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DATE 5/27/86 *FILE*  
DOC NO SOVM 86-20048  
OCR 3  
P&PD 1

23 May 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Distribution

FROM:

[Redacted]

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Chief, Strategic Policy Division/SOVA/SIG

SUBJECT:

US-Soviet Bilateral Exchanges Since the Geneva Summit

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The attached paper, prepared by an Intelligence Assistant in SOVA, is meant to give senior Agency officers an overview of the official US-Soviet relationship apart from nuclear and strategic arms control.

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23 May 1986

US-Soviet Bilateral Discussions Since the Geneva Summit

The joint US-Soviet statement issued last fall at the conclusion of President Reagan's meeting in Geneva with Soviet leader Gorbachev called for future US-Soviet consultations and cooperation in a number of areas other than nuclear and strategic arms control issues. This memorandum reviews the status of discussions on each of these issues. [ ]

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Exchanges

Cultural. A US-Soviet general agreement on cultural exchanges was signed on 21 November 1985 following the summit and took effect immediately. It calls for general agreements on people-to-people contacts, educational and cultural exchanges, and cooperative agreements in scientific, technical and other fields. [ ]

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In December 1985, USIA Director Charles Z. Wick met Culture Minister Petr Demichev and then Chief of the CPSU International Information Department Leonid Zamyatin in Moscow. He discussed Soviet jamming of Voice of America and Radio Liberty broadcasts and specific exchanges:

- The April visit to Moscow by Russian-born pianist Vladimir Horowitz.
- A major exhibition of French impressionist paintings from the Washington National Gallery opened at Leningrad's Hermitage Museum on 1 February and closed on 30 April.
- A US exhibition tour of art by Moscow's Pushkin Art Museum and Leningrad's Hermitage Museum opened a two-month stint at the

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This paper, prepared in the Directorate of Intelligence by [ ] the Office of Soviet Analysis, [ ] Comments or questions may be addressed to the author [ ] or to Chief, Strategic Policy Division, [ ]

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National Gallery on 1 May and will be shown for two months in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It constitutes the largest collection of impressionism and post-impressionism to leave the Soviet Union.

-- Performances in the US and Canada by the Kirov Ballet: Vancouver, 14-17 May; Los Angeles, 21-26 May; Philadelphia, 28-31 May; Wolftrap, 2-5 June; Montreal, 6-8 June; and Ottawa, 11-14 June. [ ]

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Health. Two US-Soviet cooperative agreements on health cooperation were reactivated on 10 March. The two agreements--the Medical Science and Health Agreement and the Artificial Heart Research and Development Agreement--were agreed upon in May 1984, but their implementation was delayed pending Moscow's decision to allow Yelena Bonner to seek medical attention in the West. The US Department of Health and Human Services will undertake expansion of joint health cooperation, including visits to the Soviet Union by the director of the National Institutes of Health and the Surgeon General, and a US-hosted joint health committee meeting is planned for late 1986. [ ]

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Environmental. During late November 1985, EPA Administrator Lee M. Thomas traveled to Moscow to discuss the activity of 30-40 working groups considering such issues as urban environment, air pollution, the Arctic, the greenhouse effect, and nuclear winter. On 1 March the US Deputy Chief of Mission in Moscow conveyed President Reagan's interest in pursuing Gorbachev's Geneva offer on earthquake predictions to MFA USA Division Director Bessmertnykh. (At the summit, Gorbachev had offered to provide details on predictions by the Soviet Institute of Earth Sciences of the probability of an earthquake in California within the next three years. They judge there is a 2 out of 3 chance of a quake of a magnitude of 7.0 to 7.5 on the Richter Scale and a 3 out of 4 chance of a 6.0 to 6.5 quake. Gorbachev said that this is new, unpublished information and that the Soviets are ready for their scientists to share the details with US scientists.) [ ]

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Scientific. In April, Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs John D. Negroponte met with Soviet Academy of Sciences Vice President Yevgeniy Velikhov in Moscow to discuss nuclear fusion cooperation, Soviet computer education, and US-Soviet science cooperation. [ ]

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Human Contacts. Ambassador Michael Novak, head of the US delegation to the CSCE Human Contacts Meeting in Bern, consulted with Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) officials on 14 March in Moscow. The Bern conference, which began on 15 April and is to conclude on 26 May, involved diplomats from the 35 countries which signed the Helsinki Accords in 1975. The delegates are discussing, mostly behind closed doors, such topics as lifting restrictions on East-West travel, reuniting families separated by the division of Europe,

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facilitating cross-border marriages and improving sporting ties. Because the Soviets have adopted an increasingly negative and uncooperative attitude, the EC states have hardened their approach, and a final communique may well not be issued. [ ]

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USIA's Coordinator of the President's US-Soviet Exchange Initiative, Steven Rhinesmith, visited Moscow from 17 to 21 March to discuss 36 private sector programs. No agreements or protocols were signed. An example of a program that was discussed is a proposed sports photography exhibition which may be the centerpiece of a broad series of programs involving athletes, coaches and specialists in sports medicine. Mr. Rhinesmith proposed the simultaneous television broadcast of a public education program on cancer to inaugurate implementation of the Geneva exchange initiative on cancer research cooperation. [ ]

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#### Trade

In December 1985, Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige visited Moscow for a non-governmental US-USSR Trade and Economic Council Conference in which some 400 American businessmen participated. [ ]

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#### North Pacific Air Safety Agreement

On 29 January an aviation pact designed to improve the safety of commercial flights over the North Pacific took effect among Japan, the USSR, and the US. Agreement on the pact was achieved during three rounds of negotiations held last year in Washington ( February), in Moscow ( May), and in Tokyo (July), and it was signed in Washington on 19 November 1985. Under the agreement, the three nations are to set up emergency communication lines between civil aviation Area Control Centers in Tokyo, Khabarovsk, and Anchorage. The agreement specifies actions the three countries are to take to assist aircraft in trouble. In addition, a direct telephone line is to be set up between the centers in Tokyo and Khabarovsk, and the countries are to study the possibility of using a Soviet broadcast station as a radio beacon to aid aircraft in determining their positions. [ ]

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#### Civil Air

A bilateral agreement concerning the amendment of the 1966 Civil Air Transport Agreement was effected by an exchange of notes initialed in Washington on 13 February. Under its terms, Pan American World Airways has been authorized to overfly Soviet territory en route to New Delhi and Karachi from Europe (Pan Am has succeeded in obtaining overflight clearances from all countries on this route: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, USSR and Afghanistan). In April Pan Am began flights to Moscow and Leningrad, and

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Aeroflot began flights to Washington and New York. A maximum of four flights per week by each airline will be permitted. [ ]

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### Consulates

President Reagan and Gorbachev agreed in November to the simultaneous opening of Consulates-General in New York and Kiev. At talks in Moscow on 12-13 February, the parties agreed that in implementing the agreement they would be guided by the principles of reciprocity and equivalence and that the personnel ceiling is to be set at 30 for each consulate. A Soviet team traveled to New York on 20 February to see the property the Soviets plan to occupy in two adjacent buildings at 9 and 11 91st Street. At an as yet unscheduled date, a US advance party plans to take possession of the consulate complex at Streletskaya Ulitsa in Kiev and to conclude a mutually acceptable site exchange and lease agreement. Based on the principle of reciprocity, the Soviet side agreed to lease the land on which the consulate is located for a period of 99 years and to give ownership of the buildings on the complex to the US. [ ]

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### Chemical Weapons Treaty and Nonproliferation

At the summit, President Reagan and Gorbachev reaffirmed their commitment to the general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter. The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on the level of experts on all aspects of a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification, and to initiate a dialogue on preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs John Hawes and Soviet Ambassador Viktor Israelyan held inconclusive talks on 5-6 March in Bern. [ ]

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### Risk Reduction Centers

Soviet and US delegations met on 5-6 May in Geneva to exchange ideas regarding risk reduction centers. The US proposed various roles for such centers while the Soviets preferred only to listen "in order to study them carefully." The Soviet delegation attempted to link this subject to arms control and gained US assent to have the word "nuclear" precede "risk reduction centers" (NRRCs) in the future. In reply to the US invitation to meet again, possibly in late July, delegation chief Aleksey Obukhov indicated that a decision would be made at higher levels and be communicated via diplomatic channels. [ ]

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Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

US Ambassador-at-large Richard T. Kennedy, MFA International Department Chief Vladimir Petrovskiy, and Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy Andronik M. Petrosyants are scheduled to meet from 2 to 5 June in Moscow for a semiannual meeting. The last meeting was held in Washington in October 1985. [ ]

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Regional Experts Talks

In 1985, the US and the USSR held a series of discussions on regional issues following President Reagan's call for joint efforts to ease tensions on global "hot spots." At their Geneva meeting, President Reagan and Gorbachev reaffirmed the usefulness of these meetings and agreed to continue such exchanges (they are not intended to involve negotiations) on a regular basis. [ ]

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Southern Africa. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker met on 6 March in Geneva with Vladilen Vasev, Chief of the MFA's Third African Department, to discuss the negotiations for Namibian independence. The Soviets professed interest in "activizing" an effort to find common ground on regional problems, but they had no concrete ideas on how to achieve it. Vasev asserted that the Soviet Union would not abandon its friends and charged the US with "upping the ante." [ ]

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Central America. On 19-20 May Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams led a delegation to Moscow for talks on Central America and the Caribbean. The Soviets unexpectedly scheduled a meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Komplektov, who seemed to be sending the message that Moscow is prepared to renew discussion of high-level US-Soviet contacts despite the frictions stemming from US military strikes against Libya. Chief of the Central American and Caribbean Department Kazimirov was unyielding on substantive Central America and Caribbean issues, but pressed for a commitment to hold an additional round of talks. [ ]

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Asia. Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail S. Kapitsa is expected to lead a Soviet delegation to Washington this June. He will reportedly be accompanied by Cambodia expert Anatoliy Zaytsev, Division Chief of the MFA's Southeast Asia Department, and by Korea expert and Sinologist Igor Rogachev, Chief of the MFA's Far Eastern Department. Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston J. Sigur is to lead the US delegation. [ ]

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