

25 July 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence
SUBJECT: Matrix on US-Soviet Summits, 1943-79

1. This is a good analysis, but not very useful because not many people will work their way through it. What is needed is a narrative on each occasion starting at Vienna which would be highlighted that in June 1961 there was a meeting in Vienna -- two months later the Berlin Wall, atmospheric testing, and then the Cuban missile crisis. In July 1967 there was Glassboro -- 11 months later there was Czechoslovakia, etc.

2. I think what is needed is a thumbnail sketch with about 10 sentences on each situation.

William J. Casey

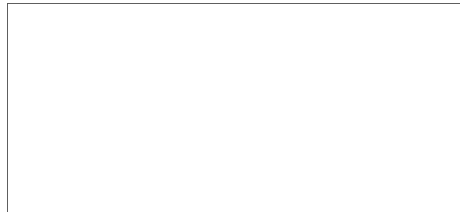
24 July 1985

Memorandum for: Deputy Director for
Intelligence

DDI- 03725/85

Bob-

[redacted] of the Domestic Policy
Division prepared the attached matrix in
response to your request for a survey of
the goals and results of previous US-
Soviet summits. As you will note, we had
to be selective in deciding what to include
in column 4 (Subsequent Developments). We
tried to include the most important post-
summit developments and--at the same
time--keep the presentation as brief as
possible.



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Deputy
Director,

SOVA

Office of Soviet Analysis

US-SOVIET SUMMITS, 1943-79

<u>Conference</u>	<u>Expectations and Agenda</u>	<u>Immediate Results</u>	<u>Subsequent Developments</u>
1. TEHRAN November 1943 Big Three Roosevelt & Stalin (with Churchill)	Agreement on an occupation regime for Germany Agreement on the political future of Eastern Europe, particularly Poland Roosevelt wished to preserve allied cooperation to facilitate creation of postwar world organization (eventually became the UN). Stalin wanted Allies to set a date for opening a second front in Europe.	Various proposals--no agreement Informal recognition of USSR's right to have "friendly" governments on its borders Agreement to recognize USSR's 1939 borders with Poland in the East and compensate Poland in the West Agreement to open second front in Spring 1944	The Red Army moved rapidly westward to take control of Eastern Europe, establishing a de facto occupation zone. Soviet authorities set up "friendly" governments according to their own definition--Communist-dominated and pro-Soviet. Soviets eventually agreed to join in forming the UN. Allies landed in Normandy in June 1944.
2. YALTA February 1945 Big Three Roosevelt & Stalin (with Churchill)	Agreement on an occupation regime for Germany Agreement on the political future of Eastern Europe	No final agreement--zones of occupation set up as temporary measure Signing of Declaration on Liberated Europe providing for free elections and governments representative of all democratic elements	Occupation regime became a point of contention among the allies. Zones became permanent divisions. Soviet occupation authorities in Eastern Europe unilaterally determined which parties met the criteria for participation in national governments. Sovietization of Eastern Europe followed.

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		Poland was to have free elections with anti-Nazi and "democratic" parties participating. Poland's Western border was set at "Oder-Neisse" line.	Ambiguity of the agreement on Poland's border was the cause of problems. There are eastern and western branches of the Neisse River, and the Soviets insisted on setting the border at the western branch.
	Stalin wanted substantial reparations from Germany and US assistance in postwar Soviet reconstruction.	Figure of \$10 billion accepted as basis for negotiation on reparations. US decided not to discuss assistance pending evidence of Soviet compliance with other agreements.	US Congress prohibited use of lend-lease aid for reconstruction in March 1945.
	Roosevelt wanted Soviet assistance in final conquest of Japan and an agreement on UN voting procedures.	USSR was promised lower Sakhalin and Kurile Islands and concessions at China's expense. USSR promised to declare war on Japan within 3 months of VE day. USSR was given three seats in UN and permanent right of veto.	USSR declared war on Japan on schedule August 8, 1945.
3. POTSDAM July- August 1945 Big Three Truman & Stalin (with Churchill and then--after Churchill's election defeat--Atlee)	Basic outline for a peace treaty with Germany	Allied Control Council was set up to coordinate occupation policies. Zones of occupations were confirmed. Negotiation of peace treaty was delegated to Council of Foreign Ministers.	Breakdown of allied cooperation in administering Germany

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	Truman wanted assurance of Soviet compliance with the Declaration on Liberated Europe.	Stalin brushed aside allied concerns.	Continued Sovietization of Eastern Europe
	Stalin wanted agreement on reparations from Germany, reversal of the US government's cutoff of lend lease, and US assistance in Soviet postwar reconstruction.	Agreement on reparations: each power to take reparations from its own zone; additional reparations were to be provided to the USSR from Western zones	Disputes over occupation policies led to cutoff of reparations to the USSR from Western zones.
4. GENEVA July 1955 Big Four Eisenhower, Khrushchev & Bulganin (with Eden and Faure)	Discussion of German reunification and peace settlement (The conference took place two months after the signing of the Austrian State Treaty, which provided for the reunification and neutralization of Austria.)	No agreement	Soviet ultimatum on Berlin, November 1958 (Khrushchev gave the West six months to come to an agreement with the USSR and East Germany on "normalizing" the status of West Berlin).
	Discussion of disarmament: Soviet proposal--disband NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances and withdraw foreign troops. US counterproposal--open the skies over both countries to aerial surveillance	No agreement--issues of verification and intrusion are major obstacles.	
	Discussion of the situation in Eastern Europe	Soviets refused to discuss.	
	Discussions of the situation in China and Formosa	Americans refused to discuss.	--
	Getting acquainted	"Spirit of Geneva"--a temporary improvement in the atmospherics of East-West relations	

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5. CAMP DAVID September 1959 Eisenhower & Khrushchev	Discussion of German reunification and peace settlement	Khrushchev withdrew his ultimatum on Berlin.	
	Discussion of tensions in Europe	Agreement to hold Big Four summit ASAP	
	Khrushchev wanted to explore US views on relations with Red China.	Eisenhower refused to pursue Khrushchev's opening.	
	Getting acquainted: Khrushchev invited Eisenhower to visit Moscow after Big Four summit. Eisenhower tried to assure Khrushchev of Washington's peaceful intentions.	Eisenhower accepted the invitation. "Spirit of Camp David"--a temporary improvement in the atmospherics of US-Soviet relations	
6. PARIS May 1960 Eisenhower & Khrushchev (with Macmillan and de Gaulle)	Discussion of disarmament	Conference broke up in furor over the U-2 incident. Khrushchev withdrew the invitation for Eisenhower to visit Moscow.	
	Discussion of German reunification and peace settlement.		
	Khrushchev demanded American apology for U-2 overflights (U-2 shot down May 1, 1960).	Eisenhower accepted responsibility for the U-2 incident but did not apologize.	Khrushchev suggested he would like to hold another summit in 6-8 months--with the next president.

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7. VIENNA June 1961 Kennedy & Khrushchev	Discussion of US and Soviet relations with Cuba	No agreement	
	Discussion of German reunification and peace settlement	Khrushchev renewed his ultimatum on Berlin.	Ultimatum was later dropped, but construction of Berlin wall began in August 1961.
	Agreement on nuclear test ban	Unwritten test ban	Soviets resumed atmospheric testing.
	Khrushchev reportedly wished to take the measure of Kennedy and, if possible, intimidate him.		Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962
	Kennedy sought to overcome differences that had exacerbated US-Soviet relations by projecting an image of reasonableness.		
Discussion of political-military situation in Southeast Asia	Agreement to work for neutralization of Laos	Fragile neutralism established in Laos. Increased US involvement in Vietnam	
8. GLASSBORO July 1967 Johnson & Kosygin	Discussion of the situation in the Middle East in the wake of the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War	No agreement	
	Discussion of measures to control strategic arms, particularly ABMs	Friendly discussion, but no agreement	August 19, 1968--Agreement to start SALT in October 1968. Johnson invited to Moscow for opening of talks. August 20, 1968--Soviets invade Czechoslovakia. SALT talks postponed. Johnson visit cancelled.
	Discussion of military and political situation in Vietnam	No agreement.	

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9. MOSCOW May 1972 Nixon & Brezhnev	NOTE: According to Soviet defector Arkadiy Shevchenko, Kosygin wanted to avoid the meeting if possible because he feared that a lack of progress would undermine his reputation as negotiator.		
	Discussion of measures to place numerical limits on strategic arms	Interim Agreement and ABM Treaty signed.	
	Discussion of controls on qualitative improvement of strategic arms	Postponed for further negotiation	US began MIRVing in 1973. Soviets began MIRVing and accuracy improvements in 1974.
	Agreement on US-Soviet trade and joint cooperation in other areas	Joint trade commission established to pursue negotiations Agreements signed in areas of health, environment, and space	Trade agreement negotiations were completed in October 1972 Grain purchase agreement signed July 1972.
	Brezhnev sought to win US recognition of the Soviet Union's superpower status and to secure US economic cooperation in an effort to ease Soviet economic problems.	Signing of Basic Principles of US Soviet Relations: both sides promise to act jointly to prevent situations capable of exacerbating bilateral relations and forswear pursuit of unilateral advantage at each other's expense	The October 1973 Middle East War frayed this agreement.
Nixon sought to moderate Soviet behavior by enmeshing the USSR in a web of cooperative arrangements. He also hoped to persuade the Soviets to influence North Vietnam to agree to acceptable peace terms.	No formal agreement	Vietnamese peace agreement reached in January 1973.	

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10. WASHINGTON June 1973 Nixon & Brezhnev	Continuation of 1972 expectations	Agreement to continue summits on a regular basis. Nixon invited to visit Moscow in 1974	
		Agreement on peaceful uses of atomic energy	
		Agreement to begin urgent consultations in case of threat of nuclear war between the parties or between the parties and third countries	
	Agreement on additional measures to limit strategic arms	Commitment to continue negotiations toward a permanent treaty to succeed interim agreement	
	Discussion of the Middle East situation following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War	No progress	
	Discussion of measures to expand US-Soviet trade and granting Most-Favored-Nation status to the USSR	No formal agreement	US-Soviet trade increased. Watergate crisis worsened executive-congressional relations. Through the Jackson-Vanik amendment, Congress linked MFN to Jewish emigration from Soviet Union. The Soviets repudiated the Soviet-American Trade Agreement in January 1975.
11. MOSCOW June 1974 Nixon & Brezhnev	Discussion of the Middle East situation	No agreement	President Nixon resigned in August 1974

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		Signed previously prepared agreements on limiting nuclear tests, reducing ABM sites, and economic, industrial and technical cooperation	
		Agreement to pursue negotiations on quantitative and qualitative limitation of strategic arms toward a treaty lasting until 1985	
	US wanted to discuss North Vietnamese violations of Paris Peace Accords.	No agreement	Fall of Saigon, April 1975
12. VLADIVOSTOK November 1974 Ford & Brezhnev	Strategic Arms Limitation-- progress on a permanent treaty and launcher and MIRV limits	Vladivostok Accords agreed on equal numerical ceilings on launchers and sub-ceilings on MIRVed launchers.	In March 1977, the Carter Administration proposed going beyond the Vladivostok Accords to seek deep cuts in force ceilings. The Soviets rebuffed Carter's efforts. Increasing Soviet and Cuban involvement in Third World became a major source of tension in US-Soviet relations.
13. HELSINKI August 1975 Ford & Brezhnev	Informal talks held in US and Soviet embassies on the occasion of the meeting of heads of state to sign the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.	CSCE Accords were signed, but there was no formal bilateral US-Soviet agreement	Soviets proceeded to ignore the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords.
14. VIENNA June 1979 Carter & Brezhnev	Finalization of negotiations on SALT II Treaty	SALT II Treaty signed.	US intelligence reports of the existence of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba raised the issues of whether the Soviets had complied with the Cuban Missile Crisis

*SALT Negotiations
Quickly went
down the
difficult
of Accord*

Conference

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Accords and whether they could be trusted to adhere to any international agreement.

The Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. In January 1980, President Carter withdrew the SALT II Treaty from Senate consideration and announced an embargo of grain sales and suspension of exchanges with the Soviet Union.