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**Folder Title:** U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Gorbachev  
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**Box:** 39

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RECEIVED 04 APR 85 08

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)  
5/25/89  
MCP

TO MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOC DATE 03 APR 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

ARMS CONTROL

NICHOLSON, ARTHUR D

MILITARY INCIDENTS

HS

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

SUBJECT: ~~DRAFT~~ PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV RE ARMS CONTROL & MLM SHOOTING INCIDENT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES

DUE: 05 APR 85 STATUS S

FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

COBB

COMMENTS

REF# 8510149

LOG

NSCIFID

( B BT )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>McFarlane</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>4/4</i>	<i>Pres for signature</i>	
<i>Pres</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>4/4</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>VP</i>
	<i>-</i>	<i>4/4</i>	<i>Pres spl ltr</i>	
<i>SMPE</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>4/4</i>	<i>for delivery</i>	<i>M</i>

DISPATCH

*ed LAX of D sheet*

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

041555L  
C

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

# C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MESSAGE NO. 781 CLASSIFICATION \_\_\_\_\_ PAGES two

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 Gf1/WW  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV

NSC LOG # 90382

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION</u>
<u>STATE</u>	<u>NICK PLATT</u>	<u>EXEC SECRETARY</u>	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____

REMARKS ORIGINAL GIVEN TO JAMES F. SCHUMAKER OF THE DEPT OF STATE FOR DELIVERY

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By dlb NARA, Date 6/19/99



# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 90382

Date 4 April 85

Subject: PRES LTR TO GOBACHEV plus 2 copies

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION:  TOP SECRET  SECRET  CONFIDENTIAL  UNCLASSIFIED

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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
___ 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.
___ Mr. Cox	___ Mr. R. Lehman	___ Ms. Reger	___ Mr. Steiner	___
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CHAIRMAN US START DELEGATION C/o ACDA, 5933 State				
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DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1987  
By: *dlb* NARA, Date: *5/17/99*

DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: BT MERCHANT, SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1985

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

The visit to Moscow of a congressional delegation headed by the distinguished Speaker of our House of Representatives provides an important, new opportunity for a high-level exchange of views between our two countries. I hope your meeting with the Speaker and his colleagues will result in a serious and useful discussion.

I believe meetings at the political level are vitally important if we are to build a more constructive relationship between our two countries. I believe my meetings in Washington with First Deputy Premier Gromyko and Mr. Shcherbitsky and your discussion in Moscow with Vice President Bush and Secretary Shultz both served this purpose. As you know, I look forward to meeting with you personally at a mutually convenient time. Together, I am confident that we can provide the important political impetus you mentioned in your last letter for moving toward a more constructive and stable relationship between our two countries.

I believe that new opportunities are now opening up in U.S.-Soviet relations. We must take advantage of them. You know my view that there are such opportunities in every area of our relations, including humanitarian, regional, bilateral and arms control issues. In improving stability there is no more important issue than the arms control talks we have jointly undertaken in Geneva. Our negotiators have very flexible instructions to work with your negotiators in drafting agreements which can lead to radical reductions, and toward our common goal, the elimination of nuclear weapons.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

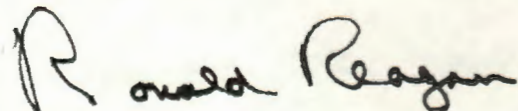
NLS F99-051#325

BY Amf, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

In seizing new opportunities, we must also take care to avoid situations which can seriously damage our relations. I and all Americans were appalled recently at the senseless killing of Major Nicholson in East Germany. In addition to the personal tragedy of this brave officer, this act seemed to many in our country to be only the latest example of a Soviet military action which threatens to undo our best efforts to fashion a sustainable, more constructive relationship for the long term. I want you to know it is also a matter of personal importance to me that we take steps to prevent the reoccurrence of this tragedy and I hope you will do all in your power to prevent such actions in the future.

Let me close by reaffirming the value I place in our correspondence. I will be replying in greater detail to your last letter. I hope we can continue to speak frankly in future letters, as we attempt to build stronger relations between ourselves and between our two countries.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

His Excellency  
Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,  
General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
Moscow, U.S.S.R.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1985

3/26

Don Regan  
has seen.

J

SECRET/SENSITIVE  
EYES ONLY FOR THE PRESIDENT AND NSC ADVISOR MCFARLANE

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*  
SUBJECT: Letter from Gorbachev

Soviet Chargé Oleg Sokolov delivered to Rick Burt today the attached letter to you from Gorbachev. Dobrynin had called me earlier with a preview. The tone of the letter tracks closely with Gorbachev's comments to the Vice President and me, and could therefore reflect his personal touch.

I draw your attention in particular to the final paragraphs of the letter, in which Gorbachev says he has a "positive attitude" to the idea of holding a summit. He indicates that it would not be necessary to sign documents at such a meeting, although agreements on issues of mutual interest which had been previously worked out could be "formalized" during the meeting. He defines the main purpose of a meeting as a "search for mutual understanding on the basis of equality and taking account of the legitimate interests of each side." Gorbachev thanks you for your invitation to Washington, but asks that you agree to return to the question of timing and venue for a summit at a later point. The Soviets may be thinking of suggesting a summit in Helsinki in August, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the CSCE Final Act. In a meeting last week with Art Hartman, Gromyko pointedly asked for our plans on attendance at Helsinki.

Gorbachev's letter is also notable for its non-polemical tone. In fact, his message seems to be that we should both tone down public rhetoric and do business in a calm way that avoids "deepening our differences" and "whipping up animosity." Predictably, he also stresses the priority he attaches to arms control and my January agreement with Gromyko on the "subject and objectives" for Geneva. Here too he picks up themes he used with George and me in Moscow.

I am holding the text of the letter very closely, and will be sending you a suggested draft response for Gorbachev in the next few days. In answering press inquiries about a Soviet response to your summit invitation, I suggest we reply simply that our two governments are in touch, but that as the media knows, we do not intend to discuss our confidential diplomatic exchanges in public.

Attachment: As stated.

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 109-051 #373

SECRET/SENSITIVE  
DECL: OADR

BY CAS NARA DATE 7/25/00



CHRON FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 1985

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

The visit to Moscow of a congressional delegation headed by the distinguished Speaker of our House of Representatives provides an important, new opportunity for a high-level exchange of views between our two countries. I hope your meeting with the Speaker and his colleagues will result in a serious and useful discussion.

I believe meetings at the political level are vitally important if we are to build a more constructive relationship between our two countries. I believe my meetings in Washington with First Deputy Premier Gromyko and Mr. Shcherbitsky and your discussion in Moscow with Vice President Bush and Secretary Shultz both served this purpose. As you know, I look forward to meeting with you personally at a mutually convenient time. Together, I am confident that we can provide the important political impetus you mentioned in your last letter for moving toward a more constructive and stable relationship between our two countries.

I believe that new opportunities are now opening up in U.S.-Soviet relations. We must take advantage of them. You know my view that there are such opportunities in every area of our relations, including humanitarian, regional, bilateral and arms control issues. In improving stability there is no more important issue than the arms control talks we have jointly undertaken in Geneva. Our negotiators have very flexible instructions to work with your negotiators in drafting agreements which can lead to radical reductions, and toward our common goal, the elimination of nuclear weapons.

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NLS FBI-051 # 324

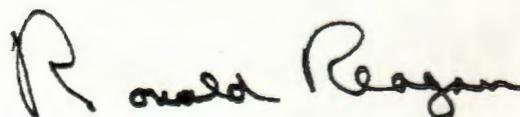
BY smf, NARA, DATE 10/16/00



In seizing new opportunities, we must also take care to avoid situations which can seriously damage our relations. I and all Americans were appalled recently at the senseless killing of Major Nicholson in East Germany. In addition to the personal tragedy of this brave officer, this act seemed to many in our country to be only the latest example of a Soviet military action which threatens to undo our best efforts to fashion a sustainable, more constructive relationship for the long term. I want you to know it is also a matter of personal importance to me that we take steps to prevent the reoccurrence of this tragedy and I hope you will do all in your power to prevent such actions in the future.

Let me close by reaffirming the value I place in our correspondence. I will be replying in greater detail to your last letter. I hope we can continue to speak frankly in future letters, as we attempt to build stronger relations between ourselves and between our two countries.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Ronald Reagan".

His Excellency  
Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev,  
General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

National Security Council  
The White House

System # II  
Package # 90382

85 APR 17 P 4: 32

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>J</u>	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	<u>3</u>	<u>has seen</u>	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>	<u>BTM</u>	<u>N</u>
Situation Room	<u>2</u>	<u>BT</u>	<u>PACOM TO</u> <u>BUD</u>

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

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

WHSR,  
Send only the first two  
pages.                      J



UNCLAS

CLASSIFICATION

MODE

PAGES

3

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

IMMEDIATE

DACOM.# \_\_\_\_\_

RELEASER DFI

PRIORITY

DEX # \_\_\_\_\_

DTG 092331

ROUTINE

TTY # \_\_\_\_\_

FAX # 198

FROM/LOCATION/

1. THE SITUATION ROOM

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE/SANTA BARBARA/SITTO # 97 /TOR: 092350

2.

3.

4.

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

SUBJECT: LETTER TO HIS EXCELLENCY MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH GORBACHEV FOR EVENING PACKAGE

UNCLAS

CLASSIFICATION

National Security Council  
The White House

CB  
123

MAR 4 11:21



System # \_\_\_\_\_  
Package # 90382

II

1687

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	✓	
Bob Kimmitt	2	K	
John Poindexter	3	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall	4		
Bud McFarlane	5	M	A
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	6	BT	D
Situation Room			

① Original  
② LDX copy to  
Plant

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

cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: ASAP  
(Date/Time)

*Good letter.*



85 APR 4

ALL: 31



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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RCM:

This needs to be signed  
no later than 3:30 PM

Plane departs at 5:30 pm --  
State Dept picking up to  
deliver directly to O'Neill

Wilma



8590382

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 10 LISTED ON THE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

April 4, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Gorbachev

A letter from the President to Gorbachev, for the O'Neill delegation to carry with them, is at TAB A.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve ✓ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

TAB I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Letter to Gorbachev

Tab B Platt-McFarlane Memorandum

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 29, 1987  
By dlb NARA, Date 5/17/99



National Security Council  
The White House

System # II  
Package # 90382

05 APR 4 10:51

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	<u>PSA</u>	<u>stuff</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

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cc: VP    Meese    Regan    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

Action Mallock  
Info Cobb  
Prepare memo REM -> President

BUD

AMT

Mr. [unclear]





ES SENSITIVE 8510149  
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 SYSTEM II  
90382

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

April 3, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Letter to Gorbachev

In a meeting with Speaker O'Neill April 3, the President agreed to provide the Speaker with a letter to present to Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev during the Speaker's upcoming trip to the Soviet Union.

The attached draft stresses the importance of high-level dialogue in building a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. It emphasizes the importance we attach to the arms control negotiations in Geneva and the President's outrage over the killing of Major Nicholson. The draft letter calls on Gorbachev to take steps to prevent such tragedies in the future, but does not request an apology. This would be inappropriate in Presidential correspondence, since the Soviets have already expressed regret on several occasions.

*B. McKinley*  
for Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F99-051 #328

BY CHS NARA DATE 7/25/00

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
DECL:OADR



B



~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

Dear Mr. General Secretary;

The visit to Moscow of a congressional delegation headed by the distinguished Speaker of our House of Representatives provides an important, new opportunity for a high-level exchange of views between our two countries. I hope your meeting with the Speaker and his colleagues will result in a serious and useful discussion.

I believe meetings at the political level are vitally important if we are to build a more constructive relationship between our two countries. I believe my meetings in Washington with First Deputy Premier Gromyko and Mr. Shcherbitskiy and your discussion in Moscow with Vice President Bush and Secretary Shultz both served this purpose. As you know, I look forward to meeting with you personally at a mutually convenient time. Together, I am confident that we can provide the important political impetus you mentioned in your last letter for moving toward a more constructive and stable relationship between our two countries.

I believe that new opportunities are now opening up in US-Soviet relations. We must take advantage of them. You know my view that there are such opportunities in every area of our relations, including humanitarian, regional, bilateral and arms control issues. In improving stability there is no more important issue than the arms control talks we have jointly undertaken in Geneva. Our negotiators have very flexible instructions to work with your negotiators in drafting agreements which can lead to radical reductions, and toward our common goal, the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In seizing new opportunities, we must also take care to avoid situations which can seriously damage our relations. I and all Americans were appalled recently at the senseless killing of Major Nicholson in East Germany. In addition to the personal tragedy of this brave officer, this act seemed to many in our country to be only the latest example of a Soviet military action which threatens to undo our best efforts to fashion a sustainable, more constructive relationship for the long term. I want you to know it is also a matter of personal importance to me that we take steps to prevent the reoccurrence of this tragedy and I hope you will do all in your power to prevent such actions in the future.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
DECL: OADR

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NLS F99-051 #329

BY Amf, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

- 2 -

Let me close by reaffirming the value I place in our correspondence. I will be replying in greater detail to your last letter. I hope we can continue to speak frankly in future letters, as we attempt to build stronger relations between ourselves and between our two countries.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~



PS

WASHFAX RECEIPT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B  
S/S #

WHSR  
032041 MAR 85  
CPS

MESSAGE NO 001230 CLASSIFICATION SECRET/SENSITIVE No. Pages 3  
FROM B. McKinley S/S 632-3126 7224  
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Platt/McFarlane - SUBJECT: Draft Presidential  
Letter to Gorbachev

TO (Agency)	DELIVER TO	Extension	Room No.
NSC	EYES ONLY Robert Kimmitt	456-2224	
NSC	EYES ONLY Robert Pearson	395-3044	
NSC	<del>EYES ONLY J. Mallock</del>	395-5112	

FOR CLEARANCE  INFORMATION  PER REQUEST  COMMENT

REMARKS ADVANCE COPY

S/S Officer: C. Coleman for (8)

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
dlb NARA, Date 5/17/99





SECRET/SENSITIVE

April 3, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Letter to Gorbachev

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*P. McKinley*  
for Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F99-051 #350

BY *Gas* NARA DATE *7/25/00*

SECRET/SENSITIVE  
DECL:OADR



~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

The visit to Moscow of a congressional delegation headed by the distinguished Speaker of our House of Representatives provides an important, new opportunity for a high-level exchange of views between our two countries. I hope your meeting with the Speaker and his colleagues will result in a serious and useful discussion.

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~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

DECL: OADR

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NLS F99-051 # 331

BY smf, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

- 2 -

Let me close by reaffirming the value I place in our correspondence. I will be replying in greater detail to your last letter. I hope we can continue to speak frankly in future letters, as we attempt to build stronger relations between ourselves and between our two countries.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~



SYSTEM II PROFILE

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

ID 8590419

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 15 APR 85 20

TO PRESIDENT

FROM SHULTZ, G

DOC DATE 15 APR 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

ARMS CONTROL

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

HS

SUBJECT: DRAFT REPLY TO GORBACHEV 24 MAR LTR

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES

DUE: 16 APR 85 STATUS S

FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

LINHARD

COMMENTS \*\* URGENT ACTION; DUE BACK IN WEST WING BY 1500 ON 16 APRIL

REF# 8511287

LOG 8590336

NSCIFID

( B 12 )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>McFarlane</i>	<i>x 4/16</i>	<i>for decision</i>		
	<i>7 APR 1985</i>	<i>McFarlane approved</i>		<i>JA, JP</i>

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

(C)

National Security Council  
The White House

134

System # II

Package # 90419

APR 10 P 2: 58

1702

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall	<u>3</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>4</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>A</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>N</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP    Meese    Regan    Deaver    Other JMP

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: COB 4/16  
(Date/Time)

05 APR 1968 P 4: 08



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THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1985

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*  
SUBJECT: Reply to Gorbachev

Attached for your consideration is a draft reply to Gorbachev's March 24 letter. The letter sets forth in considerable detail our views on the main issues on the US-Soviet agenda, and closes with an invitation to Washington for a meeting in September or October.

Ambassador Dobrynin will be meeting with me Wednesday afternoon, just prior to his return to Moscow for consultations. If you agree with the approach reflected in the attached draft, I would like to be able to give Dobrynin your reply to Gorbachev at that time.

Attachment: Draft Letter to Gorbachev

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F09-051 #353  
BY CAV NARA DATE 7/25/00

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DECLASSIFIED  
NLS FOI-051 #334  
BY CAS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

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4/15/85

Draft Presidential Letter to Gorbachev

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

I appreciated receiving your letter of March 24 and believe the heightened pace of our high-level dialogue in recent weeks has been useful. Vice President Bush has reported to me on your good discussion on the occasion of Chairman Chernenko's funeral. I have reviewed the records of the most recent exchanges between Secretary Shultz and Ambassador Dobrynin in Washington and Foreign Minister Gromyko and Ambassador Hartman in Moscow. I have also had reports from Congressman O'Neill on his discussions with you and Mr. Gromyko during his visit to Moscow.

I welcome the agreement that Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Gromyko will meet in Vienna on May 14. I am hopeful that they will be able to work out specific steps to move our relationship forward. As promised in the letter Speaker O'Neill passed to you, I would now like to reply to your March 24 letter at some length.

I agree with you that the task before us is to provide impetus to our relations through concerted action at the political level, and that we should focus on issues where a practical, businesslike approach can lead us forward on substantive matters. It would be a mistake to underestimate our differences and to invite needless disappointment by ignoring the difficulties before us. I hope I have made it clear in my previous correspondence with the leaders of your country that I have a strong preference for serious, quiet diplomacy as the best approach to making progress on hard issues. I welcome the willingness to pursue the same approach which you expressed in your letter.

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BY Cts NARA DATE 7/25/00

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I hope that the response to the tragic killing of Major Nicholson will turn out to be an example of this approach in action. I hardly need to tell you that I and all Americans were appalled at that senseless act. It makes absolutely clear the necessity to end the pattern of Soviet military actions which threaten to undo our best efforts to put our relations on a stable and constructive basis for the long term. I understand from the exchanges between our military commanders that your troops in Germany are taking measures to prevent further tragic incidents of this kind; this is a constructive first step.

In any discussion of how to avoid threats to the prospects for constructive progress in our relations, I think it is fair to point out that in recent years such threats have arisen most frequently and most seriously from various regional tensions in the world. In general, as I have stated on a number of occasions, our concern is over the pattern of threatening or using force to impose outside solutions in regional situations. At this moment in particular, I would like to discuss an issue I find particularly troubling: Afghanistan.

I believe the time has more than come to move to a political resolution of this tragic affair, one that would enable the Afghan people to live in peace without the presence of foreign troops. We support the United Nations Secretary General's effort to achieve a peaceful, negotiated settlement among the parties. We remain committed to a political solution that will deal equitably with the related issues of withdrawal of your troops to their homeland and guarantees of non-interference. Your present course will only lead to more bloodshed. We are prepared to work with you in a different direction.

I am confident that the Government of Pakistan shares this approach. I want to make it very clear to you personally that Pakistan is a trusted ally of the United States. It must be completely understood that political or military threats against Pakistan are a matter of special concern to me.

As you know, I have stressed the importance of dialogue between our two governments on regional issues as a means of avoiding miscalculation, reducing the dangers of confrontation, and encouraging peaceful solutions. It was for this reason that I proposed in my UNGA speech last September that our two countries agree to periodic consultations at the policy level about regional problems. Secretary Shultz has informed me of your recent proposals for a possible series of regional discussions. We are prepared to move forward, and will be providing a detailed reply.

In addition to avoiding and managing negative developments that threaten the prospects for progress, I believe we should focus our energies also on issues where mutually beneficial forward movement could and should be possible. We have made progress in certain areas, thereby demonstrating that we can work together on specific issues despite our differences on other issues. As I mentioned in the letter Speaker O'Neill carried, I see opportunities in every area of our relationship, and I would like to suggest some of them for your consideration.

The interrelated issues under negotiation at Geneva provide us with our greatest challenge and our greatest opportunity. These negotiations have just begun. I would like to believe that the Soviet side, like the American side, is committed to serious, substantive exchanges, with full respect for the confidentiality so necessary for the talks to be successful.



Our negotiators have very flexible instructions to work with your negotiators in drafting agreements that can lead to radical reductions in nuclear weapons and, ultimately, toward their complete elimination. This is why, to be absolutely frank, we were disappointed in your public espousal April 8 of a proposal that we had earlier made clear was one-sided and unacceptable. I could not agree more with the point in your letter about conducting business in a manner not aimed at deepening differences and making policies to revitalize the situation.

With regard to defensive and space weapons and strategic stability, I want to point out some facts. The Soviet Union already has deployed ABM and anti-satellite systems. Judging by your research programs in the defensive field, you also appreciate the potential further contribution that defensive systems could make toward the establishment of a more stable balance. The research being done as part of my Strategic Defense Initiative holds great promise for enhancing the security not just of our two countries but of all mankind. It is my hope that we will be able to discuss these issues and their interrelationships in a frank and thoughtful manner in Geneva. Direct, personal involvement at our level will be needed if we are to be successful.

I suggest that we also give new attention to other negotiations and discussions underway between us in the security and arms control field. We know that some progress has been made in the Stockholm Conference toward narrowing our differences. Meaningful progress toward an agreement should be possible even this year on the basis of the framework which I have already suggested both privately in this channel and publicly in Dublin last June. Specifically, the United States will consider the



Soviet proposal for a declaration on the non-use of force as long as the Soviet Union is prepared to consider the concrete measures needed to put that principle into action. Unfortunately, the response of your representatives to date to this offer has not been encouraging. I hope that we may soon see a more favorable attitude toward this idea and toward the confidence-building measures that we and our allies have introduced.

One area where our two countries have been able to work together for mutual advantage has been the area of nuclear non-proliferation. Our consultations in this area have been constructive and useful. I think that we ought to recognize their good work and seek to build upon it in order to strengthen the non-proliferation regime.

One pressing issue of concern to us both is the use of chemical weaponry in the Iran-Iraq War. This situation illustrates the importance of curbing the spread of chemical weapons, and I suggest that it might be useful in the near future for our experts to meet and examine ways in which we might cooperate on this topic. Of course, the lasting solution to this problem will be achievement of a complete global ban on these terrible weapons, and I ask you also to consider carefully the proposed treaty we have advanced in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

We continue to feel that it would be in both our interests to arrive at an equitable and balanced agreement in the MBFR talks in Vienna which would reduce the level of conventional forces in central Europe.

In addition to the implementation of our agreement on upgrading the Direct Communications Link, which is proceeding on schedule, we hope we can expand our ability to communicate rapidly during the time of crisis into other areas. We remain ready to discuss with you a number of concrete proposals in this field.

There are several important bilateral issues on which we can make progress relatively quickly if we seize the opportunities now before us. We should be able to conclude an agreement on improving safety measures in the North Pacific at an early meeting and move to discussions of civil aviation issues. Our efforts to negotiate a new cultural exchanges agreement have, after six months, reached the point where only a handful of issues remain to be resolved. And we are ready to move forward at the earliest possible date to open our respective consulates in New York and Kiev. I am also hopeful that the meeting of our Joint Commercial Commission in May will succeed in identifying areas of non-strategic trade that could be substantially increased.

Finally, let me turn to an issue of great importance to me and to all Americans. As the Vice President informed you in Moscow, we believe strongly that human rights are an important element of our bilateral relationship. While we recognize your sensitivities on this question, human rights is an issue that must be addressed. Last year we suggested that Ambassador Hartman meet periodically with Deputy Foreign Minister Korniyenko to discuss confidentially our mutual concerns. I am also prepared to appoint rapporteurs as you suggested to the Vice President, perhaps someone to join Ambassador Hartman in such a meeting. Whatever procedures we ultimately establish, I hope we can agree that this channel will be used for trying seriously to



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resolve human rights problems and not for exchanging propaganda. Progress in this field will create a positive environment for progress in a number of other areas.

I have taken the liberty of speaking candidly in this letter. I take it that you agree with me that is the best approach, and I hope we can continue to speak frankly in our future correspondence. Let me close by reaffirming the value I place in these letters and my desire to use this correspondence to build stronger relations between the two of us and between our two countries.

Finally, I was glad to receive your views on a meeting between the two of us. In the spirit of your suggestion that we return to the question of time and place of such a meeting, let me suggest that we meet in Washington this fall, in either September or October. We also look forward to the meeting between Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Gromyko in Vienna in May, which we hope will provide an opportunity for us to move forward across the agenda I have discussed in this letter.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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