



MOSCOW MINISTERIAL

1000 2-8-90

Plenary

1030 Small Group/Arms Control

JB - Start, CW, Verif. Protocols - PNST, TTBT, CFE, Open Skies, &

1. ALCMs

- counting rules
- disting.
- range.

2. NDMs

- accept permitted in small #s near deployed sites
- non deployed ICBMs - mobiles - 300 NDM mobiles, 1500 RVs NDMs.
no other numerical limits on ICBMs, SLBMs.

3. Telemetry encryption

ES - * ALCMs -

- area of common gd. expanded.
- differences: # warheads for B-52, B-1, future heavy bombers.
- 100 heavy bombers - pers. gds for movement.
- insp. for heavies not equipped for ALCMs
- TU-95, TU-160 - 8 warheads, future - 10 ~~to~~ warheads.; 2X
- distinguish: external obsrv.
- agree - ban on MIRVed ALCMs
- insp. of heavy bombers.

* - good movement: w/in reach of agreement on ALCMs.

NDMs

- not much difference - settled.

Telemetry Encryption

- no objection - limit numbers: not equipped w. encrypt.
- overall - encompass all kind of ball. mls regardless
when testing completed.
- separate test or in accord.
- good gd to build on.

JB - mobile ICBM verification - paper.

ES - need to examine.

JB - SLCMs - apart from START. Draft declaration.



Declare 3 yrs. ahead. Would carry great weight. No way to verify. Take hard look - handle outside Treaty Hands even draft declaration.

ES - Fund. issues. Limits - range 600 km, new vs. non-new 1000 SLCM limit - limits on platforms. Verif. complex. Based on info. exchange on platforms so equipped. Ex. of data confidential. Limits on prod. facilities. Unique identifiers. Coop. measures. Don't know about declaration. Gorb told Bush. SLCMs NOT in START but req. agreement for START.

JB - Non-circumvention.

Commitments to Allies. See no need for such a prov. Potentially a major impediment.

ES - Is necessary. Can find a solution. Need to record principle. W/o, opens way to provide to other countries willing to allow for UK relationship.

RB - Why so complex proposal in START vs. INF

Karpov - in INF, classes destroyed so no risk of transfer.

Spec. more complex in START

ES - Able to satisfy ex UK - agree in common interests

JB - Treaty duration - 15 yrs or superseded.

START II - no fixed view, ready to hear your ideas

Phasing of Red. - 4 phases - 2 - 2 - 2 - 1 yrs. Levels just below current US levels after 1st phase. Paper.

SS-N-5: drop from START - all elim. by date of sig.

Future Types of Ball. Mts - paper

ES - Duration - ^{on} pos. on record.

Phasing - discuss by experts

Fund. import - at this stage, deb. how to deal w. future stability. Like to begin discussion of START II - at Summit delineate next stage for negot.



- JB - Defense & Space - new US test responds to steps in Wyoming Predictability measures. Visits to US SDI facilities. "Permits-prohibits" - US proposal on sensors & testing. No new limits beyond present Treaty. Viol. of ABM Treaty / Wd from START. Exercise of our rights under Treaty does not warrant Wd. No need for common understanding. START/ABM separate. Unnecessary in light of Supreme nat. int. clause. To insist - a major impediment. ^{"Problem of problem"}
- ES - Agreed at MARTA experts look at rel. between ABM + START. NOT intractable question - Wyo - prag. way out. Ready to sign START even if no agreement on IAS. Sides cont. to observe ABM Treaty. Will elim. Kresnay arch - elim. another issue. US no chg in policy - ^{vs.} Discuss strat. stab. on basis of trans. to greater reliance on defense. Studied US draft - no promise in this approach. START come into effect only if Sides observe ABM Treaty - need to move to understanding of prohibited-permitted. NOT a pre-condition for START - but no less important. Don't understand motive for US waiting. If not to Wd from START, use same if vio. of ABM. Such an understanding not detract from side's view on threat to nat. int. Major move in Wyoming. May hear about it in Sup. Sov.
- JB - Still sig. differences on this. Our belief in Wyo - you had de-linked START from IAS. Concerned - re-linking the two. If ^{you} have clause allow. Wd from START, don't understand why this doesn't provide suff. protection. Presents us diff. problem - constrain us.
- ES - Hope you have clear understanding of concerns. Stick w. pos. in Wash. Our view - need very clear stand how either side interprets ABM treaty. What permitted or banned?



ABM Treaty complied with. No departure from pos. in Wyoming. Will sign START if ABM still observed.

JB - Suppose all ^{START} issues resolved, ABM being observed - can we sign it (START)

ES - Yes, we can.

JB - w/o common understanding on prohibit & perm.

ES - Cont. discussion on this - sometime in future come to common understanding

JB - w/ cond. com. under. on w/d from START rel. ABM observance. w/o under. of it of w/d if in future ^{or} not in compliance

ES - Basically, that's correct.

RB - Our under. - ^{you} wanted under. on it of w/d from ABM before sign START

JB - My understanding - what you just said from Wyoming. Can we sign ^{START} w/o com. under. on it of w/d in event of future non-withdrawal observance. I heard you say yes. Sign w/o any req. of com under. about future. - because of sup. nat. int. clause

ES. ^{Obtain} Sign START without link to ABM. Negot. cont. on content of ABM Treaty - banned/permitt.

Karpov - Compliance w. ABM since you won for implementation of START. Record common under. - if side violates ABM Treaty, gds for w/d. - Sup. nat. int. After Seq. - Sov side see viol. as

JB - req. viol. of ABM - free to make whatever det. you want - sup. nat. int. your business. Viol. of ABM - spec. gds. for w/d from START - we can't agree to that formulation. But your rt. to act. Can't agree on common understanding. Free to w/d.



JB - Failure to agree no bar to sign START. You still have right to Wd.

RB - no problem.

JB - Asking us for ^{it common understanding, but not} a pre-condition for signing or implementation?

Reg - So we understand that common understanding is ^{starts on pub. permitting} ~~preference~~ not pre-condition for signing + implement. of START?

Kayor - correct. I've said so.

JB - Krasnoyarsk - take bldgs down. Forego destruction of foundations.

Visits to Thule / Fylingdales. We agree. Issues + UK. arrange. coord. three them, esp. UK. Put issue behind us. Visit two of yours - Pechora, Baranovichy.

ES - Full impl. on Krasnoyarsk. Fac. will be eliminated. Visits to T + F - important step. Enhance confidence. Pechora, Baranovichy - in principle - need to examine.
① Krasnoy - Sov pos. unchanged. ② US willing visit T + F w. UK consent ③ P + B. Sov side study - will try to find accept. solution.

JB - Will go to the ground?

CW - 1) conclude conv. ASAP

2) ann. intent to pursue bil. coop on destruction down to 5000 tons

3) coop on destr. technol.

4) reduce to 500 tons during 1st 8 yrs of conv. elim

5) halt all CW prod. when conv. in force.

6) non-prolif. principles

ES - Precisely area - can move vigorously. Reach agreement. Some pts remain - 70 tons, etc. Can reach mult. underst. Wd - take up.



on 80%

Agree. at summit realistic. Each side has draft.
Another area - work w. Chem. cap. countries - refuse to
accede to convention. Persuade them to join. Prepared
to share confid info on cap. of certain countries.

JB - Very encouraging.

Nuclear Testing - on track - Sign at June mtg. Let negot.
work remain visible

ES - Don't understand your pos. on subsequent negotiations
after current phase. ① Break or continue. Taking on
larger impact. anti-testing. ② Extend 1963 Treaty to
underground test? # of countries complaining. ③ Halt
testing - multilateral - ad hoc committee? ④ ~~some~~
proliferation a real problem. Halt all testing.

JB - Coop. on nucl., chem, nuc prolif pull all together -
set of prin for June + active steps
~~Testing~~ negot committed to step by step. CTB remains
long term goal. Need to work to test while nuc deterrent
needed. Complete verif. protocols - get satisfied. Effort
verif complex - gain experience before moving much
further ~~but~~ on testing constraints.

CFE

reach agreement on manpower + aircraft here?

ES - You propose ceiling 195,000. Close to mutual
understanding - Gen-Secy respond. Very close on #s.
Personnel - prepared to ~~remove~~ ^{not allow} overall limit:
1) accept NATO proposal for ^{not allow} ATTU - limits on alliance
forces.
2) ~~discussing~~ US-Sov levels. Also UK, Fr, Belg, Can.
forces in Germany. Can consider matter closed?
Overall #s in Europe

Central Zone - deb. overall level of forces - not US/Sov -
but others also - 750,000 overall strength.



med. range a/c - max level of 4700 we prop. - ^{tack. front a/c} also
inc. TU-14, 22, 22M. US - based in Europe also covered.
Know your pos. on air def. interceptors - serious differences
Can't accept. integ. in overall th. Trainer a/c -
set max. ceiling 1500-1600 each alliance. Emergency
mutual under - exclude those w/o armament.
Close on 195,000.

JB - Still diff. on a/c. See if WG can narrow.

Open Skies?

ES - Non prolif. of mals/tech - equal int. in constraining
mals close to our borders - appeared recently. MTCR.
heave to WG. Sig. step toward coll. effort.

Naval Forces - diff. issue for you. Need to start
discussions. Perhaps start w. consultations - maybe
scientists, etc. Already underway in other forums.

Cut mil. budget 14% next 5 yrs. You still have
complaints about our figures. By end of year -
will submit figures to UN in all categories - draw
realistic comparison.

Unprepared for CW destruction (industry) Exchange
of info, technologies - not damage ecology, economies.

JB - Welcome all but naval arms control. CW - tech exch -
have in mind. Sign here. Applaud assoc. w. MTCR -
coop. statement for sum on ^{non-}prolif.

ES - Must elim. confrontation on high seas.

JB - Open Skies - differences. Safeguards, on-board sensors
sign treaty this fall. Strong comm. at Ottawa.
Engage here to adv. in Ottawa? Multi-lat. agency
or national operations.

ES - Support idea. Highly positive. Pools of a/c, sensors -
entrust WG to review - where agree + work. Don't see any
insurmountable difficulties.



3:00 2-8-90

Regional Issues

1. Afghanistan

JB - Any settlement requires departure of Najib - at some point. Going at Mulla - N go if will of Afghan people. Could remain until trans. under way - go during transition. AG must broaden base. Credible interlocutors from cities controlled by govt. Realities.

- 1) New Shura - in spring, under UN supervision/protection - w/o Helmandiyar.
- 2) dia. bet new Afghan leadership after shura + reps of cities + areas not part, in shura - transfer of power to transitional govt - grand shura, etc. Perhaps here discuss neg. symmetry. Najib leave during this phase or its conclusion.
- Trans. govt. 3) Simple. of agreed arrange. for new govt - election grand shura, etc. Could lead to settle.

ES - We try to identify elements leading to agree. Can't come to agree on basis of what you said. 1st - depth of Najib, e.g. Your sugg. not a realistic approach. Sol - only on basis of intra-Afghan settlement. Need transitional period. All parties part. in dialogue - current govt + oppos., as well as Zahir Shah ^{in exil.}. Depart. of Najib as pre-condition: no chance. No one dare suggest Najib resign - Look at Najib Belgrade proposal. International conference might help bring all Afghan parties to common gd. US, SU, Pak, Iran, Sps + parties in Afghan. Help est. inter-Afghan dialogue. Negative symmetry. Status quo (territ) during trans. period. Oppos - 80% of country. How can they oppose this? Spec. role for Sary Jir. 3 phase proposal - little chance in light of realities. Be aware of other possibilities. Ask experts to see if addit. common gd. (for Lt. statement).

JB - No dialogue w/o assurance no Najib at end. Can't deliver Muj. Altam - cont. of merry sit. N - called 2 shuras - no one came. We've moved (N go before) but must have arrange. Muj. will part. in.



ES - Oppos. not united. Have one-sided info. Poor contact with Peshawar gp. Perhaps you have contact w. regime, we w. opposition. WG - org. format for future work

JB - Our proposal - not exclude PDPA - but guarantee N. + closest assoc. not in power.

ES - WG give that to free elections. Use UN, Secy Gen.

2. Central America/Cuba

JB - Free + fair elections in Nic. End conflict.

ES - It's statement on free + fair elections. In St. state - under use of UN in Central America. US could influence better disbanding of Contras. Not easy - but promote normal cond. for elections. Simple statements of Cent. Am. Pres. Sand - get env. in settle in El Sal if US disband contras. US resp. pos. to part. of US on + Cuba + US in problems of Central Am.

JB - Nic - disapp./surpr. Cong. observes denied risks. Reserve it to own judgement Assist by N. to FMLN. believe what you say, but N misleading you. SA 75 to FMLN. Panama - unique situation. Longstanding presence. Treaty rights. Outlaw dictator. Soldiers treated as liberators. 92% Pan. favorable. Send Sup. Sov deleg. to see sit on gd. Cuba - can end war in El Sal. Few signs Cuba wants to be constructive. Arming FMLN. Why do you provide them so much aid. Alt uses of \$\$. MIG-29s - hard for us to understand. Reward govt that complex. imp. in our relations, undermines peace in C.A. Want MFN, etc - but must go to Cong - hard to do in face of MIG 29s to Cuba.

~~Barlow~~ ^{Barlow} - Elections in Nic. - 100s of observers. Cond. in place for fair elections.

ES - Sup. Sov. dep. - observers. - Nic. Panama - Sooner troops out, the better. Understand you have your own justification. Could come up w. plausible arg. for intro. of troops into Afghan. Cuba - arms deliveries - long rel. w. Cuba - commit. to keep. No breach of laws. Adv. weaponry to Pak. Other, Iran, countries. MIG-29s - not the latest models - not just Cuba - Iraq, India, etc.



Cuba - replaces outdated MCG 23. Hiss w. Cuban - J. mentioned not bad people. Once a dia, pass. to solve many issues. Give it another shot.

JB - Major prob. w. Cuba - Ept of Int + Rev. in L.A. No reason for us to talk. Understand commitments - Amb. understands public percep. in US of your sending MCG 29s. Big reaction. Sig. differences bet. Panama + Afghan.

(Long discussion of Cuba, MCG 29s)

ES - Commitments, dialogue.

JB - If free + fair election in N. stop sub in El Sal - might begin normal. w. Nicaragua. Time to satisfy ourselves not subverting. Econ basket case - no imp. til get straight w. U.S. Keep their word to you, part SA 7s.

R2 - Cong. observers - help if our obs. can go.

JB - Proposed Cong. delegation because polit. issue in US. deleg. across polit. spectrum

ES - ok if N. allow all to

JB - Too late. not just election day.

ES - No guarantees - but will approach N. on Cong. reps. Will express our preferences.

3. Asia

JB - not dis. at Malta. N. Unitaries - move toward resolution. We spt. Japanese position. More than bilateral

ES - Want to improve rel. w. Japan. On territ. They shouldn't be troubling, inv. you. Post-war settlement. Territ. no big deal for ^{grant}USSR. Being debated. Perhaps - major chg. - Alaska for territories. Will tell Min. you raised it - this is most important thing. Part of overcoming mil. confront. in Asia - Korea, USSR Japan. Such lessening of mil. tensions on penin. Soen, S.K. not need spec. mil. help. N.K. proposals worthy of serious consideration. Kim - remove wall bet N+S Korea. But no reaction



no real threat from N. Vietnam. rel. w. South. Good prospects for further dev. WG- discuss these problems, esp. given our interaction in area N.K. ask 5-6 pts be raised w. you. I am fulfilling req. of N.K. leaders

JB - agree w. what you've said. Disagree no longer threat from N.K. Spt enhanced N-S dialogue. Ready ourselves to talk. Concerned - future to sign new. Safeguards agreement. Spt your imp. rel. w. South. Push on new. agree

ES - N.K. prep. agree w. IAEA on safeguards.

JB - WG- suggest sp. get together on Korea. Haven't discussed Cambodia.

ES - Coop. + interaction launched - The Five. Most imp. - necessity. Role of Seng Gen. Averted. min - interesting plan. Diff. on part of Sihanouk. He is int. in meeting our rep. What if our rep meets Sihanouk + your rep. sees Heng Seng.

JB - ASEAN not enthused when you suggested before. Perm S. good. Worry KR going to make more gd - agree want to avoid that. PRC suspicious of UN role. see as cover for Heng Seng. Unless PRC - accept limits - neutral polit. environ - Beijing will have problems. You have more info. than we do.

ES - Talks at Amb. level (Sihanouk + Heng Seng) - Small, symbolic step - enable us to broaden coop.

JB - what accomplish? w/o other major players. Key - UN presence for trans. Heng Seng amenable to satis. Other parties. UN presence supp. to year, fair election

ES - Sit. standing, declining, because of contacts with KR.

JB - follow up in WG. Consult w. our friends.

ES - Any chance of imp. in ^{you} rel. w. VN? Lot of chg internally. Reforms implemented. Chinese intend to imp. rel.

JB - VN remains emb. issue in U.S. Occup. of Cambodia was an obstacle. Like to see them move const. in Cambodia. POW/MIA question. Not bright prospect for improvement. ^{Presumably}



4. Middle East

JB - Cont efforts w. Eg + Is. Have raised poss. of your observing dialogue. Is. reluctant to accept Sov presence w/ dip rel. Have you pursued w. Is. > One step - Arms. act. direct Aeroflot/El Al flights bet USSR + Israel. I hope agreed. can. be implemented. Also, consider Reinhold/Wolfson. presence Hebrew culture in USSR. Not yet to pt where 3 min. can meet. Terrorist incident in Egypt - delay. Side w. Eg. process assisted if you attended dialogue as observer. We spt if dip rel. restored w. Israel.

ES - Nothing ag. settle - willing to take part. Yield to expert

LNU - Tragic incident - must address settlement ASAP. Complex of Palestinian delegation. Restoration of dip rel. a serious problem Is. govt has not responded to many problems raised by Pales. issues.

JB - Issues - composition and agenda.

ES - Dialogue - spts of Pales, Is, Eg, US + USSR as observers.

JB - As Eg. have outlined it to us

DR - Eg. also noted Is. would have prob. w. you there if no dip rel.

ES - Favor any dialogue. Hope you succeed. In parallel - 1) promote dialogue + mtg. 2) other areas on agenda - consult. among Bern 5 parallel to your effort - proceed. Eur. seems out of it - not contribute to settlements 3) dip rel w. Israel - don't rule out - legal. consulates. Now dis. perm. representation. If dip rel, status as observer - not suff. Spec. rel. w. Arabs + Pales. On emigration - Arab Conf. condemning you + we for emigrants - settle in Occupied territ. Big problem. This needs to be addressed by WG. What can be done to quiet Arab uproar. Israelis provoking problems just as dialogue getting underway. Spt. dialogue - but if inv. - equal status.

JB - Eg. raised idea of your observer part. Our sugg. you consider normal. Don't quarrel w. your analysis. Int. Conf. "could be approp at the right time." Trying to get something started.



- US does not opt settle of Sov emigres in occupied territ.
- ES - In St. Statement - reflect pos. on settle in occupied territories.
- JB - Will consider.
- ES - Imp. for St. statement
- DR - Many critical of Shamir's statements. PM has backtracked.
- JB - Will have St. State. if worthwhile
- ES - Secy Gen ^{should} have rep. on ME settlement

5. Africa

- JB - Namibian example of coop. on reg. problem. Concerned about Angola. Dist. by NEPA offensive + Sov part. in planning, optng + coord it. You abt. provided command + control acct. NOT consid. w. Should obj. of nat. reconciliation, Savimbi prepared for ceasefire + negot. Govt. refused.
- ES - Namibian - satis w. dev. there. Angola - when open. cand. different relations. Told them of policy of nat. reconcil. Sov adv. - not that many. NOT part. in planning of oper. nothing to do w. operations - only trng. All brought to atten of Ang. leadership. Reflect in St. Statement - process underway. S.A. - encoun. chgt.
- JB - Reg. Ang. Govt. - ceasefire + negot. for nat. reconcil?
- ES - des Santos - act. at Mavinga - retaliation. Willing to stop there. Ang. Govt. aware of need for polit. sol. Ang. F.M. meet w. Secy State any time, any place
- JB - Ethiopia - need for polit. settle. Let aid move across battle lines.
- ES - Diff. Sit. - hum. assist. no problem. - reflect in St. document.
- Then let for help in est. contact w. Sov POWs. make public.
- JB - Lebanon - aid for forces.



ES - Cyprus.

JB - Spt efforts of Secy Gen.

Kashmir - mil. alerts - negot. avoid conflict

ES - Agree w. you. Prepared to contact Ind. leaders. - you contact Paks.

JB - Useful - both weigh in.

ES - 1 question - meeting - Eur. highest level later this yr.

35 CSCO countries. If agree - refer to in St Statement.

1) document signed on future 2) discuss at min. level;
or expert level - agenda + documents adopted -
concluding document.

JB - Noted int. in such a mtg. Initially, premature - mtg. in 1992. EC countries think useful - US participate - 3 principles for: (1) prep for 1992; (2) able to sign CPE agree; (3) 35 agree proposal on free elections as human rt. in Basket III. Presumpt. to det. bilaterally what agenda should be.

ES - Ques. of approval in principle June to elab. details
Min. meet in Vienna in Spring?

JB - Need to det. w. allies - not in St statement. If
meaningful, fully - prep. work at min. level.

~~ES~~



6:15 2-8-90

Arms Control Rpt.

- RB - Reviewed US proposals. Have not seen responses that will lead to results Ministers seek.
- VK - map of ques - telemetry, NDMs, ALCMs, SLCMs. Got yesterday or today. Very complex issues req. serious consideration, serious study. Much time spent clarifying. Not to worry as agree. Today. WG cont. tomorrow.
- Nue. Testing - least obstacles removed
- CW - good prog on frame work
- CCE - agree on some issues, movement on others - aviation.
- Further work - solution possible. WG not deliver tonight.
- JB - Karpov reasonable. Our doc. rep. lot of work at very high level. Polit events leaving us behind on arms control. Ready to do business. Do whatever nec. to close.
- ES - Can't be satis. w. WG progress. But pers. not exhausted. Work thru night - tomorrow. Many issues come to decision. Our dele. little time to consult. US deleg. not used all potential
- RB - Very real differences - CDS, CW. Take explicit guidance to overcome problems in short time avail.
- ES - CW - great potential for agree. - Answer tomorrow, aircraft, major issues - express ourselves. Telem - NDMs - # of issues. Seek solutions - my guidance.
- JB - My guid. mustn't become irrelevant. Push to conclusion.

Yorkbach mty. 2-9-90 11-2³⁰

Am forces - Gen after meeting - talk to Secy.

J- ES good out. talks. Begin - Visit import. - ^{not only for} prag. but also each. moving forward, ^{reaching} new levels of understanding. In Malta, spoke phil. about world events - then those phil. disc. became import. when events tested our understanding. Cannot say at end of last yr + 1st mo of this all US actions perfect, nor ours, but during period, leaders have acted in balanced, prudent, responsible manner. More import. than specific accords met w. Mr. Sher.

B - events test understanding, rel. up to those tests Rel. has moved from comp. to coop. more + more. Still some competition.

* J - ^{in your admin.} One or two ^{still} regard USSR as a enemy B - yes but so do you
J - yes, they showed themselves recently

B - Came to do business. At Malta two Pres - 3 issues at issue. Prepared to see if can't dispose of those issues.

J - fam. w. some details. Learn more to you + Sher. Welcome progress. Working on basis of understanding at Malta - by Summit - gen. understanding on all issues - START. Work in Treaty lang. right after Summit.

B - Get press on 3 here so people will see making way to June. Gues. from press - reflect this. Want to prove them wrong.

J - Hope able to prove that. Somepts of concern remain - in process of persuasion - one principle - don't avoid problems. Suft. trust to tackle problems. We + you see both sides want to chg sit. for better. New sugg. on MCs reported to me. Think about those. Believe some elements ^{can be} import. part of agreement. Some elements of verif. can not agree much. But one test - say fairly both sides confirm ceiling of 6000 warheads. W/in that limit, maximum possible - when I reach at ^{either} proposed give US sig. adv. up to 2000 warheads - not equality. NOT retreat from equality - neither can we ^{nor S.S. to}

B - Have RB address issue of equality. ACCMs holding up progress. 3 issues - counting rule, distinguish, range. On disting. - US has adopted Sov pos. Range - 6000 vs 1500. We propose 10000 - more than half way. Sig. move on counting rule - ^{had wanted} 10 to our a/c - no other restrictions - now propose 10 US, 8 USSR, over all ^{limit} double attributed to each a/c. Our a/c - 10 - 20, 8 - 16. This app. each have ability to exceed 6000 limit - only for slow flying ACCMs sub. to air defenses - equal ability to exceed 6000 limit. 3 issues - you one, more than half on 2nd, treat counting rule equally.

J - To approach - not work - range. Other issues can find solution.

B - If agree on range, agree on ACCMs

J - Think can find solutions. ^{B -} ES + I discuss range this afternoon
J Also - send Alchermeyer.

B - Hope A agrees US come a long way in Moscow.

A - Yes, some movement.

J - SLCMs - your cherished sub. Unlucky - Pres. a naval background.

A - You wish more objects than Trots.

J - You're realistic polit. - have to deal w. your position. Told about your SLCM pos - briefly. Disc. of SLCMs has begun difficult to get started.

B - Altho P. navy. See State Marine.

J - Diff. discussion. Let me be frank - ^(1st) impossible to accept include SLCMs of any range. Threshold of 6000 should apply. All stuff below - why worry about those?

Slack away short range stuff - focus on strategic SLCMs. ^(2nd) pt. L all arms control areas - work on verif. - Good prog. on ACCM verif. Much work on verif.

J seems too. Here again - key is range. Look
These apply here too - then consider your
position

B - go w. decl. app. if apply only to SECMs over look

J - Believe if agree on range, can discuss proposed
declan. But what about verif.

B - On verif - inform of disc. bet Bunt + Nazarkin on
problems inherent in verif.

ES - Yesterday - ideas on SECM verif. Being discussed now

J - Work on this. Lookin thresh. important.

ES - Spec. prop - types of ships, prod. facil., etc.
identifiers & NOT broad men, not old stuff

J - Said final "no" - experiment on Black Sea - on
distinguish? Scient. sens is pass. Polit. obj.

RB - Our spec - not a promising avenue.

J - I take note.

J - P's proposal on manpower he informed me about.
1st - can note both sides agree on no overall limits
in European zone. were dropping this at this stage.
Next stage - press you.

B - Back to Part.

J - Spec. proposal - looked at it carefully. Looking
grad - one comment - one small chg. Respond pos.
Agree 195,000 US + Sov in Europe v. Central
zone - based on ^{wide #} Eur. Exceeding level 225,000
meet your concern. US + Sov then - 195,000 in Eur.
is far. terrible. Find not acceptable - our flex-
suff alt. - 225,000 in all Europe. You have 225
in Cent. Eur. In GB, et al - 63,000. Of importance.

Have our talks - raise level to 225 - meet your concerns. Agree to 195 also. Think about it
B. will look at it, answer this afternoon.

J. Good

J. NOT understood your pos. on CW. Enlighten me.

B. Brought proposed jt statement - hoped could be agreed in Moscow. Great impact if two largest could agree.

J. precisely. Feel new proposal injects difficulty

B. Think close to agreement. Concept - pragmatic approach to actually ^{decreasing} ~~controlling~~ / abolishing CW - nice nice phil. approach. A road map to goal we share - No w/o ref. to spec. figures if imp. to you

RB - consid. agreement on jt statement "1) Prep. of bilateral agree. for destruction - begin at Summit. Sides agreed on such an agreement - only disagree - how specify how deep the reduction will be.

J. - tons or percentage approach?

RB - Sw prop. has neighbors we happy w. either

J. Object to prov. about stopping production?

?) RB - no ~~and~~ 2nd pt. Pres - 20% after 8 yrs - on way to zero
Agreed in concept. Instead of 20% - "a very small fraction"

J. Good. A way out is poss. Final lang. might be agreed. Speaking at environ. forum - Stop nuc. testing any day if US did. entire hall rose, applauded. Think about. Reminder - emphasize working ult. toward banning nuc. tests. Remind you of our crit. of your pos. not chg. 1986 mandate - continuous

process.

B- not abandon that nor ult. goal of CTB. For now, conclude verif. protocols. Only one issue.

J- Any independent statement evoke public backlash.

B- Word on CSCE? (also reach agree. on NDSMs.)

J- Yes, I noted

B- Also taken. enceph.

B- CSCE: Aware of your interests. Reluctant in absence of clear idea of what to be accomp. Recently, said willing to pursue 3 prin: 1) used to prepare for 92 summit, 2) sign CFE agreement ^{if no inty. force process of agree.} 3) agreement

that prin. of free elections as human right be accepted. Don't expect prob. with these from anyone in work. Need to discuss ^{your} Congress + effect on Summit in US.

J- That about that. June - last days for Congress. maybe early July. Sum for visit.

B- Before Cong.

J- Yes - maybe month gap. No chg. Need time to prepare well for Cong. Free elect. to Cong

ES - Don't know reaction to 2nd cond. of other countries

J- Two pts - coincide also - have to be 92 Helsinki summit Events moving rapidly - perestroika of Eur. structure + world politics - agree want to interact in period of profound chg. if agree - emphasize, each. views in CSCE summit very good, discuss what worries us, events in Eur. of concern, many new problems.

future of East E, WE, all Eur. all of us - all structures. Critical steps happening. Keep pace w. dev. so they do not become chaotic. kind of prep. for Helsinki R. Document there capture new reality. Can't imagine doc. can be dev easily or quickly - need conf. to help prepare. At summit, exch. thots - short communication. Exch important. If 2nd element added - CFE - perfect. See substance in mtg

B - Feel strongly about CFE point. Give impetus to conclude agree. Berlin speech views on future of Eur. org. + rel. of US to changed Eur. On pth CSCE process, esp. econ. backed, could be better utilized. Find selves dis. E-W. econ. coop.

G - Finally. Until now only another basket. In form of CSCE summit - give impetus, guidelines to processes in Europe, ^{meat} part of sum - influential decisions of all sorts now - make them more balanced.

B - Ottawa. Progress in CFE - tanks, arty, etc. manpower. Good work. Verif., helos. Afe - vast differences

G - distances/gaps can be closed quickly. Go half way or expand.

B - Prop. this week. Still great diff. Your pos. on afe - 2000 afe above what NATO had today.

ES - Because don't want carrier afe - only got based

G - If two stages, 2nd stage - overall man/afe - work now only ~~on~~ in agreeable areas? No obstacles cannot be removed

B - Increase afe because thor imp. to you. You wish. we

we consult v. allies - drop a/c now - deal w. later

g - cont work on it. Still face Naval forces in future.
B - not stop but see if allies can agree on tanks,
arty, APCs, manpower - as a/c later?

g - an interconnection. Int^{eresting} exch. - let colleagues,
cont. discussion, s

Sov. Bailin

Priv. mtg. w. Baker 2-9-90
12³⁰ - 2³⁰

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CSCC - 1990

§ Sit getting out of control
CSCC help channel

Far. phase of relationship - act now while we can.
make coop more stable
no control but we can't work out

Plenum -

Had to prov. answer. Trends solidify
Resping of forces. "It is not brins"
Reading press not enlightening

Reform econ. in real way.

- 1) Graber-retreat: some people capit on
2) cont. pers. - spirit went into the past.
more decision -
new con. goods market
people tired, neg. feeling
lost & at pressure on center

Can't delay price reform. * Regg. auth. in
upper echelons. Need stronger ex. mech.
Exp. with of govt - get rid of hard - econ.
complex of measures - adopt some (later
federation - ^{Dist. from} ~~not~~ hot. enter + pop

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Reform^{fed} - many approaches. Events running faster than doc.

Plenum opens many avenues.

Focus of passions at plenum.

Resping, in favor of Soviets - prepared to Party. A random innops

A struggle to affirm role.

* Art 6 - not approp to report at Plenum
will be legis. init to report

Prop relations -

Chain of links in approach

Plenum - radicaliz. of pers.

Adv. date of Congress - major resping
of power.

Resping
Pres.

2 positions - in prin. - sep. not now.

2 cts of power - weaken power.

How

Simple power of Pres - I don't know how.
Sov. favors this

Crit. pro-key power - not + econ.
nationalist

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Apprec. pos. of HB & Pres - very import.

HB - econ - command or market - not
in between. Relight. - move to price
system. Ruble overhang - absorb
before go to new price system. Social
safety net - protect poorest.

Want you to succeed. Pick up phone -
what time does it not.

§ Commo links?

B - Germany - process moving faster than anticipated
currency, etc. Understand concerns.
You understand comm. inevitable
need much ^{aim} for ext. aspects of imp.
Avoid §. nationalism. 2 + 4.

§ - 4 + 2.

B - 2 + 4 better: 4 power app - won't work
as ~~co~~ workable. Seek no milit. advantage
NO favor new Germany - not necessarily
non-military. Allies concerned about
Germany.

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US presume tied to NATO, under-
need for assur. in East. No
extension to East alone to mar-
ket. comes. of reunif. seems
likely this

g- ^{Basically} share course of your thinking. Stab
in Eur. must be main ^{point}. Can be pursued
if ensure ^{stab.} ~~stab.~~ in Eur. Nothing
timid - in prospect of unif. Eur.

① What kind of fr. in future ② Diff.
persp. in London, Paris + Warsaw.

Larry called me - want to be in
close touch. Elements of stab - US &
Sov troops. Austria & Cz - worry
about new Reich - know what
say today - what about tomorrow.

Fr + UK - who ^{is} ~~are~~ major players in Eur.
Imp. to channel process. Meets of
4+2 or 2+4 inevitable. Cent. exchanges
with both our fr. friends.

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R After 3/14, internal process
form. focus on internal aspects.
Int. aspects for ^{two} G. to decide
eat; ~~anonym~~ as due regard for
neighbors, status of Bachi etc.

8- Inty bet. GDR + FRG. In GDR all
Spe but Modrow inv. Some
don't want unip - fr. partners
Unip - only in current context of
GDR + FRG. NATO - div. Some

Weizsäcker
brother { div - confed. - in hrs of all times
Brendt + FRG of today in NATO -
Something else for East. Forum
feel is - affect restrictions

Mosaic of opinion. Limited G-
spread focusing; Cost of unip
(506 ~~mill~~) a yr.

Channel events. P - keep in
close touch.

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B- If imp. takes place - united outside
NATO or similar proposal

*g- joining that to all these options.
Any extension of zone of NATO
is accept. Presence of US troops

→ || could have worked out what
you've mentioned is possible.

Don't want ^{an entirely like} after Versailles -
create process which contains
g. ^{within} "Eur. structure. Don't hold
me to this as bottom line."

On two countries have ways to
influence events - Elect Camp ^{for} ^{years}
then is up.

Appendix

B - lin. imp. on May. Seek polit. settle.
Need need for chg in govt at least at end.
Process N out at end. If so, good chance
get all sp. No int. in govt hostile to you
or fund. govt. Can't help unless at end diff
govt. NOT legit.

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J. maybe just let boil in ^{then} own juices. Can't order to do things. Maybe N say that - he'd be out - give up chin - don't force on him publicly. Good discussion on this.

B - let Shura happen. Secur. security - then stand up. ~~Don't~~ Don't want cheese, just out of trap

J - Exactly how we feel. Let self-det. proceed

S - N prep. for free elections.

B - Must take part

J - Frankly, less concerned - issue of face, prestige. New approach or neg. conflict - bring this one to an end.

B - Public US - AUG 29s to Cuba reaction

J - got some proj. where coop - new level of coop - but Cocom is way

B - Higher walls - fewer projects - sig mil. applie.

S J. ^{no} face pressures.

J - just a power struggle.

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B - When (said reforms real, attacked
when take on Cocom, etc - hear
from consen. about Cuba. Castro -
crit of J - why send arms.

J - Oh, know pt of view

Mls 295 - pay in sugar

J - Crucial stage here.

B - We know that want to help.

5³⁰ - Arms Control 9 Feb.



ACMS

Sliding Scale - Bombers
Range.

CFE Aviation

A - 4700 combat aircraft.

Telemetry Encryption

Karpov - encapsulation. US consid. req. serious study.

Agree - extend to issues of warheads. Common understanding
but how to say it requires more effort.

RB - implic. for ratification

Burst - 2 problems -
exemption - encapsulation

NISMs

agreed - precise #s uncertain
resolved in prin.

SLCMS

How far in miles
in 100 km?
66
So 150 km
in 100 mi

Friday night 2-9-90



The Phantom Missile

ACCMs-

elements of package

A K-Counting rules

10-B-1, B-2, future ACCM carriers

8-TV-95, TU-160

10-future Sov heavy bombers

mat-20

40% Sov adv. in bombers - ACCM carriers

All other elements unchanged.

Range remains disguised

ES - all ques. enumerated - 7 pts 6 agreed 1 (range) not
entire package same 1 agreed. - not cite figures. US gets
edges in AS - cause problems - 1100 more warheads.
Question agreed except range - work go on.

JB - Characterize broadly - counting rules, distinguished, etc.
Further engagement on Sides. Reach agreement -
Surprise lot of people.

Naz - close to agree on telemetry. Need US reaction to
Sov proposal. WDMs agreed.

JB - Let people discuss SLCM approach ad ref.

ES - reaffirm Kras. - destroy it. Ready for visits to ~~the~~ Pechora
and Thule. 2nd visit - indicate next time decide. One pair

JB - Inv. UK.

RB - UK has agreed. Also Danes.

ES - Sides favorable view of visits - modalities agreed subsequent

JB - You made specific req. I thought it reasonable. We've made
arrange - but you not ready on 2nd radar. Talking
about 4 radars.

ES - I'm not sure. R - 7 L.O.

Psychiatric commitments -
all former arms controllers
and present



Church of the Immaculate Reception
Our Lady of Tebeometry

ES - made considerable headway.

Human Rights

ES - let heads of gpc inform us - we make adjustments

RS - Agreed on much. Reads statement

B - Very good progress in this area of agenda.

Bilateral Relations

Ob - reads statement

CK - agreed upon statement

Transnational

Rybakov unilateral

~~ES~~ - Made statement

CK - US side emph. on terrorism

Economic Relations

US - read statement

AB - proposal on Open Lands

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