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Folder: U.S.S.R: General Secretary Gorbachev

(8591143-8591239)

**Box:** 40

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## WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: National Security Affairs, Assistant to the President for:

Archivist: dlb

Records: Head of State File

File Folder: U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Gorbachev (8591143-

Date: 6/9/97

8591239) Box 40

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Lettercase (8591143)			
1. Letter	to Reagan from Gorbachev, 1 p. (Russian)  R /0/22/99 NLSS97-C	10/12/85	P1
2. Letter	to Reagan from Gorbachev, 1 p. (unofficial trans.)  12. 10/22/97 NL 539	10/12/85 7-001 #104	P1
3. Letter	to Gorbachev from Reagan, 2 p.  R 10/22/99 NL 33	11/1/85	<u>P1</u>
4. Memo	to Reagan from Robert McFarlane, re: Reply to Gorbachev's Letter, 1 p.	11/1/85	P1 P5
5. Letter	copy of item #3, 2 p  A 10/22/99 NL5597	11/1/85	P1
6. Memo	copy of item #4, 1 p.	11/1/85	P1 P5
7. Memo	to McFarlane from Nicholas Platt, re: Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev, 1p.	10/31/85	P1 P5
8. Draft Letter	to Gorbachev from Reagan, 1 p. R 10/22/99 NLSS	n.d.	P1
9. Letter	Copy of itom #2, 1 p.  R 10/22/99 NLSS	10/12/85	P1
Lettercase (8591239)			
10. Draft Letter	to Gorbachev from Reagan, 3 p.  Reagan, 3 p.  Reagan, 3 p.  Reagan, 3 p.  Reagan, 3 p.	n.d. 2-001 #108	<del>-P1</del>
11.Draft-Letter	to Gorbachev from Reagan (?) 13-p. (Russian)  R 10/22/99 NUSS	n.d. 7-001 *109	Pl

### **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 appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
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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

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F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial Information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].

F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy ((b)(6) of the FOIA].

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[(b)(8) of the FOIA]. F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

## SECRETA SENSITATIVE

ID\_8591143

TO MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 31 OCT 85

RECEIVED 04 NOV 85 11

MATLOCK

01 NOV 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

DOBRYNIN, ANATOLIY F

SUBJECT: PRES REPLY TO GORBACHEV LTR RE PRIVATE CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATIONS

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR SIG

DUE: STATUS C FILES

FOR ACTION

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MCFARLANE

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Please deliver to Mr. Chew's Office immediately upon receipt.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4(b) d Vinite House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1983, NARA, Date 6 9/97 \$\#\VÇ\\R\\E\\T\

CLASSIFICATION

## National Security Council The White House

85 NOV T P6: 22

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William Martin			
John Poindexter	•		
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
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## WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT: Subject File

## FILE TRANSFER BY THE REAGAN LIBRARY STAFF

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Date of transfer:	5/10/96	

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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 liaison 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

NLS 597-001 #104

BY Suf NARA, DATE 10/22/99

Уважаемый господин Президент,

Наш министр Э.А.Шеварднадзе обстоятельно информировал меня о своей беседе с Вами, состоявшейся 27 сентября в Вашингтоне.

При наличии существенных различий в позициях Сторон по конкретным вопросам, которые обнаружились и в этой беседе и которых я в данном письме касаться не стану, нам представляется важным, что Вы, как и мы, исходите из того объективного факта, что мы живем в одном мире и должны научиться жить вместе. Это действительно основополагающее суждение.

Сейчас я хотел бы дать Вам ответ только по одному специфическому вопросу, поставленному Вами в беседе с Э.А.Шеварднадзе - насчет конфиденциального обмена мнениями между нами в случае возникновения необходимости, минуя обычный дипломатический путь. Я за это. Действительно, может возникнуть потребность контактироваться друг с другом по вопросам, от решения которых зависят состояние советско-американских отношений и положение дел в мире.

С нашей стороны поддерживать конфиденциальную связь с тем лицом, которое будет определено Вами для этой цели, поручается послу  $A.\Phi$ . Добрынину.

Moroanly

С уважением

М.ГОРБАЧЕВ

/2 октября 1985 года

Его Превосходительству Рональду У.Рейгану, Президенту Соединенных Штатов Америки

г.Вашингтон, Белый дом

PRESERVATION COPY

DECLASSIFIED / Relegsed NLS 597-001 # 103

BY NARA, DATE 10/22/99

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

November 1, 1985

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

This is in reply to your letter of October 12, 1985, concerning the possibility of a confidential exchange of opinions on a non-official basis. My reasons for mentioning this possibility to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze were twofold.

First, it seemed that there could be some intrinsic value in exchanging opinions informally and privately without the constraints imposed by official formality. But I also wished to resolve certain ambiguities in how we communicate. time to time in recent months Soviet officials have approached American officials or private citizens who are in touch with senior officials in our government and have offered comments which, they suggest, represent your views. Naturally, I have paid close attention to these comments since I take your opinions very seriously and wish to do the utmost to understand them with full clarity. However, the comments received in this manner have not always been consistent and thus I have difficulty determining to what degree they in fact represent your views. It therefore seemed worthwhile to seek a clarification.

I judge from your reply that you consider established channels adequate for communication between us. That is agreeable to me. Consequently Secretary Shultz will continue to look forward to receiving Ambassador Dobrynin at the State Department. Similarly, we will expect that Ambassador Hartmann will enjoy corresponding access to you in Moscow.

I hope that the meetings Secretary Shultz has in Moscow will lay the groundwork for a productive meeting between us in Geneva. I am very much looking forward to meeting you there and continue to hope that we will succeed in setting relations between our two contries on a more constructive course.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
The Kremlin
Mosocw

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.		***
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## THE WHITE HOUSE

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NLS 597-001 = 106

BY \_\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 10/22/99

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Sincerely yours,

Roger Demo N

His Excellency
Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
The Kremlin
Mosocw

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Jim: Please call me as soon as the President has had an opportunity to sign this. Thanks.

David

11/1/85

545 p.m. por Jim Kul President signed.

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### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

I enjoyed once again the opportunity to talk with Foreign Minister Mr. Shevardnadze during his visit to New York for the UN 40th Anniversary ceremonies. We had a good, if brief, chat, and he and George Shultz had the opportunity to continue their more extensive discussions.

I would like in this letter to respond to your letter of October 12 on the question of channels of communication between us. I fully agree that it is important that we be able to communicate confidentially and rapidly on matters of concern to us and to the entire world.

We will be happy to work with Ambassador Dobrynin here in Washington. He should deal directly with Secretary Shultz, who will inform me immediately of any messages the Ambassador may convey. I will also continue to use Ambassador Hartman in Moscow to convey my thoughts on these most delicate and weighty matters directly to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, who, I am confident, will relay them directly to you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

NLS S97-001 # 107 P

BY Smf NARA, DATE 10/22/99

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S FROM PRESIDENT TO

DOCDATE 28 NOV 85

RECEIVED 04 DEC 85 19

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W/ATTCH FILE

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KEYWORDS: USSR

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

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### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 8591239

DATE: 04 DEC 85

REFERRAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRUNSON MCKINLEY / RM 7224

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 28 NOV 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

SUBJ: PRES LTR TO SYG GORBACHEV RE GENEVA SUMMIT MTG

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUEDATE:

COMMENTS: PLS POUCHE TO HARTMAN FOR DELIVERY TO GORBACHEV

FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

FOR NSC USE ONLY

FOR INFO

F SII O LF C I

## Strictly confidential

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 597-001 #109A

BY \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ NARA, DATE 10/22/89

' 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,

DRAFT PRIVATE LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO GORBACHEV

Dear Mr. General Secretary : Jorbacher ;

Now that we are both home and facing the task of leading our countries into a more constructive relationship with each other, I wanted to waste no time in giving you some of my initial thoughts on our meetings. Though I will be sending shortly, in a more formal and official manner, a more detailed commentary on our discussions, there are some things I would like to convey very personally and privately.

First, I want you to know that I found our meetings of great value. We had agreed to speak frankly, and we did. As a result, I came away from the meeting with a better understanding of your attitudes. I hope you also understand mine a little better. Obviously there are many things on which we disagree, and disagree very fundamentally. But if I understood you correctly, you too are determined to take steps to see that our nations manage their relations in a peaceful fashion. If this is the case, then this is one point on which we are in total agreement -- and it is after all the most fundamental one of all.

As for our substantive differences, let me offer some thoughts on two of the key ones.

Regarding strategic defense and its relation to the reduction of offensive nuclear weapons, I was struck by your conviction that the American program is somehow designed to secure a strategic advantage -- even to permit a first strike capability. I also noted your concern that research in this area could be a cover for developing and placing offensive weapons in space.

As I told you, neither of these concerns has any foundation in reality. But I can understand, as you explained so eloquently, that these are matters which cannot be taken on faith Of course this is true, and I do not expect you to take
my assurances on faith. Both of us must deal with the reality of
what the other side is doing, and judge the implications for the
security of our own countries. Job not ask you to take my
assurances of faith to the
however, the objective reality is that the United States has

no intention to mee its strategic defense program to gain any advantage, and there is no development underway to create space-based offensive weapons. Our experience is to eliminate any possibility of a first strike from either side. This being the case, we should be able to find the way, in practical terms, to reminete the concerns you have expressed.

For example, could our negotiators, when they resume work in January, discuss frankly and specifically what sort of future developments each of us would find threatening? Neither of us, it seems, wants to see offensive weapons, particularly weapons of mass destruction, deployed in space. Should we not attempt to

NLS 597-001 #108

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of using.

define what sort of systems have that potential and then try to find verifiable ways to prevent their development?

And can't our negotiators deal more frankly and openly with the question of how to eliminate a first-strike potential on both sides? Your military now has an advantage in this area -- a three to one advantage in warheads that can destroy hardened alarming targets with little warning. That is obviously (were to us, and explains many of the efforts we are making in our modernization program. You may perhaps feel that the U.S. has some advantages in other categories. If so, let's insist that our negotiators face up to these issues and find a way to improve the security of both countries by agreeing on appropriately balanced reductions. If you are as sincere as I am in not seeking to secure or preserve one-sided advantages, we will need incl allow a solution to these problems, to alude us.

Regarding another key issue we discussed, that of regional conflicts, I can assure you that the United States does not believe that the Soviet Union is the cause of all the world's ills. We do believe, however, that your country has exploited and exacerbated local tensions and conflict by militarizing them and, indeed, intervening directly and indirectly in struggles arising out of local causes. While we both will doubtless continue to support our friends, we must find a way to do so without use of armed force. This is the crux of the point I tried to make.

One of the most significant steps in lowering tension in the world -- and tension in U.S.-Soviet relations -- would be a decision on your part to withdraw your forces from Afghanistan. I gave careful attention to your comments on this issue at Geneva, and am encouraged by your statement that you feel political reconciliation is possible. I want you to know that I am prepared to cooperate in any reasonable way to facilitate such a withdrawal, and that I understand that it must be done in a manner which does not damage Soviet security interests. During our meetings I mentioned one idea which I thought might be helpful and I will welcome any further suggestions you may have.

These are only two of the key issues on our current agenda. I will soon send some thoughts on others. I believe that we should act promptly to build the momentum our meetings initiated.

In Geneva, I found our private sessions particularly useful. Both of us need advisors and assistants, but, you know, in the final analysis, the responsibility to preserve peace and increase cooperation is ours. Our people look to us for leadership, and nobody can provide it if we don't. But we won't be very effective leaders unless we can rise above the specific but secondary concerns that intent our respective bureaucracies and give our governments a strong push in the right direction.

SECRET

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so, what I want to say finally is that we should make the most of the time before we meet again to find some specific and significant steps that would give meaning to our commitment to peace and arms reduction. Why not set a goal -- privately, just between the two of us -- to find a practical way to solve the two critical issues I have mentioned by the time we meet in washington?

Please give regards from Nancy and me to Mrs. Gorbacheva. We genuinely enjoyed meeting you in Geneva and are already looking forward to showing you something of our country next year.

Sincerely yours,

RR

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Mar. 28 85

Dear Secretary Teneral Horbecher

Nour that we are both home & foreing The task of leading our countries with a more constructive relationship with such other, I wanted to waste no time in geving you some of my initial thoughts on our meetings. Though I will be sending shortly, in a more firmed & official manner, a more detailed commentary on our discussions, there are some things of would like to convey very personally &

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Regarding strategie defense and it's relation to the reduction of offensive nuclear surespond, I was struck by your consistering that the american program is semicher designed to secure a strategie advantage -- even to permit a first strike capability. I also noted your concern that research to testing in this area could be a cover for descloping of placing affensive weakens in space.

As I told you, neither of these concerns his workented. But I can understand, as you explained so eloquently, that there are matters which cannot be taken on faith. Both of me must cape with what the other ride is doing, of fively. The implications for the security of his own country. I do not ask you to take my a summers on faith.

However the truth is that the United States had now intention of waing it's stratue defence program to goin any advantage, of there is not development underway to create space-brossed offensive measure. Our good is to eliminate any possibility of a first strike from either side. This being the case, we should be able to find a way, in practical terms,

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

For sxample, could our negotiators, when They receme work in January, discuss

Fronter of street what sent of future of primary of primary surendolous of street of street of surendolous of street of street of street of surendolous of surendolous further such of surendolous productions, arraquent

deployed in space. Should we not attempt

to define what sent of systems have that

parantial and then try to find varificable surely to present their development?

and cont our negations deal more Groundy a opposing with the question of here to eliminate a grist-strike putantial on both sides? your military now has an advantage in this onea - a three to one advantage in etype the condestroy hordered targets with little morning - That is obviously alarming to us, or explains many of the efforts me are making in our modernization program. You may feel perhaps that the U. S. has some advantages in other categories. of ser, leto invist that our negotiators face up to these issues of find a way to improve the society of both countries by agreeing on appropriately balanced reductions. If you are as sincere as I am in not sealing to secure or preserve our sided a drawtages, we will find a solution to there problems.

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Ent of regional conflicts, I can assure you that the United & Tates done not believe that, the Soviet Union is the come of all the world's ills. We do believe, however, that your country has exploited and workened break tensions & conflict by militarying Them and, indeed, intervening directly a industry in struggless are sing out of break courses. While we look will doubtless continue to suppoint on friends, we must find a way to do so without we of armed force. This is the crux of the point & Trick to make.

One of the most significant stakes in in meaning tension in the world - + tension in U. 8. - Soviet relativis - would be a decision on your post to withdraw your forces from afghanistan. I gove careful attention to your comments on their issue at beneva, and am encouraged by your statement that you feel political reconciliation is possible. I went you to lenger that I am prepared to cooperate in any reasonable way to facilitate such a withdrawal, 4 that I understand that it must be done in a manner which does not damage Societ security interests. During our meetings of mentioned one isse which I thought might be helpful of I will welcome any further suggestions you may have.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

There are only two of the key raines on our current aganda. I will town send home Thought on others. I believe that me should act promptly to brief the momentum our meetings

initiated.

In Honor of found our ferriote services perticularly execute. Both of us have advisors of assistants, but, you know, in the final analysis, the responsibility to present forces of increase confession is ours. Our people had to us for Dodership, and notate can ferride it if me dont. But we want be very effective leaders unless me can rise above the specific but secondary conserve the specific but secondary conserve that precoupy our respective bureaucracies of give our governments a strong push in the right direction.

So, what I want to say finally is that we should make the most of the time before me should make the most of the time begins or significant meaning to our commitment stopes that would give meaning to our commitment to proce or arms reduction. Why not set a good - privately, first between the two of us - to find a privately way to solve critical issues - the two I have mentioned - by the time we must

in Washington ?

Please convey regards from Nancy & me to Mrs. Horbachers. Who convincely entired meeting you in Heneva & are already looking forward to showing you something of our country next year,

Sweenly Jorns, Round Reagon

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

### ПЕРЕВОД ЛИЧНОГО ПИСЬМА

Уважаемий Генеральний секретарь Горбачев!

Теперь, когда ми оба вернулись домой и думаем о том, как вивести наши страни на путь более конструктивних взаимоотношений, мне хотелось сразу же поделиться с Вами своими первими мислями о наших беседах. Хотя я вскоре пошлю Вам более официальние и более детальние комментарии этих бесед, мне хотелось би несколько мислей Вам передать в сугубо личном и частном порядке.

Во первих, хочу сказать, что считаю, что наши беседи били очень ценними. Ми договорились раз-говаривать откровенно, и это так и било. Благодаря такому откровенному обмену, я луше понимаю Ваши взгляди. Я надеюсь, что и Ви немножко лучше понимаете мои взгляди. Безусловно, по очень многим вопросам у нас разногласия, и очень серьезние. Но если я Вас правильно понимаю, Ви также намерени предпринять мери направленние на обеспечение мирних взаимоотношений между нашими странами. Если это так, то по этому вопросу у нас полное согласие — а это, в коние концов, самий важний из всех вопросов.

Что касается наших существенних разногласий, мне хотелось би поделиться своими мислями относитель- но двух из самих ключевих вопросов.

В отношении стратегической оборони и ее связи с сокращением наступательних ядерних вооружеий, на меня произвело особое впечатление Ваше убеждение, что американская программа каким-то образом направлена на приобретение стратегического преимущуства, даже потенциала первого удара. Я также отметил Вашу озабоченность, что исследования и испитания в этой области могут послужить пркрытием для создания и виведения в космос наступательних вооружений.

Как я Вам говорил, озабоченность по поводу этих двух вопросов неоправдана. Но я могу понять, как Ви так красноречиво объясняли, что это вопроси, которие не могут решаться на основе доверия. Ми оба должни учитивать то, что другая сторона делает и виносить закоючения о том, что это значит с точки зрения безопасности своей страни. Я не прошу Вас соглашаться с моими заверениями на основе доверия.

Однако, на самом деле у Соединенних Штатов нет никаких намерений использовать свою программу стратегической оборони для приобретения для себя преимущества, и у нас нет программ, направленних на создание наступательних вооружений космического базирования. Наша цель — устранение возможности нанесения первого удара со сторони любой из наших стран. Имея это ввиду, должен бить какой-то путь устранения, в практическом плане, той озабоченности, которую Ви висказали.

Например, могли бы наши представители на переговорах, когда они возобновят свою работу в январе,
обсудить откровенно и конкретно какого рода меры в
будущем каждая из наших сторон будет считать угрожающими? Не мы, не вы, повидимому, не хотим размещения
в космосе наступательного оружия, особенно оружия
массового уничтожения. Не следует ли нам попытаться
найти поддающиеся контролю пути предотвращения их
создания?

И не могли наши представители говорить более откровенно и открито о том, как можно устранить потенциал нанесения первого удара с обеих сторон? Сейчас у ваших вооруженних сил преимущество в этой области — у вас в три раза больше боеголовок, способних уничтожить защищенние объекти при очень малом времени предупреждения. Естественно, это визивает у нас тревогу, и объясняет многое из того, что ми предпринимаем в рамках нашей программи модернизации. Ви, возможно, считаете, что у США есть преимущества в других категориях. Если это так, давайте будем настаивать на том, чтоби наши представители на переговорах честно и открито приступили к обсуждению этих вопросов и нашли способ укрепления безопасности обеих стран путем соласования правильно

сбалансированних сокращений. Если Ви так же искренне как я считаете, что не нужно стремиться к приобретению или сохранению односторонних премуществ, ми найдем решение этих вопросов.

В отношении другого ключевого вопроса, которий ми обсуждали — региональних конфликтов — я могу Вас заверить, что Соединенние Штати не считают, что Советский Союз виновен во всем зле в мире. Ми считаем, однако, что Ваша страна использует и усуглубляет местную напряженность и конфликти путем придания им вооруженного характера и путем непосредственного либо косвенного вмешательства в конфликти, возникающие на основе местних причин. Хотя обе наши страни будут, безусловно, и дальше поддерживать наших другей, ми должни найти способ, как это делать без применения оружия. Это — главное, что я хотел сказать в этом плане.

Одним из самих существенних шагов с точки эрения ослабления напряженности в мире — а также и в амери-кано-советских отношениях — било би решение с вашей сторони о виводе ваших войск из Афганистана. Я тщательно следил за Вашими замечаниями по этому вопросу в Женеве, и обнадежен Вашим заявлением, что Ви считаете, что политическое примирение возможно. Хочу сказать, что я готов на всякое разумное сотрудничество с целью облегчения такого вивода войск; я понимаю, что это должно бить сделано так, чтоби не нанести ущерба безопасности Советского Союза. Во время наших встреч я внес одно предложение, которое, как я считал, могло би бить полезним, и буду приветствовать любие дальнейшие предложения с Вашей сторони.

Это — только два из ключевих вопросов, которие сейчас стоят перед нами. Я вскоре сообщу Вам неко-торие соображения по другим. Я считаю, что нам следует незамедлительно действовать, чтоби использовать тот импульс, которий создан нашей встречей.

В Женеве, я нашел наши частние беседи особенно полезними. У нас обоих есть советники и помощники, но ведь в конечном итоге ответственность за сохрание мира и расширение сотрудничества лежит на нас. Наши народи ожидают от нас руководства, и никто кроме нас

действенно

не может его дать. Но ми не сможем/руководить если ми не поднимемся више конкретних, но второстепенних вопросов, занимающих наши государственние аппарати и не дадим нашим правительствам крепкий толчок в правильном направлении.

Так что мне хочется сказать в заключение, что нам следует максимально использовать то время, которое осталось до нашей следующей встрече для нахождения конкретных и существенных мер, выражанощих нашу приверженность миру и сокращению вооружений. Почему не поставить себе цель — так, только между нами — нахождения практического пути решения критических вопросов — тех двух, которие я упомянул — ко времени нашей встречи в Вашингтоне?

Передайте, пожалуйста, привет от меня и Нэнси г-же Горбачевой. Ми остались действительно довольними нашей встречей с вами в Женеве и уже думаем о том, как будем знакомить вас с нашей страной в следующем году.

С искренним уважением,

Рональд Рейган

### WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT: Subject File

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Уважаений Генераноной секретара Гороа гов! Jadaron Joro, Kak Hayun of Bephysics gonoù u cjouin neped sadaron Joro, Kak Hayun of Be Конструктивные в отношения друг с другом, Я хотем Заместить сообщение
не терыть времени в передате Вам свой ж. первых
инсти о наших встрегах. ЭСотея я томинь боли побробное общите постим на собщить сворови инскли на суще суще институть порадко суще суще институть порадко вым наституть порадко вым собщить свою Bo nepboex, a du xijen, 2 moder Boi 3 Haise, 2000 A оцениваго высокую оченку наших веряг, и Им зорание согнасимись говорить говорить отроно, и ши отжет открыто и в самом бене шы горорими отпровенно. В результате, я ушей с вытего с путиши пониманием Ваших минении. Набегось, u Boi ment nongrue nottunal Je. Camo coloni розумира, такования взглава расховатая во многом, раскототая на симом основновы плане. В Однако, если са Вас провинено Конимого, В Вы , как и Я, нашерены гробор обе наши страны управиями своим взаимот номениямив мире. Ести от не boupocy — U 2707 boppoc beck, camera ochobythem uso beek, dyngamen 7 a ub Hein

Во жа астиг существенных разношасий, разрешите мне сообщить некоторые мысм посм по двум из киночевых вопросов.

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и ей везашносьязь с сокращений настуратевных
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заховату стратегическое преницирество - даже на
приобретение способности первого убара. Я таки
Я обратии внимание также на Ваше бесичения
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развёртывание за настурательных вооружений в

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Sonpocob, the tramen mergygen hobsomku

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