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WITHDRAWAL SHEET
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Collection: Executive Secretariat, National Security Council: Head of State File **Archivist:** dlb

File Folder: U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Gorbachev 8591241-8591245 **Date:** 5/25/99

Box 40 (Page 1 of 2)

DOCUMENT AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
NSC System II #8591241			
1. Letter	Reagan to Gorbachev, 3 p. R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #364	12/26/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
2. Memo	Robert McFarlane to Reagan, re: Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev, 1 p.	12/23/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
3. Draft Letter	Reagan to Gorbachev, 2 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
4. Memo	George Shultz to Reagan, re: Letters to Gorbachev, 1 p. R F99-051 #367 7/25/00	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
5. Draft Letter	Reagan to Gorbachev, 2 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
6. Cable	No cable #, text of Reagan Letter to Gorbachev, 3 p. R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #369	12/16/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
NSC System II #8591243			
7. Letter	Reagan to Gorbachev, 4 p R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #370	12/7/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
8. Memo	John Poindexter to Reagan, re: Human Rights Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev, 1 p. R 12/9/05 M1473 #4	12/6/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
9. Memo	Steve Sestanovich to Poindexter, re: Human Rights Letter to Gorbachev, 1 p. R " " #5	12/6/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
10. Memo	Original of Item #4, 1 p. A 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #373	n.d	P1/F1/P3/F3

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].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- 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 the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET
Ronald Reagan Library

2

Collection: Executive Secretariat, National Security Council: Head of State File **Archivist:** dlb

File Folder: U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Gorbachev 8591241-8591245 **Date:** 5/25/99

Box 40 (Page 2 of 2)

DOCUMENT AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
8591243, cont.			
~~11. Draft Letter~~	~~Reagan to Gorbachev, (re: Human Rights), 3 p.~~ A 12/9/05 M1473 #6	~~n.d.~~	~~P1/F1/P3/F3~~
~~12. Letter~~	~~Reagan to Gorbachev, (page 4 only), 1 p.~~ A 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #375	~~n.d.~~	~~P1/F1/P3/F3~~
NSC System II #8591245			
13. Memo	Max Kampleman to John Poindexter, re: Response to Gorbachev's Letter on Nuclear Testing, 2 p. P F99-051 # 376 7/25/00	12/19/85	P1/F1/P3/F3
~~14. Memo~~	~~Nicholas Platt to McFarlane, re: Gorbachev Proposal on Testing, 1 p.~~ R " #377 7/25/00	~~12/5/85~~	~~P1/F1/P3/F3~~
~~15. Letter~~	~~Gorbachev to Reagan, (translation), 3 p.~~ R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #378	~~12/5/85~~	~~P1/F1/P3/F3~~
~~16. Letter~~	~~Gorbachev to Reagan, (Russian), 3 p.~~ R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #379	~~12/5/85~~	~~P1/F1/P3/F3~~
~~17. Letter~~	~~Copy of Item #15, 3 p.~~ R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #380	~~12/5/85~~	~~P1/F1/P3/F3~~

RESTRICTION CODES

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- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
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PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

3

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: HEAD OF STATE FILE

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File Folder USSR: GENERAL SECRETARY ~~BREZHNEV~~ GORBACHEV 5 - 8/91241-8591245

FOIA M03-1473

Box Number 40

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	
~~8~~	~~MEMO~~	~~POINDEXTER TO REAGAN RE HUMAN RIGHTS LETTER (#4)~~	~~1~~	~~12/6/1985~~	NVH 5/23/08
~~9~~	~~MEMO~~	~~STEVE SESTANOVICH TO POINDEXTER RE HUMAN RIGHTS LETTER (#5)~~	~~1~~	~~12/6/1985~~	NVH 5/23/08

II

SYSTEM II PROFILE ~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE ID 8591241

RECEIVED 05 DEC 85 14

TO PRESIDENT FROM SHULTZ, G DOCDATE 04 DEC 85

PLATT, N 13 DEC 85

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
NLR 5/25/99

KEYWORDS: USSR AFGHANISTAN GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

HS

SUBJECT: PRES FOLLOW UP LTR TO GORBACHEV RE DISCUSSIONS AT GENEVA SUMMIT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES DUE: 06 DEC 85 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE		FOR INFO
MATLOCK	TAHIR-KHELI	COVEY	
	SESTANOVICH	RINGDAHL	

COMMENTS

REF# 8536708 LOG 8591239 8591243 NSCIFID (B JM,

ACTION OFFICER (S)		ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
McFarlane	X	12/18	For Signature	12/19	
Pres	P	12/23	For Signature		VP ✓
	C	12/26	Pres Sgd Ltr		chron, JM
State	X	12/26	For Dispatch		

DISPATCH JM 12/26 W/ATTCH FILE ____ (C)

SYSTEM II PROFILE ~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE ID 8591241

RECEIVED 05 DEC 85 14

TO PRESIDENT FROM SHULTZ, G DOCDATE 04 DEC 85

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

KEYWORDS: USSR AFGHANISTAN GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

HS

SUBJECT: PRES FOLLOW UP LTR TO GORBACHEV RE DISCUSSIONS AT GENEVA SUMMIT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES DUE: 06 DEC 85 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
~~SESTANOVICH~~ Matlock	TAHIR-KHELI	COVEY
	~~MATLOCK~~ Ringdahl	
	SESTANOVICH	

COMMENTS URGENT

REF# LOG 8591243 NSCIFID (B /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Sestanovich S	12/13	recd state draft ltr w/ revision sent		
Matlock X	12/17	Prepare memo to Pres		PR, SE

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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Date 26 DEC 1985

Subject: PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV FOR DISPATCH

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

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_____	_____ Mr. Dornan	_____ 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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_____ 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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Log Number 31241

Date 26 DEC 1985

Subject: PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV FOR DISPATCH

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

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_____	_____ Mr. Dornan	_____ 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	_____
_____ Mr. De Graffenreid	_____ Mr. Levine	_____ Mr. Ringdahl	_____ Ms. Tahir-Kheli	

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ID 8591241

REFERRAL DATE: 26 DEC 85

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 26 DEC 85

KEYWORDS: USSR AFGHANISTAN GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

HS

SUBJ: PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUEDATE:

COMMENTS:

Julie K. Madison

FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

---------- FOR NSC USE ONLY ----------

FOR INFO F SII O B C

9

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 26, 1985

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

I have already written to you informally to express some of my thoughts on the issues facing us in the wake of our meeting in Geneva. I would like in this letter to deal with some of the particularly pressing regional issues which I believe we must address in the months ahead.

I mentioned Afghanistan in my earlier letter, but I would like to share with you some further thoughts. Afghanistan was, after all, the regional question on which we spent the most time in Geneva. You expressed Soviet readiness to see an agreement emerge from the United Nations negotiating process which would entail a ceasefire, withdrawal of troops, return of the refugees and international guarantees. The discussion recalled the suggestion in your June 10 letter that my government had "opportunities to confirm by its actions" our readiness to reach a political settlement in Afghanistan. As I explained in my October speech to the UNGA, we are prepared to cooperate with others on practical steps. Three elements could form the basis for a lasting solution: A process of negotiations among the warring parties including the Soviet Union; verified elimination of the foreign military presence and restraint on the flow of outside arms; and movement toward political self-determination and economic reconstruction.

As you know, we have been disappointed with the results of the proximity talks conducted by the U.N. Secretary General's Special Representative. Five rounds in Geneva have not addressed the real issue on which a resolution of this problem depends -- withdrawal of your forces. No other element of the problem presents real difficulty.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS F99-051 #364

BY amf, NARA, DATE 10/4/00

To underscore this, we have formally notified the Secretary General that we accept the agreed formulation on guarantees. For your part, I believe that the talks would gain a real impetus from Soviet action to permit discussion of a timetable for withdrawal at Geneva and a public announcement to that effect. Were such action taken by the time of our Ministers' next meeting, it would enable them to have a more focussed and productive discussion.

Another area where I believe movement is possible is Southern Africa. Because we have covered this ground often in the past, the point I need to make is a simple one.

As I am sure you are aware, I am reviewing our policy in Southern Africa, specifically with respect to the war in Angola. This review might not be necessary if there were real evidence that the outside forces in that country could be reduced, and then withdrawn, making possible the reconciliation of the indigenous parties to the war. Such an outcome, of course, would dramatically improve prospects for the establishment of an independent Namibia in accordance with UNSC Resolution 435 -- an objective we share with the U.S.S.R. Unfortunately, the evidence is clear that your own involvement in Angola is deepening.

As I said at the UN in October, our aim is to reduce, not increase, military involvement by the superpowers in local disputes like that in Angola.

I was pleased to learn from Secretary Shultz that the Soviet Union had expressed an interest in calming tensions between Libya and Egypt. At the same time, it appears that Libya is preparing at least two sites for the emplacement of SA-5 Air Defense Missiles to be supplied by the Soviet Union. It is hard to reconcile Soviet interest in restraint in this region with the provision of advanced weapons to a leader whose reckless behavior is a major danger to regional stability. Because we view this development with utmost

seriousness, I was disappointed to see that the Soviet response to our presentation failed to address the transfer of these weapons to Libya. Our Ministers and experts should address this vital matter, since it raises the prospect of dangerous incidents that I hope you want to avoid as much as we do.

If you agree, both Angola and Libya are additional subjects which Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze might take up in their next meeting.

In closing, let me underline my satisfaction with our agreement in Geneva to put our regional experts' talks on a regular basis. When we met in Geneva we agreed that it was important for both of us to avoid a U.S.- Soviet clash over regional conflicts and to work for solutions. I believe that we must move forward on some of these issues before we meet again. In that regard, I was pleased to note that in your remarks to Secretary Baldrige you referred to the importance of dealing with regional trouble spots.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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

12

National Security Council
The White House

System # TL
Package # 91241
DOCLOG MEN A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson			
William Martin	1		for review
Don Fortier			
Paul Thompson			
Florence Gantt			
John Poindexter			
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	2	Jan 17/86	D
Situation Room	[redacted]		

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

13

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14

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED
85 DEC 18 P 5:41

System # (391) II

Package # 91241

E.T.

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	
~~William Martin~~	~~1~~	✓	A
~~John Poindexter~~ JCP	2		
~~Paul Thompson~~ PBS	3	X	
~~Wilma Hall~~ FEG			
~~Bud McFarlane~~ TMP	4		A
William Martin		Jan 12/23	D
NSC Secretariat	5		
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____ (Date/Time)

* Please Notify Bob x3044 when Pkg. is Ret'd from Pres. for Clearance of Crosshatch 3686

SYSTEM II
91241

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~ December 18, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Gorbachev on Regional Issues

A letter from the President to Gorbachev on regional issues is at Tab A. It would follow up, in greater detail and on a more formal basis, some of the suggestions he made in his handwritten letter.

Sestanovich, Ringdahl, Tahir-Kheli and Covey concur.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Presidential Letter to Gorbachev
Tab B Platt-McFarlane Memo

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By dlb NARA, Date 5/24/99

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

ES SENSITIVE
8536708

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

SYSTEM II
91241 add-

December 13, 1985

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Draft Letter for General Secretary Gorbachev

We are providing a revised text of a draft Presidential letter to General Secretary Gorbachev on regional issues. This draft urges forward movement on Afghanistan and southern Africa and reiterates U.S. concern over Soviet supply of SA-5 air defense missiles to Libya.

Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
By dlb NARA, Date 5/24/99

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE
DECL: OADR

17

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SYSTEM II
91241

18

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz

SUBJECT: Letters to Gorbachev

We need to take advantage of the momentum generated by your meeting with Gorbachev to move ahead in a number of fields of interest to us. The most significant:

-- In the Geneva talks, we want to prod the Soviets toward a more constructive dialogue on the offense/defense relationship;

-- On regional issues, we should pursue Gorbachev's suggestion of greater seriousness on an Afghanistan settlement and use our review of aid to UNITA to engage the Soviets in a more serious discussion of Southern Africa;

-- On human rights, you indicated you wanted to follow up on your exchange with Gorbachev in Geneva to emphasize the possibilities which would open up in areas of interest to the Soviets if we saw progress.

I have attached for your approval two draft letters to Gorbachev on these issues. The first deals with the Geneva talks and regional questions, and proposes that Shevardnadze and I take up these and other issues at a meeting here in January. The second addresses human rights, and could be delivered by Mac Baldrige during his visit to Moscow next week. Using Mac as a channel would reinforce our message on the inherent links between human rights and other areas of the relationship. As the first letter refers in passing to Mac's mission, it should be sent this week.

Attachments: As indicated

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F99-051 #367
BY CAS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

National Security Council
The White House

System # II
Package # 9124

SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN

Bo: Bill –

W I discussed this with Jim Ta
Jo night. First letter is a little off (given
Pa President's hand written note) and has
W the wrong thrust on Afghanistan. We
Bu do need to start, however, on a
W longer letter that provides the follow-up
Ni points the President promised in
Si his. The second letter is more urgent
– since I gather there is some desire
[to have Baldridge carry it out
on his trip.

Suggest we give to Steve S.
for action with coordination / concurrence
to Ty Cobb. Duly signed cable
draft to Saudi in Europe to get their
views need to process by mid-day
tomorrow.

Don

8591241 20

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CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
NSC 5/26/99

21

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
CROSSFATCH ACTION SHEET

MESSAGE # 3681
DATE TIME: _____

IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMENT OFFICER TO CLEAR WITH THE DEP EXEC SEC PRIOR TO THE ASSIGNED DUE DATE.

ACTION OFFICER	COMMENT OFFICER	INFO
PEARSON	Matlock	
	Sestanovich	
	Lingdahl comms	
	Covey	

ACTION: CONCUR TO DEP EXEC SEC VIA PHONE AND/OR COMMENT HERE AND HANDCAR
TO DEP EXEC SEC DUE DATE: 12/17

ACTION OFFICER COMMENTS:

CLEARED BY: _____ DATE: _____ TIME: _____

CLEARED TO: _____ DATE: _____ TIME: _____

CLASSIFICATION

ORIGINAL 27

12/16

~~SECRET~~

EUR/SOV/MULTI:EEDELMAN
12/16/85 632-9806 WANG 21379P
THE ACTING SECRETARY

EUR/SOV:MPARRIS	EUR:MPALMER
AF/S:JDAVIDOW	NEA:RPECK
P:MARMACOST	NSC:JMATLOCK
S/S:	S/S-O

IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

NODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, US, UR

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV ON REGIONAL ISSUES

1. (~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. EMBASSY SHOULD DELIVER TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER AT PARA 3 TO HIGHEST APPROPRIATE MFA OFFICIAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

DEAR MR. GENERAL SECRETARY,

I HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN TO YOU INFORMALLY TO EXPRESS SOME OF MY THOUGHTS ON THE ISSUES FACING US IN THE WAKE OF OUR MEETING IN GENEVA. I WOULD LIKE IN THIS LETTER TO DEAL WITH SOME OF THE PARTICULARLY PRESSING REGIONAL ISSUES WHICH I BELIEVE WE MUST ADDRESS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

I MENTIONED AFGHANISTAN IN MY EARLIER LETTER, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME FURTHER THOUGHTS. AFGHANISTAN WAS, AFTER ALL, THE REGIONAL QUESTION ON WHICH WE SPENT THE MOST TIME IN GENEVA. YOU EXPRESSED

JW
EE
MP MPE
JR RS
MA JM
S/S S/

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~~SECRET~~

NLS F99-051 #369

SOVIET READINESS TO SEE AN AGREEMENT EMERGE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHICH WOULD ENTAIL A CEASEFIRE, WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS, RETURN OF THE REFUGEES AND INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. THE DISCUSSION RECALLED THE SUGGESTION IN YOUR JUNE 10 LETTER THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAD "OPPORTUNITIES TO CONFIRM BY ITS ACTIONS" OUR READINESS TO REACH A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. AS I EXPLAINED IN MY OCTOBER SPEECH TO THE UNGA, WE ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH OTHERS ON PRACTICAL STEPS. THREE ELEMENTS COULD FORM THE BASIS FOR A LASTING SOLUTION: A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE WARRING PARTIES INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION; VERIFIED ELIMINATION OF THE FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE AND RESTRAINT ON THE FLOW OF OUTSIDE ARMS; AND MOVEMENT TOWARD POLITICAL SELF-DETERMINATION AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE PROXIMITY TALKS CONDUCTED BY THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. FIVE ROUNDS IN GENEVA HAVE NOT ADDRESSED THE REAL ISSUE ON WHICH A RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM DEPENDS -- WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR FORCES. NO OTHER ELEMENT OF THE PROBLEM PRESENTS REAL DIFFICULTY. TO UNDERSCORE THIS, WE HAVE FORMALLY NOTIFIED THE SECRETARY GENERAL THAT WE ACCEPT THE AGREED FORMULATION ON GUARANTEES. FOR YOUR PART, I BELIEVE THAT THE TALKS WOULD GAIN A REAL IMPETUS FROM SOVIET ACTION TO PERMIT DISCUSSION OF A TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL AT GENEVA AND A PUBLIC ANNOUCEMENT TO THAT EFFECT. WERE SUCH ACTION TAKEN BY THE TIME OF OUR MINISTERS' NEXT MEETING, IT WOULD ENABLE THEM TO HAVE A MORE FOCUSSED AND PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION.

ANOTHER AREA WHERE I BELIEVE MOVEMENT IS POSSIBLE IS SOUTHERN AFRICA. BECAUSE WE HAVE COVERED THIS GROUND OFTEN IN THE PAST, THE POINT I NEED TO MAKE IS A SIMPLE ONE.

AS I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE, I AM REVIEWING OUR POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, SPECIFICALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE WAR IN ANGOLA. THIS REVIEW MIGHT NOT BE NECESSASRY IF THERE WERE REAL EVIDENCE THAT THE OUTSIDE FORCES IN THAT COUNTRY COULD BE REDUCED, AND THEN WITHDRAWN, MAKING POSSIBLE THE RECONCILIATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PARTIES TO THE WAR. SUCH AN OUTCOME, OF COURSE, WOULD DRAMATICALLY IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNSC RESOLUTION 435 -- AN OBJECTIVE WE SHARE WITH THE U.S.S.R. UNFORTUNATELY, THE EVIDENCE IS CLEAR THAT YOUR OWN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA IS

DEEPENING.

AS I SAID AT THE UN IN OCTOBER, OUR AIM IS TO REDUCE, NOT INCREASE, MILITARY INVOLVEMENT BY THE SUPERPOWERS IN LOCAL DISPUTES LIKE THAT IN ANGOLA.

I WAS PLEASED TO LEARN FROM SECRETARY SHULTZ THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN CALMING TENSIONS BETWEEN LIBYA AND EGYPT. AT THE SAME TIME, IT APPEARS THAT LIBYA IS PREPARING AT LEAST TWO SITES FOR THE EMPLACEMENT OF SA-5 AIR DEFENSE MISSILES TO BE SUPPLIED BY THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS HARD TO RECONCILE SOVIET INTEREST IN RESTRAINT IN THIS REGION WITH THE PROVISION OF ADVANCED WEAPONS TO A LEADER WHOSE RECKLESS BEHAVIOR IS A MAJOR DANGER TO REGIONAL STABILITY. BECAUSE WE VIEW THIS DEVELOPMENT WITH UTMOST SERIOUSNESS, I WAS DISAPPOINTED TO SEE THAT THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO OUR PRESENTATION FAILED TO ADDRESS THE TRANSFER OF THESE WEAPONS TO LIBYA. OUR MINISTERS AND EXPERTS SHOULD ADDRESS THIS VITAL MATTER, SINCE IT RAISES THE PROSPECT OF DANGEROUS INCIDENTS THAT I HOPE YOU WANT TO AVOID AS MUCH AS WE DO.

IF YOU AGREE, BOTH ANGOLA AND LIBYA ARE ADDITIONAL SUBJECTS WHICH SECRETARY SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE MIGHT TAKE UP IN THEIR NEXT MEETING.

IN CLOSING, LET ME UNDERLINE MY SATISFACTION WITH OUR AGREEMENT IN GENEVA TO PUT OUR REGIONAL EXPERTS' TALKS ON A REGULAR BASIS. WHEN WE MET IN GENEVA WE AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR BOTH OF US TO AVOID A U.S. - SOVIET CLASH OVER REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND TO WORK FOR SOLUTIONS. I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST MOVE FORWARD ON SOME OF THESE ISSUES BEFORE WE MEET AGAIN. IN THAT REGARD, I WAS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT IN YOUR REMARKS TO SECRETARY BALDRIGE YOU REFERRED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF DEALING WITH REGIONAL TROUBLE SPOTS.

---SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN

END TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

4. A SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

VV

25

SYSTEM II PROFILE ~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE ID 8591243

RECEIVED 05 DEC 85 14

TO PRESIDENT FROM SHULTZ, G DOCDATE 04 DEC 85

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
NSC 5/26/94

KEYWORDS: USSR HUMAN RIGHTS GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

HS

SUBJECT: PRES FOLLOW UP LTR TO GORBACHEV RE DISCUSSIONS AT GENEVA SUMMIT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR PRES DUE: 06 DEC 85 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO

SESTANOVICH COBB MATLOCK

COMMENTS

REF# LOG 8591241 NSCIFID (B / B1)

ACTION OFFICER (S)		ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Pres	P	12/6	For signature		
	C	12/7	Pres sgd ltr		State
Commerce -		12/7	For dispatch		SE -

DISPATCH 12/7 to Commerce W/ATTCH FILE ____ (C)
12/7 LDX To State

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Log Number 91243 26

Date 7 Dec 1985

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UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE Room 209 Winder Bldg 17 & F St NW				
THE DIRECTOR, FEMA 500 C Street,				
DIRECTOR, DMSPA Room 3E813, Pentagon				

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

27

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ID 8591243

REFERRAL DATE: 07 DEC 85

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 07 DEC 85

KEYWORDS: USSR HUMAN RIGHTS GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

HS

SUBJ: PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DELIVERY

DUEDATE:

COMMENTS:

C. McMillion

FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

---------- FOR NSC USE ONLY --

FOR INFO F SII O B C

28

WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

C

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NSD 5/26/94

7 P 1: 23

MESSAGE NO. 76 CLASSIFICATION SECRET PAGES 4

FROM WILLIAM F. MARTIN (NAME) 2224 (EXTENSION) _____ (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV

NSC Log # 91243

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
STATE	NICHOLAS PLATT		

B/

REMARKS SECRETARY BALDRIGE WILL DELIVER ORIGINAL LETTER, ATTACHED FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1985

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

The visit of Secretary Baldrige to the USSR provides an excellent opportunity for me to give you confidentially some of my further thinking on the issue of human rights. I was encouraged by our discussions on this topic in Geneva. Neither of us, I am sure, expected to convince the other of the correctness of all our positions during those sessions. However, I was pleased by your apparent agreement that this is a subject on which, working quietly, we can resolve outstanding problems.

You noted your support for contacts between our two peoples, the importance of visits by relatives, and your understanding of the need for increased contacts by religious groups. You agreed that it is natural that our citizens should marry. I hope steps will be taken that eliminate artificial barriers in these and similar areas. We agreed that the time has come for boldness in our relationship. I can assure you that some bold steps in the human rights area would be reciprocated by us in other areas.

At Geneva, I noted our pleasure that our embassy had been informed that a number of separated spouses would be allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join their husbands or wives. Some unfortunately have yet to hear this officially. Moreover, we have difficulty reconciling your number of ten spouses being held for a limited time because of security concerns with the longer list of

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NLS F99-057 #370

BY amf, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

such people who we know seek to be united with their loved ones. One of these cases involves a blind Soviet woman in her sixties who has been separated from her husband for almost thirty years. Another longtime case involves a Soviet man driven by desperation into two life-threatening hunger strikes in an effort to join his wife and small children in the United States. Several other cases have remained unresolved for many years.

We have provided your government with a list of 17 names in addition to those we have already been informed will be released; they all deserve special concern, and their resolution would have a positive impact on the relationship. I fervently hope these cases can be resolved quickly. It would be a joyous occasion if all of them could join their spouses for the Christmas and New Year's holidays.

I also hope we can overcome whatever obstacles stand in the way of eliminating the problem of people with dual US-Soviet citizenship. There are 23 of these cases. Several of these people are now very old. One 77-year old U.S. citizen, who came to the Soviet Union in 1932 on a school break and somehow ended up with a Soviet internal passport, has been trying unsuccessfully to return to the United States for over 50 years. None of the people involved raise security issues in any way whatsoever; it should be easy to wipe the slate clean in this area by allowing those who wish to depart to do so -- quickly.

There are an additional one-hundred twenty-nine families in the Soviet Union who want to join close relatives in the United States, but have not been allowed to do so. Each one

of these cases involves a human tragedy of separation. One involves a 16-year old child from Leningrad whose father was killed in an automobile accident last fall, leaving him all alone. In many other cases, parents and children have been separated for many years. Our embassy has in the past and will again provide all necessary details on these cases.

Beyond these cases, let me touch on areas in which, as I mentioned in Geneva, there are quite substantial political incentives for progress. I refer here to the broad question of emigration, whether of members of such groups as Jews, Armenians, and others, or of some internationally-known individuals. In both categories, we are talking about quite poignant cases. The young pianist I mentioned to you falls into the category of someone whose requests to emigrate have been refused. The political importance of resolving such well known cases as the Sakharovs, Anatoliy Shcharanskiy, and Yuri Orlov cannot be overestimated. We are not interested in exploiting these cases. Their resolution will permit greater prominence for other issues in relationship.

I mentioned the need for boldness in dealing with these issues. We are prepared to take some bold steps ourselves in areas that Secretary Baldrige will be willing to discuss. The emigration and trade areas offer some real scope for parallel movement that could benefit both our countries. I hope you and your representatives will discuss these areas candidly with Secretary Baldrige.

I trust that after our discussions in Geneva you have no doubt about my desire to move the relationship between our two countries onto a more constructive path. The issues I have laid out in this letter are serious ones. Progress here would provide an enormous impetus to the resolution of other outstanding problems; lack of progress will only hold us back.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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

National Security Council
The White House

System # II
Package # 91243

85 DEC 7 A 9:47

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson			
William Martin	1	um	REVIEW
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	2	um	D
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

DF 1+
6 1
6

Dear Chew,

I forgot about this one.
The President is anxious to
send this substantive letter.
Mac is a good delivery mechanism.
Sorry.

John

National Security Council
The White House

System # II

85 DEC 6 A9:46 Package # 91243

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

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other

COMMENTS Should be seen by: ASAP
(Date/Time)

Letter for Gorbachev to be carried by Baldridge - signature needed today.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

SYSTEM II
91243

ACTION

December 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: STEVE SESTANOVICH SRS

SUBJECT: Human Rights Letter to Gorbachev

Attached at Tab I is a memo forwarding to the President a letter to General Secretary Gorbachev on the subject of human rights. It will be carried to Moscow by Mac Baldrige so it needs quick action.

The letter is not changed in substance from the text proposed by State (at Tab II). I have cut back some excessively apologetic language (such as the speculation that perhaps "bureaucratic inertia" explains the poor Soviet human rights record). The President's main point is preserved -- that he is willing to proceed quietly on the subject if the Soviets respond with deeds, and that real benefits would be made possible by improved performance.

Ty Cobb concurs. SRS for TC

Recommendation

That you sign the attached memo to the President.

Approve ✓ Disapprove_____

Attachments:
TAB I Memo to the President
TAB A Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev
TAB II State Department Memo

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NLS M1473 #5
BY NLF, NARA, DATE 12/9/05

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DECLAS: OADR

National Security Council
The White House

System # II
Package # 91243

85 DEC 5 P2:47

SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN | DISPOSITION

Bo
W
Jo
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cc

Bill -

I discussed this with AMP last night. First letter is a little OBE (given President's hand written note) and has the wrong thrust on Afghanistan. We do need to start, however, on a longer letter that provides the follow-up points the President promised in his. The second letter is more urgent, since I gather there is some desire to have Baldridge carry it out on his trip.

Suggest we give to Steve S. for action w. coordination / concurrence to Ty Cobb. They should call Kraft to talk re bumps to get his views need to process by mid-day tomorrow.

Don

National Security Council
The White House

System # II
Package # 91243

85 DEC 5 P2: 16

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	
William Martin			
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
William Martin			
NSC Secretariat	2	[illegible]	staff
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

action: Sestanovich
concur: Cobb
send draft for Command signoff asap by Matlock.
See SLF notes – draft [illegible]
re human rights letter; Afghan letter tasked separately

SYSTEM II
91243

40

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz

SUBJECT: Letters to Gorbachev

We need to take advantage of the momentum generated by your meeting with Gorbachev to move ahead in a number of fields of interest to us. The most significant:

-- In the Geneva talks, we want to prod the Soviets toward a more constructive dialogue on the offense/defense relationship;

-- On regional issues, we should pursue Gorbachev's suggestion of greater seriousness on an Afghanistan settlement and use our review of aid to UNITA to engage the Soviets in a more serious discussion of Southern Africa;

-- On human rights, you indicated you wanted to follow up on your exchange with Gorbachev in Geneva to emphasize the possibilities which would open up in areas of interest to the Soviets if we saw progress.

I have attached for your approval two draft letters to Gorbachev on these issues. The first deals with the Geneva talks and regional questions, and proposes that Shevardnadze and I take up these and other issues at a meeting here in January. The second addresses human rights, and could be delivered by Mac Baldrige during his visit to Moscow next week. Using Mac as a channel would reinforce our message on the inherent links between human rights and other areas of the relationship. As the first letter refers in passing to Mac's mission, it should be sent this week.

Attachments: As indicated

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DECL: OADR

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NLS F99-051 #373
BY AM, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

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Human Rights Letter Draft

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

The visit of Secretary Baldrige to the USSR provides an excellent opportunity for me to give you confidentially some of my thinking on human rights as it has evolved after our meeting. I was encouraged by our discussions on this topic in Geneva. Neither of us, I am sure, expected to convince the other of the correctness of all our positions during those sessions. However, I was pleased by the seeming understanding between us that this is a subject on which we can and should work quietly to resolve outstanding problems without harsh words or excessive public rhetoric.

You noted your support for contacts between our two peoples, the importance of visits by relatives, and your understanding of the need for increased contacts by religious groups. You agreed that it is natural that our citizens should marry. I hope appropriate steps can be taken to eliminate artificial barriers in these and similar areas. We agreed that the time has come for boldness in our relationship. I can assure you that some bold steps in the human rights area would be reciprocated by us in other areas.

At Geneva, I noted our pleasure that our embassy had been informed that a number of divided spouses would be allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join their mates. Some unfortunately have yet to hear this officially. Much of this, I am convinced after our discussion, is the result of bureaucratic inertia. It is, for example, difficult to reconcile your number of ten spouses being held for a limited time because of security concerns and the longer list of such people who we know wish to be united with their loved ones. Even in cases where there may be some legitimate security concern, surely there is no need to keep families apart more than a few months or a year at most. One of these cases involves a blind Soviet spouse in her sixties who has been separated from her husband for almost thirty years. Another longtime case involves a Soviet husband driven by desperation into two life-threatening hunger strikes in an effort to join his wife and small children in the United states. Several other cases have remained unresolved for many years.

We have provided your people with a list of only 17 names in addition to those we have already been informed will be released; they are all worthy of our special concern, and their resolution would have a positive impact on the relationship. I

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NLS M1473#6
BY NARA, DATE 12/9/05

fervently hope these cases can be resolved quickly. It would, I am sure, be a joyous occasion if all of them could join their spouses for the Christmas and New Year's holidays.

Bureaucratic inertia may also be our biggest obstacle to eliminating the problem of people with dual US-Soviet citizenship. There are only 23 of these cases. Several of these people are now very old. One 77-year old U.S. citizen, who came to the Soviet Union in 1932 on a school break and somehow ended up with a Soviet internal passport, has been trying unsuccessfully to return to the United States for over 50 years. None of the people involved appear to us to raise security issues in any way. Again, it should be easy to wipe the slate clean in this area by allowing those who wish to depart to do so quickly.

There are an additional one hundred twenty-nine families in the Soviet Union who want to join their close relatives in the United States, but have not been allowed to do so. While the number here is larger than the groups mentioned above, each one of these cases involves a human tragedy of separation. One case involves a 16-year old child from Leningrad whose father was killed in an automobile accident last fall, leaving him all alone. Many other cases represent parents and children who have been separated for many years. Our Embassy has in the past and will again provide all necessary details on these cases.

Beyond these cases in which resolution would seem to be a relatively easy matter, there are cases in which we recognize that bold decisions would be necessary on your part. At the same time, these are areas in which the political incentives for progress that I mentioned in Geneva are quite substantial. I refer here to the broad questions of emigration of such groups as Jews, Armenians, and others as well as the emigration of some internationally-known cases. Again, I am not talking about scoring propaganda points or debating broad principles. We are talking about individuals and some quite poignant cases. The young pianist I mentioned to you falls into the category of someone whose requests to emigrate have been refused. The political importance of resolving such well known cases as the Sakharovs, Shcharanskiy, and Orlov to the tone of our overall relationship can not be overestimated. We are not interested in exploiting these cases. We are interested in resolving them so the focus can shift to other issues in the relationship.

I mentioned the need for boldness in dealing with these issues. We are prepared to take some bold steps ourselves in areas that Secretary Baldrige will be willing to discuss. In

fact, I believe the emigration and trade areas offer some real scope for parallel movement which could be beneficial to both our countries and their interrelationship. I hope you and your representatives will discuss these areas candidly with Secretary Baldrige.

I trust that after our discussions in Geneva you have no doubt about my desire to move the relationship between our two countries onto a more constructive path. The issues I have laid out in this letter are serious ones. Progress here would vastly improve the tone of our relationship and provide an enormous impetus to the resolution of outstanding problems.

Sincerely, Ronald Reagan

1838P

I trust that after our discussions in Geneva you have no doubt about my desire to move the relationship between our two countries onto a more constructive path. The issues I have laid out in this letter are serious ones. Progress here would provide an enormous impetus to the resolution of other outstanding problems; lack of progress will only hold us back.

Sincerely,

~~Ronald Reagan~~

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

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BY AM, NARA, DATE 10/16/00