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RECEIVED 31 OCT 85 13

TO MCFARLANE FROM MATLOCK DOCDATE 31 OCT 85

LINHARD 31 OCT 85

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

5125144 MJM

KEYWORDS: USSR ARMS CONTROL

HS

SUBJECT: PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV RE NST NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR SIG DUE: STATUS X FILES SII

FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (B)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	- 10/31	Diskett to State per Pearson		
	10/31	Pres Sgd		JM, RL
McKinley, B	C 10/31	For Dispatch		

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Via SDO Sit.Rm.

2

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECORD

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
NSD 5/25/89

Log Number 91135

Date October 31, 1985

Subject: Presidential letter to Gorbachev

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____ Mr. Kimmitt	____ [redacted]	____ Mr. Mahley	____ Col. Rye	____ Cmdr. Thompson
____ Mr. Pearson	____ Col. Douglass	____ Mr. Martin	____ Mr. Sable	____ Mr. Wigg
____ Mr. Burghardt	____ Mr. Fortier	____ Mr. Matlock	____ Mr. Sestanovich	____ Mr. Wood
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3

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

Log Number 91135

Date October 31, 1985

Subject: Presidential letter to Gorbachev

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ☐ TOP SECRET ☐ SECRET ☒ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

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Mr. Pearson	Col. Douglass	Mr. Martin	Mr. Sable	Mr. Wigg
Mr. Burghardt	Mr. Fortier	Mr. Matlock	Mr. Sestanovich	Mr. Wood
Mr. Cannistraro	Mr. Grimes	Mr. Menges	Mr. Sigur	Mr. Wright
Ltc. Childress	Mr. Kraemer	Mr. McMinn	Ms. Small	NSC Secretariat
Col. Cobb	Mr. Laux	Ltc. North	Mr. Sommer	Sit. Room
Mr. Covey	Mr. C. Lehman	Mr. Raymond	Cmdr. Stark	NSC Admin.
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DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: BT MERCHANT, SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

SYSTEM II
91135

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

As I told Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in New York October 24, I have been giving careful consideration to your letter dated September 12. The issues you raise are important ones, the ideas you have put forward are in many ways interesting, and I have wanted to study them thoroughly before replying.

Many of the specific points you addressed in your letter have been or will be dealt with by our delegations in the Geneva arms control negotiations or by our Foreign Ministers. In this letter I will therefore focus on what I consider the most significant issues you have raised.

You suggested in your letter that we might reach an understanding on the inadmissibility of nuclear war and other general principles which should guide us. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has since proposed specific language for our consideration. As I have repeatedly made clear, it is indeed my view that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. I therefore have instructed Secretary Shultz to discuss this matter with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in their meetings next week.

As we address this and other elements which may figure in any document we may issue in Geneva, I believe it is important to give the most careful consideration to our words. The experience of the past has been that overly vague or rhetorical language has led to expectations which, given the competitive aspect of our relationship to which you referred in your letter, cannot be sustained.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS F99-051#358

BY dml . NARA. DATE 10/16/00

If we are to avoid subsequent misunderstandings and disillusionment, our own statements should be clear and based on concrete achievements. I am convinced that there is substantial common ground on the range of areas we have been discussing in connection with our forthcoming meeting, and I would hope that this common ground can be expanded during our meeting in Geneva.

You raised several specific areas in the security field where this might be possible. Secretary Shultz will be prepared to discuss all your ideas in concrete terms while he is in Moscow. I believe you will find that we are indeed prepared to go our fair share of the way to ensure our meeting is a productive one.

I do, however, want to address your response to the proposals we had previously made in the Geneva arms control talks, which was foreshadowed in your letter and which your delegation subsequently tabled in Geneva.

We have been carefully assessing your counterproposal over the last month. As I stated in my address to the United Nations on October 24, I believe that within it there are seeds which we should nurture and that in the coming weeks we should seek to establish a genuine process of give-and-take.

In order to foster such a process, I have approved a new and comprehensive proposal designed to build upon the positive elements of your counterproposal and bridge the positions of our two sides. I have asked our negotiators to extend the current round to permit your experts to achieve a full understanding of our approach. This new proposal deals with all three areas under discussion in the Geneva negotiations. Its essence is a proposal for radical and stabilizing reductions in strategic offensive arms and a separate agreement on intermediate-range nuclear missile systems, both of which bridge US and Soviet ideas. We also propose that both sides provide assurances that their strategic defense programs are and will remain in full accord with the ABM Treaty.

Such assurances assume a resolution of our current differences over compliance with the Treaty.

In the area of strategic arms, the United States agrees with the objective of a fifty percent reduction in strategic offensive forces. Our proposal builds on this, applying the fifty percent principle in a manner that is both equitable and can enhance stability. In the area of intermediate-range nuclear forces, we have also looked for elements we find in common. While I continue to firmly believe that the best outcome would be the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles on both sides, in our new proposal, we have also moved in your direction. In defense and space we must begin now to establish a framework for a cooperative transition to more reliance on defenses and we would like to see a more developed dialogue on how such a transition could be jointly undertaken.

We have designed our approach to provide for a mutually acceptable resolution of the range of nuclear and space arms issues; to take account of the interrelationship between the offense and the defense; and to address those concerns that you and your negotiators have described as being of great importance to you. I am convinced that this new proposal can provide the basis for immediate and genuine progress on the numerous and complex issues facing us in the nuclear and space area, and I look forward to discussing it with you in Geneva later this month.

We will also have the opportunity in Geneva to discuss the other areas which make up our relationship. Much work remains to be done if we are to be able to announce specific progress on regional and bilateral issues. I hope that Secretary Shultz's Moscow visit will be a stimulus to rapid progress in the weeks ahead.

In conclusion, may I say once more that I am looking forward to our meeting and that I sincerely hope we will be able to set our countries on a less confrontational and more cooperative course in the years ahead. I will personally spare no effort to help bring this about.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Moscow

8

355

National Security Council
The White House

85 OCT 31 P1:22

System # II

Package # 91135

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	
William Martin			
John Poindexter	2		
Paul Thompson	3		
Wilma Hall	4	✓	
Bud McFarlane	5	✓	A
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	6		D
Situation Room			

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cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other

COMMENTS

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The White House

85 OCT 31 P3:15

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Bob Pearson	1	P	
William Martin			
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Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	2	PARRIS	
Situation Room		16:14 10/31/85	

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cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other

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Eyes Only – Brunson McKinley

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85 OCT 31 P8:39 *Package #* 91135

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Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	✓		R
Situation Room			

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cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other

COMMENTS Should be seen by: (Date/Time)

The attached letter was handled per McFarlane's instructions by Sit. Room SDO. (Mike Smith). It was delivered directly to McKinley at State. John Fickin

-130185 12

T. R. McFarlane

note B.2. RR

DRAFT GORBACHEV LETTER

Dear Mr. General Secretary,

As I told Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in New York October 24, I have been giving careful consideration to your letter dated September 12. The issues you raise are important ones, the ideas you have put forward are in many ways interesting, and I have wanted to study them thoroughly before replying.

Many of the specific points you addressed in your letter have been or will be dealt with by our delegations in the Geneva arms control negotiations or by our Foreign Ministers. In this letter I will therefore focus on what I consider the most significant issues you have raised.

You suggested in your letter that I am opposed to the possibility of a military clash between our two countries, and that language to this effect be incorporated into a concluding document for our Geneva meeting. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has since proposed specific language for our consideration. As I have repeatedly made clear, it is indeed my view that a nuclear war can not be won and must not be fought. I therefore see no reason in principle why it should not be possible to reach agreement on this point and have instructed Secretary Shultz to develop appropriate language while he is in Moscow.

I believe it is important, however, that as we address this and other elements which may figure in any documents we may issue in Geneva, we give the most careful consideration to our words. The experience of the past has been that overly vague or rhetorical language has led to expectations which, given the competitive aspect of our relationship to which you referred in your letter, can not be sustained.

If we are to avoid subsequent misunderstandings and disillusionment, our own statements should be clear and based on concrete achievements. I am convinced that there is substantial common ground on the range of areas we have been discussing in connection with our forthcoming meeting. I see no reason why we should not be in a position to announce agreements in a number of fields when we meet in November if the Soviet side is prepared to show the necessary flexibility.

You raised several specific areas in the security field where this might be possible. Secretary Shultz will be prepared to discuss all your ideas in concrete terms while he is in Moscow. I believe you will find that we are indeed prepared to go our fair share of the way to ensure our meeting is a productive one.

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NLS MR2000-004 #11

BY Amd, NARA, DATE 10/4/00

13

This is an amendment to state our proposal — now being tabled at Geneva

I do, however, want to address your response to the proposals we had previously made in the Geneva arms control talks, which was foreshadowed in your letter and which your delegation subsequently tabled in Geneva.

We have been carefully assessing your counterproposal over the last month. As I stated in my address to the United Nations on October 24, I believe that within it there are seeds which we should nurture and that in the coming weeks we should seek to establish a genuine process of give-and-take.

In order to foster such a process, I have approved a new and comprehensive proposal designed to build upon the positive elements of your counterproposal and bridge the positions of our two sides. This new proposal deals with all three areas under discussion in the Geneva negotiations. Its essence is a proposal for radical and stabilizing reductions in strategic offensive arms and a separate agreement on intermediate-range nuclear missile systems, both of which bridge US and Soviet ideas. (We also propose that both sides reaffirm that their strategic defense programs are and will remain in full accord with the ABM Treaty. Such reaffirmation must be contingent upon a prior resolution of our current differences over compliance with the treaty.) ?

We have designed our approach to provide for a mutually acceptable resolution of the range of nuclear and space arms issues; to take account of the interrelationship between the offense and the defense; and to address those concerns that you and your negotiators have described as being of great importance to you. I am convinced that this new proposal can provide the basis for immediate and genuine progress on the numerous and complex issues facing us in the nuclear and space area, and I look forward to discussing it with you in Geneva later this month.

We will also, of course, have the opportunity in Geneva to discuss the other areas which make up our relationship. Much work remains to be done if we are to be able to announce specific progress on regional and bilateral issues. I hope that Secretary Shultz's Moscow visit will be a stimulus to rapid progress in the weeks ahead.

Before closing, I would like to reiterate the importance I personally attach to some movement on the Soviet side in the human rights field by the time of our meeting. As you know, I stressed this point to Foreign Minister Shevrdnadze during our New York conversation. I understand your sensitivities and principles in this area and I do not ask you to compromise

them. But there are many cases which it would be possible for you to resolve without your having to do so. I can not tell you what an impact this would have on popular perceptions of the Soviet Union in this country and, I believe, in the world.

I have asked Secretary Shultz to convey my best wishes, and my hopes for major progress in our preparations for the Geneva meeting during his visit and in the weeks remaining.

Sincerely,

Ronald W. Reagan

15

SYSTEM II
91135

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~

October 31, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SIGNED

FROM: JACK MATLOCK and BOB LINHARD

SUBJECT: Letter from President to Gorbachev

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to the President recommending that he sign the letter to Gorbachev which notifies Gorbachev of our new proposals in the NST negotiations and supports Secretary Shultz's meetings next week.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the Memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve ✓ RR Disapprove ___

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A President's Letter to Gorbachev

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By dlb NARA, Date 5/17/99

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~Strictly confidential~~ Unofficial translation

October 12, 1985

Dear Mr.President,

Our Minister Eduard A.Shevardnadze has informed me in detail about his conversation with you in Washington on September 27.

While there exist substantial differences in the positions of the two sides regarding concrete issues, which surfaced also in the course of that conversation and which I shall not touch upon in this letter, we deem it important that you, like us, proceed from the objective fact that we all live on the same planet and must learn to live together. It really is a fundamental judgement.

Here I would like to give you my answer only to one specific question you raised during the conversation with Eduard A. Shevardnadze, namely with regard to a confidential exchange of opinions between us bypassing, should it become necessary, the usual diplomatic channel. I am in favor of this. Indeed, there may arise the need to contact each other on matters on whose solution depend both the state of Soviet-American relations and the world situation as a whole.

On our side to maintain the confidential liason with a person who will be designated by you for this purpose is entrusted to Ambassador Anatoly F.Dobrynin.

Sincerely yours,

M.GORBACHEV

His Excellency Ronald W.REAGAN
The President of the United States of America,
The White House

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BY

National Security Council
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Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	3		R
Situation Room			

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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: JMP has seen 11/21/86 (Date/Time)

Bud,

Jack is working a coup. I think this arrangement is a mistake. This isn't a private channel at all.

J

SYSTEM II: 91135

18

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev

The Soviets have responded to our suggestion of a special channel of communications between the President and General Secretary Gorbachev by nominating Ambassador Dobrynin. Gorbachev's letter of October 12 is attached at Tab 2.

The Department believes that we should respond symmetrically by nominating Ambassador Hartman as our Moscow point of contact. The draft Presidential response at Tab 1 makes the point that Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze should be part of the process.

Step 1 put a draft on PROF which is a pro-forma assertion that seems they don't want a private channel well clear in normal channels

BMcKinley
for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F99051 #361
BY CAS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

~~SECRET~~
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85 1135 19

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