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Folder Title:
NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. NSD	Re: National Security Directive 23 - United States Relations with the Soviet Union (7 pp.)	9/22/89	(b)(1)	S
02. Distribution Record	Re: NSD 23 (1 pp.)	9/22/89	(b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec.6]	
03. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Re: National Security Directive on the Soviet Union (1 pp.)	9/20/89	(b)(1)	S
04. Draft NSD	Re: [National Security Directive 23 - United States Relations with the Soviet Union] Page 2 and Page 4 (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
05. Letter	Bruce S. Gelb to Brent Scowcroft Re: [NSD-23] (1 pp.)	11/1/89	(b)(1)	S
06. Draft Report	Re: National Security Directive on U.S.-Soviet Relations (7 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
07. Report	Re: National Security Directive on U.S.-Soviet Relations (9 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
08a. Letter	Dick Cheney to Brent Scowcroft Re: [U.S.-Soviet Economic Relations] (1 pp.)	10/23/89	(b)(1)	S
08b. Report	Re: US-Soviet Economic Relations (8 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

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File Location: NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1989

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 23

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
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DISARMAMENT AGENCY
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: United States Relations with the Soviet Union (Ø)

For forty years the United States has committed its power and will to containing the military and ideological threat of Soviet communism. Containment was never an end in itself; it was a strategy born of the conditions of the postwar world. The United States recognized that, while Soviet military power was not the only threat to international stability, it was the most immediate and grave one. The U.S. challenge was to prevent the spread of Soviet communism while rebuilding the economic, political and social strength of the world's long-standing and new democracies. Those who crafted the strategy of containment also believed that the Soviet Union, denied the course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face and react to the internal contradictions of its own inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. (Ø)

This strategy provided an enduring pillar for the growth of Western democracy and free enterprise. While the most important goal of containment has been met -- the development of free and prosperous societies in Western Europe and in other parts of the world -- the Soviet military threat has not diminished. Rather, in the last two decades, the Soviet Union has increased its

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military power across the spectrum of capabilities, drawing on that power to exacerbate local conflicts and to conduct a global foreign policy opposed to Western interests. The Soviet Union has stood apart from the international order and often worked to undermine it. (Ø)

The character of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union leads to the possibility that a new era may now be upon us. We may be able to move beyond containment to a U.S. policy that actively promotes the integration of the Soviet Union into the existing international system. The U.S.S.R. has indicated an interest in rapprochement with the international order and criticized major tenets of its own postwar political-military policy. (Ø)

These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship with the international system can not simply be declared by Moscow. Nor can it be granted by others. It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of world order to which the Soviet Union subscribed in 1945 but has repeatedly violated since. The Soviet Union cannot enjoy the fruits of membership in the community of states while holding ideological principles and engaging in conduct that promote the overthrow of that community. (Ø)

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive force within the family of nations is a long-term goal that can only be pursued from a position of American strength and with patience and creativity. Our policy is not designed to help a particular leader or set of leaders in the Soviet Union. We seek, instead, fundamental alterations in Soviet military force structure, institutions, and practices which can only be reversed at great cost, economically and politically, to the Soviet Union. If we succeed, the ground for cooperation will widen, while that for conflict narrows. The U.S.-Soviet relationship may still be fundamentally competitive, but it will be less militarized and safer. (Ø)

We are in a period of transition and uncertainty. We will not react to reforms and changes in the Soviet Union that have not yet taken place, nor will we respond to every Soviet initiative. We will be vigilant, recognizing that the Soviet Union is still governed by authoritarian methods and that its powerful armed forces remain a threat to our security and that of our allies. But the United States will challenge the Soviet Union step by step, issue by issue and institution by institution to behave in accordance with the higher standards that the Soviet leadership itself has enunciated. Moscow will find the United States a willing partner in building a better relationship. The foundation of that relationship will grow firmer if Soviet reforms lead to conditions that will support a new cooperative relationship between Moscow and the West. Those conditions

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include: (S)

Deployment of a Soviet force posture that is smaller and much less threatening. The United States believes that the Soviet Union has legitimate security interests but Soviet military power is far greater than that needed to defend those interests. (S)

Renunciation of the principle that class conflict is a source of international tension and establishment of a record of conduct consistent with that pledge. (S)

Adherence to the obligation that it undertook at the end of World War II to permit self-determination for the countries of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the "Brezhnev Doctrine" and reaffirm the pledge of signatories to the U.N. Charter to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. (S)

Demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy in other regions of the world and serious participation in efforts to ameliorate conflict, including bringing pressure to bear on Soviet clients who do not recognize the legitimate security interests of their neighbors. (S)

Participation in cooperative efforts to stop the proliferation of ballistic missile technology as well as nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. (S)

Willingness to cooperate with the United States to address pressing global problems, including the international trade in drugs and narcotics, terrorism, and dangers to the environment. (S)

Institutionalization of democratic internal laws and human rights practices, political pluralism, and a more market-oriented economic structure, which will establish a firm Soviet domestic base for a more productive and cooperative relationship with the free nations of the world. (S)

Strategic-Military Objectives

The United States must maintain modern military forces that strengthen deterrence and enhance the security of our allies and friends. The United States will seek to protect and sustain its military-technological advantages. The purpose of our forces is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy or to seek military superiority. Rather, U.S. policy recognizes the need to provide a hedge against uncertain long-term developments in the Soviet Union and to impress upon the Soviet leadership the wisdom of pursuing a responsible course. Moscow must be convinced that nothing can be gained by turning back to a more militaristic

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policy. Most importantly, American forces are a reliable and credible guarantee of our safety and of our commitment to the security of our allies in the face of Soviet forces that, even if restructured, will be large and modern. (S)

At the same time, the United States will seek verifiable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. Arms control is not an end in itself and cannot take the place of robust military forces. The United States Government will ensure that our arms control proposals are consistent with our overall defense strategy. We seek agreements that:

Contribute to stability at lower numerical levels, where desirable, and encourage restructuring of Soviet forces to a less threatening force posture.

Emphasize transparency in our military relationship with the Soviet Union. The goal of greater transparency will be served through verification and confidence building measures, including increased contacts between the military officers of the United States and the Soviet Union. (S)

The spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the problem of ballistic missile proliferation are increasingly threatening to our security. (S)

I direct the Secretary of State to:

Lead an interagency effort, in coordination with the review of U.S. proliferation policy, to develop a detailed plan for non-proliferation cooperation with the Soviet Union, including the boundaries of such cooperation. (S)

Political-Diplomatic Objectives

Regional Issues

U.S. policy will encourage fundamental political and economic reform, including freely contested elections, in East-Central Europe, so that states in that region may once again be productive members of a prosperous, peaceful, and democratic Europe, whole and free from fear of Soviet intervention. Our policy of differentiating among East European states based on their internal political and economic processes, and our support for the CSCE process, will help in the achievement of this goal. (S)

We will engage the Soviet Union on a variety of regional issues not only to seek their resolution, but also in order to test the reality of new Soviet thinking and whether Soviet behavior matches rhetoric in key areas around the world. We also shall seek to limit the expansion of Soviet power through arms

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transfers, force projection, and proxy forces by continued U.S. political, economic and military support for friends and allies, and for freedom fighters. (S)

I direct the Secretary of State to:

Consider the most appropriate ways to engage the Soviets in discussions on resolving regional conflicts and eliminating threatening Soviet positions of influence around the world. (S)

Transnational

The United States and the Soviet Union share an interest in reversing the spread of drugs and narcotics. The United States must challenge the Soviet Union to refrain from directly or indirectly supporting or training terrorists and insist that its allies do the same. (S)

I direct the Secretary of State to:

Lead an interagency effort to develop a detailed plan for cooperating with the Soviet Union on these matters, including the boundaries of such cooperation given security and intelligence constraints. (S)

I also direct the Secretary of State to:

Examine ways in which the Soviet Union and the United States might cooperate on environmental issues. (S)

The Vice President should:

Explore through the National Space Council ways that the United States and the Soviet Union might jointly use space to advance our mutual interests. A particularly promising area might be research on the environment in support of multilateral efforts to protect our planet. (S)

Bilateral Issues

We will encourage an expansion of contacts between the Soviet and American peoples at all levels as a means of promoting Western ideas of democracy and free enterprise. We will insist on full reciprocity in all areas of bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union and in the treatment of U.S. and Soviet official representatives. (S)

The United States supports the expansion of mutually beneficial non-strategic trade on strictly commercial terms. At the same time, our economic policy toward Moscow must be considered within the context of our overall approach to the Soviet Union. In the short run, we are prepared to streamline, in conjunction with our allies, the COCOM list. In the longer run, as the Soviet Union meets appropriate political and economic criteria, the United States will remove or reduce the legislative, administrative and other obstacles to non-

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strategic trade and normal commercial and financial ties. The U.S. private sector would then have wider opportunities to pursue expanded commercial relations with the Soviet Union, except where COCOM controls on strategic trade remain in place. Increased cooperation will be revocable in the event of a reversal in Soviet policy. (S)

The Secretary of State, drawing on other departments and agencies, is directed to:

Encourage public debate on Jackson-Vanik and consult closely with Congress and the relevant public groups. With the requisite support, we will consider a waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment if the Soviet Union codifies emigration laws that meet international standards and demonstrates its intent to implement them faithfully. (S)

Democratization

The United States is encouraged by emerging trends in the internal political processes in the Soviet Union. Our concern about the character of the Soviet system, which denies its people basic political and economic liberties and pursues a policy of expansion abroad, is at the heart of our differences with Moscow. Let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the positive changes that have taken place and we will continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections. To the extent that Soviet practices are modified and institutions are built based on popular will, we may find that the nature of the threat itself has changed, though any such transformation could take decades. (S)

Where possible, the United States should promote Western values and ideas within the Soviet Union, not in the spirit of provocation or destabilization, but as a means to lay a firm foundation for a cooperative relationship. I direct the United States Information Agency, within budgetary limitations, to find new ways to promote the flow of information about American institutions and ideals to the Soviet Union. A special effort should be made to encourage private sector initiatives in support of this objective. (S)

The Secretary of State is directed to:

Review carefully Soviet compliance with the commitments that led to our conditional agreement to attend the 1991 Moscow human rights conference.

Develop new initiatives in the area of U.S.-Soviet exchanges designed to promote Soviet understanding of the rule of law, free-market economic principles, U.S. business management concepts, and other principles of free Western societies. (S)

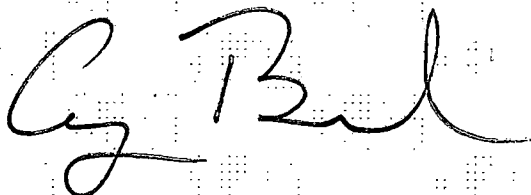
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~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~Public Diplomacy

The United States should make every effort clearly and responsibly to communicate our message about U.S.-Soviet relations at home and abroad. Our goal is a consistent, responsible and sustainable policy toward Moscow. We must stress the comprehensiveness of our agenda as well as the fact that the relationship is moving forward on the basis of long-supported Western objectives to which the Soviet Union is now adapting. (S)

Conclusion

The goal of restructuring the relationship of the Soviet Union to the international system is an ambitious task. The responsibility for creating the conditions to move beyond containment to integrate the Soviet Union into the family of nations lies first and foremost with Moscow. But the United States will do its part, together with our allies, to challenge and test Soviet intentions and, while maintaining our strength, to work to place Soviet relations with the West on a firmer, more cooperative course than has heretofore been possible. (U)

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DOCDATE 08 MAY 89
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KEYWORDS: USSR EUROPE EAST
NSD

SUBJECT: NSD 23 RE US RELATIONS W/ SOVIET UNION

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR SIG

DUE: 21 SEP 89 STATUS CD FILES IFD 0

FOR ACTION

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02. Distribution Record	Re: NSD 23 (1 pp.)	9/22/89	(b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec.6]	

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Bob Gates	_____	_____	_____
Brent Scowcroft	_____	_____	_____
Philip Hughes	_____	_____	_____
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NSC Secretariat	<u>8</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>N/R</u>
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Philip Hughes	<u>2</u>	<u>PH</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>	<u>B</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>		
Philip Hughes	<u>5</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk		<u>9/20</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			

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cc: VP ✓ Sununu ✓ Other _____

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(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

NSD - Soviet NSD

Reflects Scowcroft / State / DOD memo

now ready for signature

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Re: National Security Directive on the Soviet Union (1 pp.)	9/20/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

Date Closed: 4/29/2010

OA/ID Number: 90003-020

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2010-1632-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

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)]

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

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.

(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

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20441

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

9/22/89
1057

Brent - Your final
fixes are
included.

BB

August 28, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT D. BLACKWILL *RB*

FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: Soviet NSD

Your memorandum to the President, transmitting the Soviet NSD for his signature, is at Tab I. The NSD is at Tab A.

This version reflects your comments as well as those of the State Department and the Defense Department. It is now ready for signature.

Concurrences by: *DL* Rostow, *Mc* Kanter, *SDT* Working, *SWF* Haass, *Miller* Miller, *Sh* Van Eron and Menan.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to President
Tab A NSD

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), September 11, 2006

Changes have been made.

By CAP NARA, Date 4/28/10

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04. Draft NSD	Re: [National Security Directive 23 - United States Relations with the Soviet Union] Page 2 and Page 4 (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

Date Closed: 4/29/2010

OA/ID Number: 90003-020

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2010-1632-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

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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]
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.

(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

~~SECRET~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8921356
RECEIVED: 02 NOV 89 14

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: GELB, B

DOC DATE: 01 NOV 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: USIA
EUROPE EAST

USSR
NSD

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: USIA REVIEW OF NSD 23 RE NEW NEW WAYS TO PROMOTE FLOW OF INFO ABOUT
AMER INSTITUTIONS & IDEALS TO SOVIET UNION

ACTION: OBE / ORIGINALS RETURNED

DUE DATE: 03 NOV 89

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DYKE

LOGREF: 8920347 8920441

FILES: IFD 0

NSCP: NSD0023

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

COMMENTS:

CAP

4/28/10

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: LF

CLOSED BY: NSAJC

DOC 1 OF 1

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~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 8921356

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 DYKE
001 VAN ERON
001

Z 89110214 PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
Z 90050310 APPROPRIATE ACTION
X 90050714 OBE / ORIGINALS RETURNED

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

~~SECRET~~

COMMENTS

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Letter	Bruce S. Gelb to Brent Scowcroft Re: [NSD-23] (1 pp.)	11/1/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

Date Closed: 4/29/2010 **OA/ID Number:** 90003-020

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2010-1632-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Appeal Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

AR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Case #:

MR Disposition:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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USIA SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN THE USSR

The President has directed that USIA, within budgetary limitations, should find new ways to promote the flow of information about American institutions and ideals to the Soviet Union. He also called for a special effort to encourage private sector initiatives to support this objective.

CURRENT INITIATIVES

USIA has responded to this challenge with major programs in three areas: democratic political institutions, the rule of law, and free enterprise. Resources allocated to these activities include:

- o Office of the Coordinator for the President's U.S.-USSR Exchange Initiative established in 1986 by direction of President Reagan to work with other U.S. Government agencies and the private sector. Facilitates and secures funding for new private initiatives in cultural, educational, and people-to-people exchanges.

- o Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' resources committed to USSR programming rose dramatically, from \$1.7 million in FY-1985 to \$6.2 million in FY-1989. This level to be maintained in FY-1990 and 1991 if budgetary circumstances permit.

- o For first time, large number of Soviets participating in USIA Visitor programs.

- o A special program for high-level Soviet visitors introduced by USIA at Ambassador Matlock's urging. To include Politburo members. This program, now being implemented, will add to growing number of prominent Soviets with first-hand exposure to U.S. political, social and legal institutions.

- o USIA Office of Private Sector Programs awarding substantial number of grants to private sector organizations for exchanges with key Soviet individuals and institutions. Grants topped \$1 million in FY-1989 for projects with young political leaders, Republic-level representatives, procurators general and others.

- o New USIA book translation program to promote greater Soviet understanding of American institutions and ideals. Making available for first time in the Russian language key works of U.S. political and social thought.

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-2-

o Other new USIA book programming contributes to dissemination of information on American values and U.S. economic and political institutions -- exchange of traveling book exhibits accompanied by guides; and American Book Center in Moscow, initially supported largely by USIA but eventually self-supporting and/or privately funded.

o Youth and student exchanges acquaint Soviet citizens with democratic values and institutions -- include President's U.S.-USSR High School Academic Partnership program launched in the 1988-89 academic year; Samantha Smith Memorial Youth Exchange Program administered by USIA; and grant program for the first time to support of U.S.-USSR university affiliations.

o USIA travelling exhibit "Design USA," on nine-city, 21-month USSR tour, encourages free enterprise system principles through displays, resident specialists and seminar program featuring leading American designers and business people. Information provided on advertising and marketing strategies as well as principles of product development. Outside seminar hall, private sector seminar sponsors explore future trading opportunities with Soviet marketplace.

o Voice of America broadcasts include varied programming on topics within broad areas of democratic political institutions, rule of law, and free enterprise. In-depth examinations of particular American institutions keyed to political developments in the USSR and new concerns and interests of Soviet listeners. New series covering such topics constantly developed on basis of listener requests and through program travel by VOA staffers. Other important new developments include "radio bridges" or interactives, telephone call-ins, and round-tables with American and Soviet participation.

o America Illustrated (AI) -- USIA Russian language magazine distributed in the USSR -- a longtime conduit for information on American institutions and ideals, will expand circulation from 80,000 to 100,000 for 1990 and to 120,000 for 1991. USIA to seek higher, perhaps unlimited circulation for AI when the current agreement, expiring in 1991, is renegotiated. Now seeking a self-financing mechanism to make expansion feasible.

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-3-

o Use of new communications technology to expand the U.S.-USSR dialogue -- series of six satellite interactives jointly produced by USIA Television [WORLDNET] and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio [Gosteleradio]. These productions, subsequently broadcast on national Soviet television, convey U.S. viewpoints directly to Soviet public.

ENHANCED ROLE OF FACILITATIVE ASSISTANCE

USIA support of new USSR initiatives features substantial facilitative assistance to a burgeoning number of private exchange projects. Coordinator for the President's U.S.-USSR Exchange Initiative, the central point of USIA contact with the private sector, has provided facilitative assistance to hundreds of American exchange organizations and has been directly involved in developing and negotiating more than one hundred privately-funded exchanges.

Other USIA elements, from the International Youth Exchange Staff to the Office of European Affairs, also regularly assist individuals and organizations to develop programs in the USSR. For all facilitative assistance by USIA, priority is given to projects supporting democratic reforms in the USSR.

MAJOR NEW INITIATIVE IN PREPARATION

USIA will open a U.S. cultural and information center in Moscow as soon as current negotiations are successfully completed. A center will offer a wide range of services, including:

- o a modern library equipped with computer and video facilities;
- o sponsorship of lectures and seminars; and
- o distribution of printed or audio-visual materials.

The Center will dramatically increase the flow of information about American institutions and ideals to the Soviet capital city. Opening a center would, however, require a special Congressional appropriation to cover costs that could reach \$30 million if we opt to construct a large, state-of-the-art center proposed by Ambassador Matlock.

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-4-

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

USIA's creative mix of expanded official programs and private initiatives has helped to stretch a limited budget to promote Soviet understanding of our values and institutions at this critical stage in their own reform process. The following programs and activities support democratic political processes, rule of law and free enterprise, and illustrate USIA's commitment to implement the President's USSR initiatives:

Democratic Political Institutions

- o Major new high-level visitor program for senior Soviet officials at the Politburo, Supreme Soviet leadership and Council of Ministers level; and broader visitor program designed for recently-elected members of the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet.
- o Grant to the University of Illinois at Chicago for a U.S.-Soviet lawmakers exchange involving deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR and members of the Illinois General Assembly.
- o Translations and 50,000 print runs of key works of American social and political thought, including: Boorstin's The Americans [trilogy], Kalven's Freedom of Speech in America, de Toqueville's Democracy in America, The Federalist, Dahl's Preface to Democratic Theory, Hofstadter's The American Political Tradition, Lerner's America as a Civilization, and Berlin's Four Essays on Liberty.
- o Articles scheduled for 1990 issues of America Illustrated, including: "America's Pluralistic System," and "Direct Democracy -- Submitting Issues to the Voters."
- o Facilitative support for American Express proposal to invite up to 200 Soviet parliamentarians to the U.S. for special program in representative government and free enterprise.
- o Satellite interactive programs on topic of ecology, including legislation to protect the environment.
- o Facilitative assistance to Soviet journalist for production of documentary "How Congress Works."
- o Facilitative assistance to American Political Science Association, seeking to establish institutional links with Soviet parliamentarians.

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Rule of Law

- o Individual visitor grant to head of Criminal Division, USSR Institute of State and Law, for program on "The Administration of Courts in the U.S."
- o Grant to National Association of Attorneys General for a program on the U.S. legal system arranged for delegation of ten Soviet public prosecutors.
- o Grant to USDA Graduate School for a program on the U.S. legal system for twelve Soviet judges [includes course at National Judicial College].
- o Sponsorship of lectures in USSR by Lowry Wyman, attorney and Soviet specialist, on legal topics, including legislative reform and U.S. and Soviet concepts in criminal justice.
- o Facilitative assistance to Soros Foundation and American Bar Association for seven-month internship program for seventeen Soviet lawyers at U.S. legal offices and firms.
- o Broadcast series by the Voice of America USSR Division such as "Law and Society" [discussions involving experts on the U.S. Constitution and Soviet Constitution] and a separate series on the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Free Enterprise

- o International Visitor Program for seven Soviet entrepreneurs [owners of private cooperative enterprises] on topic of American economic and business practices, including management and marketing.
- o Satellite television interactive on topic "Entrepreneurship: Soviet and American Self-Starters."
- o Grant to Eastern Washington University for sixteen-day study tour on business management education in the U.S., to include two Soviet participants.
- o Grant to University of Pittsburgh to support affiliation with the USSR Institute of Economics.
- o Book translations on economic topics including among others Dahl's Preface to Economic Democracy and possibly Gilder's Wealth and Poverty [under consideration].

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-6-

- o Sponsorship of seminar in Moscow on topic, "Design Management: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach to Product Development," in conjunction with USIA travelling exhibition "Design USA."
- o Facilitative assistance to Fuqua School of Management, Duke University, for proposal to offer American management training for Soviets.
- o Program series on small businesses in preparation by Voice of America USSR Division.
- o Articles scheduled for 1990 issues of America Illustrated such as "The U.S. Patents Office" [from the Wall Street Journal] and "Getting Rich" [from Fortune].

CONSTRAINTS ON EXPANSION

USIA's ability to expand such programs depends not only on the availability of funding, but also on sufficient staff resources at our Moscow and Leningrad posts, which continue to operate under strict diplomatic ceilings. Despite the dramatic growth in USIA programs and facilitative support for private initiatives, USIA staffing remains at pre-glasnost levels. The Foreign Service National [FSN] personnel withdrawn by the Soviets in October 1986 have been replaced by an inadequate number of contract service positions that are difficult to fill and turn over quickly. Additional positions under the ceiling will be needed if our USSR programs are to grow with the extraordinary momentum we have seen in recent years. In many ways, staffing, not funding, is the more severe limitation on realizing the proliferating opportunities we have today to support the movement toward democratic and economic reform in the USSR.

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8920347
RECEIVED: 20 APR 89 18

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: BLACKWILL
RICE

DOC DATE: 20 APR 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: USSR

NSD

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: DRAFT NSD ON USSR

ACTION: OBE / STATUS ORIGINAL UNKNOWN DUE DATE: 22 MAR 90 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RICE

LOGREF: 8920441 8921356

FILES: IFD C

NSCP: NSD0023

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: JC

CLOSED BY: NSAJC

DOC 1 OF 1

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8920347

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 BLACKWILL
001 SCOWCROFT
001

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

X 89042017 FOR FURTHER ACTION
Z 89042018 FOR INFORMATION
X 90031910 OBE / STATUS ORIGINAL UNKNOWN

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

~~SECRET~~

National Security Council The White House

PROOFED BY: _____
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

LOG # 20347
 SYSTEM PR NSC INT
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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
~~Bob Perito~~ <u>Danley</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>MD</u>	<u>A</u>
Philip Hughes	<u>2</u>	<u>APB</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>		
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>		
Philip Hughes			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
NSC Secretariat			

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action
 cc: VP Sununu Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
 (Date/Time)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

UNCLASSIFIED w/
~~SECRET~~ ATTACHMENT

April 20, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL *RB*
FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*
SUBJECT: Draft NSD on the Soviet Union

As promised, this is a rough first-cut at a National Security Directive on the Soviet Union. We look forward to discussing the NSD with you Friday morning.

Once we have received your initial comments, we will coordinate the draft NSD within the NSC staff. We asked the senior directors to provide contributions on pending Presidential decisions that impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. We have drawn on those suggestions in drafting the NSD.

Attachment:
TAB I Draft NSD

UNCLASSIFIED w/
~~SECRET~~ ATTACHMENT

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), September 11, 2006
By cap NARA, Date 4/28/10

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Draft Report	Re: National Security Directive on U.S.-Soviet Relations (7 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

Date Closed: 4/29/2010	OA/ID Number: 90003-020
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2010-1632-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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)(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

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8920390
RECEIVED: 01 MAY 89 20

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: BLACKWILL
RICE

DOC DATE: 01 MAY 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: USSR

NSD

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SOVIET NSD

ACTION: NOTED BY GATES W/ COMMENT

DUE DATE: 16 JAN 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RICE

LOGREF: 8920347 8920441

FILES: IFD O

NSCP: NSD0023

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
BLACKWILL
NSC CHRON
RICE

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

COMMENTS:

CAP

4/28/10

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: CM

CLOSED BY: AC

DOC 1 OF 1

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RECORD ID: 8920390

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 SCOWCROFT
001

Z 89050120 FOR DECISION
X 89051713 NOTED BY GATES W/ COMMENT

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

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**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 20390

URGENT NOT PROOFED: ☒

SYSTEM PRS ~~NSC~~ INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG CM A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep Exec	<u>1</u>	<u>MD</u>	<u>A</u>
Philip Hughes	<u>~~1~~</u>	<u>cy</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>3</u>		☒
Philip Hughes			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>ASC/5/17</u>	<u>N</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>Bm</u>	<u>R</u>

89 MAY 1 P 8: 18

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~SECRET~~

May 1, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: ROBERT BLACKWILL *RB*FROM: CONDOLEEZZA RICE *CR*

SUBJECT: Soviet NSD

*Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen**Brent - This is superb.
It is also the text (first)
of the P's Soviet Speech.
J.*

As promised on Saturday, this is the revised version of the NSD on the Soviet Union. It now includes your comments, as well as those of the NSC staff. We suggest that you show the NSD to Secretary Baker and Secretary Cheney at your breakfast meeting on Wednesday.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the NSD and show it to Secretaries Baker and Cheney for comment.

Approve *OBE*

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I NSD

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), September 11, 2006

By CAF NARA, Date 4/28/10

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National Security Directive on U.S.-Soviet Relations

For forty years the United States has committed its power and will to containment of the military and ideological threat of Soviet communism. Containment was never an end in itself; it was a strategy born of the conditions of the postwar world. The United States recognized that, while Soviet military power was not the only threat to international stability, it was the most immediate and grave. The U.S. challenge was to prevent the spread of Soviet communism long enough to rebuild the economic, political and social strength of the world's long-standing and new democracies. Those who crafted the strategy of containment also believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of external expansion, would ultimately have to face and react to the internal contradictions of its own inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. (S)

This strategy provided an enduring pillar for the growth of Western democracy and free enterprise. While the most important goal of containment has been met--the development of free and prosperous societies in Europe and in other parts of the world--the Soviet military threat has not diminished. Rather, in the last two decades, the Soviet Union has increased its military power across the spectrum of capabilities, drawing on that power to exacerbate local conflicts and to conduct a global foreign policy that has consistently opposed Western interests. The Soviet Union has stood apart from the international order and worked to undermine it. (S)

A new era may now be upon us, one in which we can move beyond containment to a U.S. policy that actively promotes the integration of the Soviet Union into the international system. The U.S.S.R. has indicated an interest in rapprochement with the international order and criticized major tenets of its own postwar political-military policy. (S)

These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship with the international system can neither simply be declared by Moscow nor can it be granted by others. It must be earned through the demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy and reinforced by behavior consistent with the principles of world order to which the Soviet Union subscribed in 1945 but has repeatedly violated since. The Soviet Union cannot enjoy the fruits of membership in the community of states while holding ideological principles and engaging in conduct that promote international conflict. (S)

The transformation of the Soviet Union from a source of instability to a productive force within the family of nations is

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a long-term goal that must be pursued from American strength and with patience and creativity. As such, our policy is not designed to help a particular leader or set of leaders in the Soviet Union. We seek, instead, fundamental alterations in Soviet institutions, practices and military force structure, which can only be reversed at great costs, economically and politically, to the Soviet Union. If we succeed, the ground for cooperation will widen, while that for conflict narrows. The U.S.-Soviet relationship may still be competitive but it will be less militarized and safer. (S)

This is a period of transition and uncertainty. We will not react to reforms and changes in the Soviet Union that have not yet taken place nor will we respond to every Soviet initiative. We will be vigilant, cognizant that the Soviet Union is still governed by authoritarian methods and that its powerful armed forces remain a threat to our security and that of our allies. But the United States will challenge the Soviet Union step by step, issue by issue and institution by institution to behave in accordance with the higher standards that the Soviet leadership itself has enunciated. Moscow will find the United States a willing partner if it is indeed ready to create the conditions that will permit the Soviet Union to join a peaceful, free and prosperous international community. These conditions include: (S)

Deployment of a Soviet force posture that is smaller and much less threatening. The United States believes that the Soviet Union has legitimate security interests but Soviet military power is far beyond that needed to defend those interests. (S)

Renunciation of the principle that class conflict is a source of international tension and establishment of a record of conduct consistent with that pledge. (S)

Adherence to the obligation which it undertook at the end of World War II to permit self-determination for the countries of East-Central Europe. Moscow must authoritatively renounce the "Brezhnev Doctrine" and reaffirm the pledge of signatories to the U.N. Charter to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. (S)

Demilitarization of Soviet foreign policy in other regions of the world and serious participation in efforts to ameliorate conflict, including bringing pressure to bear on Soviet clients who do not recognize the legitimate security interests of their neighbors. (S)

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Participation in cooperative efforts to stop the proliferation of ballistic missile technology; nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and the spread of terrorism. (S)

Acceptance with the United States and the world community of responsibility for addressing pressing global problems, including the international trade in drugs and narcotics and dangers to the environment. (S)

Institutionalization of democratic internal laws and human rights practices, political pluralism, and a more market-oriented economic structure, which will establish a firm Soviet domestic base for a more productive and cooperative relationship with the free nations of the world. (S)

Strategic-Military Policy

The United States must maintain modern defenses that strengthen deterrence and enhance the security of our allies and friends. The United States will seek to protect and sustain its military-technological advantages. The purpose of our forces is not to put pressure on a weak Soviet economy or to seek military superiority. Rather, U.S. policy recognizes the need to provide a hedge against uncertain long-term developments in the Soviet Union and to impress upon the Soviet leadership the wisdom of pursuing a responsible course. Moscow must know that nothing can be gained by turning back to a more militaristic policy. Most importantly, American forces are a reliable and credible guarantee of our safety and of our commitment to the security of our allies in the face of Soviet forces that, even after restructuring, will be large and modern. (S)

At the same time, the United States will seek verifiable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. Arms control is not an end in itself and cannot take the place of robust military forces. The United States government will ensure that our arms control proposals are consistent with our overall defense strategy. We seek agreements that: (S)

Contribute to stability including, where desirable, at lower numerical levels and encourage restructuring of Soviet forces to a less threatening force posture. (S)

Promote transparency through confidence building measures and increased contacts between the military officers of the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Defense Minister and the Secretary of Defense should meet periodically to exchange perspectives, share concerns, and arrange for the conduct of bilateral defense and military

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relations. A program of reciprocal visits and exchanges, including those between the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Chief of the Soviet General Staff, should be continued as a part of these bilateral relations. I direct the Secretary of Defense to explore ways to expand discussions at the Ministerial level to address long-term trends in our respective military postures. (S)

Political-Diplomatic Policy

Regional Issues

American policy in developing regions of the world has sought peace, the advancement of democratic ideals and economic progress based on principles of free enterprise. These objectives have been supported by security cooperation between the United States and its allies and friends in the regions, aimed both at arresting the encroachment of Soviet power and at maintaining regional security against the full range of threats. We recognize that the Soviet Union is not the sole cause of regional instability and that the solution of regional problems rests in part with the indigenous parties. We also understand that poverty and underdevelopment must be addressed in order to promote long-term stability. But the Soviet Union has consistently exploited regional tensions and fueled conflicts, supporting anti-Western political groups through military assistance, proxy forces and, in some cases, direct Soviet intervention. (S)

Recently, the Soviet leadership has signaled willingness to pursue a more cooperative course. The Soviets must first and foremost take into account the security interests of our allies and friends. The Soviet Union should cease its efforts to undermine regional stability; join us in positive steps toward diplomatic solutions to conflicts; and help us to address the poverty that contributes to instability in some regions of the world. In the near-term, we challenge the Soviet Union to:

Encourage fundamental political and economic reform, including freely contested elections in East-Central Europe so that those states may join a prosperous, peaceful, democratic and united Europe. The objectives of the United States will not be served by bilateral discussions with Moscow to establish a new set of agreed principles for the evolution of East-Central Europe. (S)

Cease arms shipments to Nicaragua and carry out its pledge to refrain from attempts to export revolution and insist that its clients do the same. Moscow must prevail upon its friends to respect democratic principles internally. We do

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not recognize any mutual obligation or symmetry of interests between the United States and the Soviet Union in Latin America. The Soviets should know that their behavior in Central America and in other regions will affect the U.S.-Soviet relationship as a whole. (S)

Respect the legitimate security concerns of Israel and other states of the Middle East by a more restrained military assistance program to Syria and Libya, and by vigorous opposition to terrorism; and restore diplomatic relations with Israel while pressuring Soviet clients who hold extremist positions to moderate their behavior.

Refrain from policies toward the states of the Persian Gulf designed to seek unilateral advantage at the expense of the free world and join us in discussions of the problems of stability in the region. (S)

Demilitarize and return the Northern Territories to Japan as a manifestation of a new Soviet policy that recognizes the legitimate interests of Soviet neighbors and seeks to undo historical wrongs. (S)

Take account of the legitimate security concerns of the Republic of Korea and act on the Soviet Union's own expressed goal of diminishing tensions on the Korean peninsula by slowing its efforts to modernize the North Korean armed forces. (S)

Encourage Vietnam to withdraw expeditiously from Cambodia. The Soviet Union should support efforts to negotiate a settlement that allows the people of Cambodia to achieve self-determination. (S)

Limit arms supplies to the governments of Angola and Ethiopia and encourage them instead to pursue a course of reconciliation with opposition forces. The Soviet Union should join in accelerated work on the Namibian accords; efforts to relieve the human suffering in the Horn of Africa caused by civil war and famine; and discussions with the United States to explore ways to contribute to stability in Southern Africa, including the achievement of national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique. (S)

Support U.S. efforts to restructure the relief agencies of the United Nations so that they are more efficient and effective. (S)

Promote the efforts of the United States and the international economic agencies to encourage privatization

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and the institution of free market principles which are ultimately the basis for economic prosperity in developing countries. (S)

I direct the Secretary of State to ensure that discussions on regional problems are resumed with the Soviet Union at all levels. (S)

Transnational

The United States and the Soviet Union have an opportunity to work together to address some of the pressing problems of the globe. We share an interest in strengthening international safeguards against the proliferation of chemical, nuclear and biological weapons and ballistic missile technology and in reversing the spread of drugs and narcotics. The United States also challenges the Soviet Union to cooperate with us in preventing terrorism; to refrain from activities that support or train terrorists; and to insist that its allies do the same. (S)

The United States must ensure that joint U.S.-Soviet efforts in these areas are carefully structured so that our security and that of our allies is not compromised. Because of the sensitivity of these issues, I direct the Secretary of State to lead an interagency effort to develop a detailed plan stating the boundaries of cooperation with the Soviet Union on these matters and a strategy for implementation. (S)

The United States has, over two decades, implemented strict national standards against pollution and disruption of the environment. Because environmental destruction knows no boundaries, the Soviet Union must bring its national practices up to international standards and insist that its East European allies do the same if it is to support a claim to a role in custodianship of the planet. I direct the Secretary of State to examine ways that the Soviet Union and the United States might cooperate on environmental issues. I also direct the Vice President to explore through the National Space Council ways that the United States and the Soviet Union might jointly use space to conduct research on the environment in support of multilateral efforts to protect our planet. (S)

Bilateral Issues: Economic Relations

Our economic policy toward Moscow is not an end in itself but an element of our overall approach to the Soviet Union. Broader economic activity would be a natural and desirable component of a more cooperative relationship. The prospects for a major expansion of U.S.-Soviet economic relations are limited, in part, by economic conditions in the Soviet Union. It is incumbent on

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the Soviet Union to create a domestic environment more congenial to free enterprise and sufficient to attract private American investment and/or commerce. (S)

The United States is encouraged by trends in the Soviet Union toward a less centralized, more open economic system and we wish to encourage those changes and to move toward a more active economic relationship. As the Soviet Union meets political and economic conditions that warrant response, the United States will remove or reduce existing legislative and administrative obstacles to the further development of non-strategic trade and normal commercial and financial ties. Our objective should be to permit the private sector to pursue commercially viable market opportunities in the USSR provided that: (S)

COCOM controls on strategic trade remain in place and are strictly enforced by all COCOM members. (S)

The Soviets consistently refrain from using the cloak of normal economic activity to steal embargoed technology. (S)

Trade and financial transactions take place on normal commercial terms, i.e. without subsidy. (S)

The Soviets take appropriate steps to provide better access for U.S. firms, which are now subjected to discriminatory treatment through centralized control of foreign purchases and the rationing of hard currency. (S)

To further amplify these general principles and to address certain outstanding issues, I direct the Secretary of State to report to me not later than May 30, 1989, the results of the interagency examination of the economic aspect of U.S.-Soviet relations and in particular to make recommendations on the following: (S)

The possible repeal of the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson amendments to the Trade Act of 1974 or the waiver of the Jackson-Vanik restrictions in accordance with procedures set forth in the Act. (S)

The conditions under which we might agree to Soviet participation in multilateral economic institutions. (S)

The desirability of negotiating a new trade agreement with the USSR and a government-to-government investment treaty. (S)

The disposition of the United States government on joint ventures between American and Soviet firms. (S)

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Our policies on lending to the Soviet Union. (S)

Democratization

The United States is encouraged by emerging trends in the internal process of democratization in the Soviet Union. Our concern about the character of the Soviet system, which denies its people basic political and economic liberties and pursues an aggrandizing policy abroad, is at the heart of our differences with Moscow. Let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place and we will continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives and free elections. To the extent that Soviet practices are modified and institutions are built based on popular will, we may find that the nature of the threat itself has changed though any such transformation could likely take decades. (S)

Where possible, the United States should promote Western values and ideas within the Soviet Union, not in the spirit of provocation or destabilization, but as a means to lay a firm foundation for a cooperative relationship. I direct the United States Information Agency, within budgetary limitations, to find new ways to promote the flow of information about American institutions and ideals to the Soviet Union. A special effort should be made to encourage private sector initiatives in support of this objective. We challenge the Soviet Union to: (S)

Follow-through strictly and fully on commitments that led to our conditional agreement to attend the 1991 Moscow human rights conference. (S)

Increase institutional safeguards for civil, political, religious, cultural and economic liberties and create institutions to manage equitably the distribution of power by embracing political pluralism. (S)

Allow free emigration of peoples. (S)

Move toward the establishment of a free economic market, including decentralized economic decision-making. (S)

Other Bilateral Issues

I direct the Secretary of State to engage in continuing dialogue with the Soviet government on the full range of bilateral issues, particularly issues of representation and embassy management. (S)

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Public Diplomacy

The United States should make every effort clearly and responsibly to communicate our message about U.S.-Soviet relations at home and abroad. Our goal is a consistent, responsible and sustainable policy toward Moscow. We must stress the comprehensiveness of our agenda as well as the fact that the relationship is moving forward on the basis of a long supported Western objectives to which the Soviet Union is now adapting. (8)

Conclusion

The goal of restructuring the relationship of the Soviet Union to the international system is as ambitious a task as containment was in its time. The responsibility for creating the conditions for the integration of the Soviet Union into the family of nations lies first and foremost with Moscow. But the United States will do its part, together with our allies, to challenge and test Soviet intentions. While maintaining our strength, we wish to place Soviet relations with the West on a firmer, more cooperative course than has heretofore been possible in the postwar era. (8)

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8920441
RECEIVED: 09 MAY 89 15

TO: AGENCIES

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 22 SEP 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: USSR
NSD

EUROPE EAST

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: NSD-23 US RELATIONS W/ USSR

ACTION: PRES SGD NSD 23

DUE DATE: 21 SEP 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ZELIKOW

LOGREF: 8920347 8921310

FILES: IFD O

NSCP: NSD0023

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: GD

CLOSED BY: NSBTM

DOC 4 OF 4

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RECORD ID: 8920441

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 SCOWCROFT
001 ZELIKOW
002 SCOWCROFT
003 PRESIDENT
004

Z 89050915 FWD TO PRES FOR SIG
Z 89071710 FOR FURTHER ACTION
Z 89090508 FWD TO PRES FOR SIG
Z 89092011 FOR SIGNATURE
X 89092214 PRES SGD NSD 23

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003 890920
003 890920
004 890922 QUAYLE, D
004 890922 BAKER, J
004 890922 BRADY, N
004 890922 CHENEY, R
004 890922 THORNBURGH, R
004 890922 MOSBACHER, R
004 890922 DARMAN, R
004 890922 WEBSTER, W
004 890922 SUNUNU, J
004 890922 SCOWCROFT
004 890922 CROWE, W
004 890922 BURNS, W
004 890922 GELB, B

VICE PRESIDENT
SUNUNU, J

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REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8921310
RECEIVED: 24 OCT 89 15

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: CHENEY, R

DOC DATE: 23 OCT 89
SOURCE REF: X51463

KEYWORDS: USSR
CM

ECONOMICS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: STRATEGY FOR US / SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS

ACTION: STATUS OF ORIGINAL UNKNOWN DUE DATE: 26 OCT 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RICE

LOGREF: 8920347 8920441

FILES: IFD C

NSCP: NSD0023

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP

4/28/10

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: AC

CLOSED BY: NSDAI

DOC 1 OF 1

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8921310

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 RICE
001
001

Z 89102415 PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
X 90032011 STATUS OF ORIGINAL UNKNOWN
X 90032012 OBE PER RICE

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED
ATTACHMENTS

CAP 4/28/16

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TIME STAMP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

09 OCT 24 P 3: 07

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 21310

ACTION OFFICER: ~~ZELIKOW~~ **RICE**

DUE: 26 OCT

☒ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

☐ Prepare Memo For Cicconi

☐ Prepare Memo _____

☐ Appropriate Action

☐ Prepare Memo for Hughes

to _____

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 5646

☒ FYI
☐ Basora
☐ Beers
☒ Blackwill
☐ Briggs
☐ Brooks
☐ Charles
☐ Coulson
☒ Deal
☒ Donley
☐ Dyke
☐ Ebner
☐ Grant
☐ Haass
☐ Hoffmann
☐ Hutchings
☐ Jackson
☐ LaMagna
☐ Kanter

☐ FYI
☐ Lampley
☐ Leach
☐ Levin
☐ Lewis
☐ Mahley
☐ Mandel
☐ McCue
☐ Melby
☐ Menan
☐ Miller
☐ Miskel
☐ Needels
☐ Paal
☐ Pacelli
☐ Passage
☐ Popadiuk
☐ Porter
☐ Pryce

☐ FYI
☐ Rademaker
☐ Reiss
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☐ Rodman
☐ Rostow
☐ Salvetti
☐ Snider
☐ Tilley
☐ Tobey
☐ Welch
☐ Whitley
☐ Working
☒ Zelikow
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INFORMATION ☒ Hughes

☒ Scowcroft (advance)

☒ Gates (advance)

☒ Secretariat

☐ Exec. Sec. Desk

☒ **S. Starnes**

COMMENTS

CRW: NSD 23
8920441

Logged By **AL**

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Return to Secretariat

~~SECRET~~

21310



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

23 OCT 1980

Honorable Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear General Scowcroft:

(S) As we discussed recently, I would appreciate receiving your comments on the attached paper, which takes a first cut at defining a detailed strategy for US-Soviet economic relations.

(S) I am also sending a copy of the paper to Secretary Baker.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of Donald Rumsfeld, is written in the center of the page. The signature is stylized and appears to be "D. Rumsfeld".

Attachment

Classified By: Dir, Regional Policy
Declassify On: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2013-1740-MR
MM 6/22/2015

~~SECRET~~

Sec Def Cont Nr.

X51463

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08b. Report	Re: US-Soviet Economic Relations (8 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSD Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSD-23 - September 22, 1989 - U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union

Date Closed: 4/29/2010	OA/ID Number: 90003-020
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2010-1632-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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]
- (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