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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

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**File Folder** MATLOCK CHRON OCTOBER 1985 (10/12)

**FOIA**

F06-114/3

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1208

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
7924	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE LETTER FROM SENATORS LUGAR AND PELL <i>R 10/30/2007 NLRRF06-114/3</i>	1	10/23/1985	B1
7925	MEMO	MARTIN TO PLATT RE LETTER FROM SENATORS LUGAR AND PELL <i>R 10/30/2007 NLRRF06-114/3</i>	1	ND	B1
7926	MEMO	MCFARLANE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE <i>R 3/8/2011 F2006-114/3</i>	1	ND	B1
7927	TALKING POINTS	PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE NEW YORK, OCTOBER 24, 1985, 4:00 PM <i>R 10/30/2007 NLRRF06-114/3</i>	2	ND	B1
7928	TALKING POINTS	SAME TEXT AS DOC #7927 <i>R 10/30/2007 NLRRF06-114/3</i>	6	ND	B1
7929	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE CLUB OF ROME PROPOSAL ON ARMS SALES TO THIRD WORLD <i>R 3/8/2011 F2006-114/3</i>	1	10/21/1985	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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NLRR F06-114/3 #7924  
BY CW NARA DATE 10/30/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

CONFIDENTIAL

October 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Letter from Senators Lugar and Pell

Attached at Tab I is a suggested response to a letter from Senators Lugar and Pell concerning Senate resolution 227. The resolution urges a joint U.S.-Soviet effort to achieve worldwide disease immunization by 1990. The Senators suggest that you consider putting the resolution on the President's agenda for discussion with Gorbachev in Geneva.

In principle I think the idea is a fine one, and it parallels some of the suggestions we have already worked into our exchanges proposals for joint medical cooperation. I would suggest tasking State to look into the feasibility of the proposal with an eye toward including it in our exchanges package.

*RS* Ron Sable and Steve *SA* Danzansky concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Lugar and Pell at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That you forward the Martin/Platt memorandum at Tab II tasking State to look into the Senators' proposal.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I	Letter to Senators Lugar and Pell
Tab II	Martin/Platt memorandum
Tab A	Letter from Senators' Lugar and Pell
Tab B	Senate Resolution 227
Tab C	Senate report accompanying resolution 227

CONFIDENTIAL

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Senators Lugar and Pell:

Thank you for your letter of October 10 informing me of Senate resolution 227. I fully agree that an effort to immunize the world's children would be an excellent way for the United States and Soviet Union to work together toward a common goal.

I have asked the Department of State to look into the logistics of implementing such a program, and I can assure you that your plan will receive every consideration as we prepare specific proposals to discuss in Geneva.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar  
The Honorable Claiborne Pell  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Letter from Senators Lugar and Pell

Attached is a letter from Senators Lugar and Pell advising the NSC that Senate resolution 227 calls on the United States and Soviet Union to undertake a joint effort to immunize the world's children from a variety of deadly diseases by 1990. The Senators further suggest that the President propose such a joint effort to General Secretary Gorbachev when they meet in Geneva. We would appreciate the Department of State's looking into the feasibility of such a program and your recommendation as to whether it would be realistic to include such a proposal in Geneva.

William F. Martin  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Letter from Senators Lugar and Pell  
Senate Resolution 227  
Senate report accompanying resolution 227

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

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NLRR 106-114/3 #7925  
BY CN NARA DATE 11/30/07

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OCT 11 1985

RICHARD G. LUGAR, INDIANA, CHAIRMAN

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

October 10, 1985

JEFFREY T. BERGNER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
GERYLD B. CHRISTIANSON, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

On the premise that U.S.-Soviet relations would benefit from constructive collaboration in non-competitive areas, the Foreign Relations Committee recently approved the attached resolution, calling for a joint U.S.-Soviet effort to achieve, through existing multilateral agencies, a comprehensive program of worldwide child immunization by 1990. The Committee's report on the resolution, also attached, discusses the costs and implications.

We anticipate that the full Senate will act on the resolution later this month.

As planning proceeds for the forthcoming meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, we suggest that you consider including this potential cooperative measure as an item on the summit agenda.

Sincerely,



Claiborne Pell  
Ranking Member



Richard G. Lugar  
Chairman





Urging a joint United States-Soviet effort to achieve worldwide disease immunization by 1990.

[Report No. 99-148]

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 24 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 23), 1985

Mr. PELL (for himself and Mr. LUGAR) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

OCTOBER 4 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 30), 1985

Reported by Mr. LUGAR, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in *italic*]

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**RESOLUTION**

Urging a joint United States-Soviet effort to achieve worldwide disease immunization by 1990.

Whereas six diseases—measles, diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, tuberculosis, and polio—each year ravage the children of the world, killing some five million and leaving an equal number disabled;

Whereas the medical technology now exists to immunize the world's children against these diseases at an estimated cost of \$5 per child—a total cost of \$500,000,000 for the one

Calendar No. 337

99TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

**S. RES. 227**

[Report No. 99-148]

**RESOLUTION**

Urging a joint United States-Soviet effort to achieve worldwide disease immunization by 1990.

OCTOBER 4 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 30), 1985  
Reported with amendments

hundred million children born in the developing countries each year;

Whereas medical studies estimate that such immunization could reduce child mortality around the world by as much as one-half;

Whereas reduced child mortality is crucial to attaining levels of economic development associated with reduced population growth;

Whereas in the 1960's and 1970's the United States and the Soviet Union cooperated effectively together and with other nations in a United Nations program which, by 1980, ended the scourge of smallpox throughout the world;

Whereas responsible scientists now believe that a concerted international program could achieve immunization of all children on Earth against all major diseases by 1990; and

Whereas recent international efforts to assist the famine-stricken people of Africa demonstrate a powerful impulse among the people of the developed nations to direct resources toward people less fortunate: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved, That—*

2 (1) the United States and the Soviet Union should  
3 immediately undertake a formal commitment to initiate.

1 (2) this joint effort  
2 initiation of studies to  
3 facts of such increased  
4 (2) (3) this joint  
5 be undertaken in a spirit  
6 transcending humanita-  
7 tarian hope that such co-  
8 serve as a model for

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A JOINT UNITED STATES-SOVIET EFFORT TO ACHIEVE  
WORLDWIDE DISEASE IMMUNIZATION BY 1990

OCTOBER 4 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 30), 1985.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. LUGAR, from the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. Res. 227]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred resolution (S. Res. 227) urging a joint United States-Soviet effort to achieve worldwide disease immunization by 1990, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with amendments and recommends that the resolution as amended do pass.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this Senate resolution is to urge that the United States and the Soviet Union "immediately undertake a formal commitment to initiate, using their own resources and those of other donors and appropriate multilateral agencies, a joint effort to bring the benefits of immunization to all children of the world by the year 1990."

BACKGROUND

Each day around the world, 40,000 children die—1,500 per hour. 25 per minute, 15 million each year. The horror of pervasive child death by poverty and disease is real. But so too is the world's ability to diminish this continuing scourge. As many as half of the children could now be saved through the basic preemptive removal of immunization against the six major diseases—measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, tuberculosis, and polio.

The international community's collective ability to exterminate disease through immunization was demonstrated in the successful worldwide campaign waged against smallpox in the 1960's.



1970's, which totally ended that scourge by 1980. Continued progress against disease, however, is by no means inevitable. Although childhood death rates in poor countries were reduced by one-third in the two decades from 1950 to 1970, the 15 years since 1970 have seen virtually no further gain.

Yet remarkable progress has come within reach. Immunization technology has advanced such that, given the political will and the resources, all children in the world could be immunized against the six major diseases by 1990. Nor are the necessary resources beyond the capacity of the developed nations to provide. According to informed estimates, a multi-disease immunization program would require only about \$5 per child—a few cents for the vaccine, the remainder for necessary costs of transporting vaccine in a “cold chain” and the administration of injections. Thus, with 100 million children born in the developing countries each year, a full global immunization program, once underway, would require little more than \$500 million annually. Initial costs would, of course, be somewhat higher due to the need to “catch up” with the many children not yet immunized.

Two examples provide some perspective on the current catastrophic rate of child death from immunizable diseases. In El Salvador, child fatalities from immunizable disease have continued to occur at a greater rate than total war fatalities.

In India, the chemical disaster in Bhopal recently killed an estimated 2,000 people. More children die from immunizable diseases in that country each day.

Nor does saving children around the world offer only a short-term gain, accompanied by the long-term liability of an inexorably expanding population. In the short run, a decline in child mortality obviously results in population expansion. But reduced child mortality is crucial to attaining the level of economic development associated with reduced rates of population growth. Thus, ending the six major diseases represents a huge step toward reducing human misery around the world, not only immediately but also in the long term.

#### COMMITTEE ACTION

On September 1, during a Senate delegation meeting in Moscow with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev, Senator Pell broached the concept of a joint United States-Soviet world immunization effort as a cooperative superpower measure that could serve mankind while helping to create a basis for improved East-West relations.

On September 24, Senator Pell, on behalf of himself and Senator Lugar, introduced Senate Resolution 227 urging creative diplomacy to bring about such a joint superpower initiative. On that same day, the Committee on Foreign Relations met and voted unanimously to report the resolution favorably with an amendment calling for studies of the demographic consequences of expanded immunization efforts.

#### COMMITTEE COMMENTS

The goal of achieving worldwide disease immunization by 1990 was recently affirmed by Congress in fiscal year 1986 Foreign Assistance Act.

The Pell-Lugar resolution reaffirms this goal and suggests cooperation in this sphere might provide a model for cooperation in other areas. Accordingly the resolution states:

That the United States and the Soviet Union would immediately undertake a formal commitment to initiate, using their own resources and those of other donors and appropriate multilateral agencies, a joint effort to bring the benefits of immunization to all children of the world by the year 1990; \* \* \* and

That this joint world immunization effort should be undertaken in a spirit of common dedication to a transcending humanitarian purpose, and with the practical hope that such constructive collaboration may also serve as a model for further superpower cooperation.

A joint United States-Soviet world immunization effort would draw upon the superpowers' strength in technology and resources. Unlike development activities, immunization efforts do not have an inherent geopolitical dimension: they involve no vested or strategic interest in any particular Third World regime. Immunization requires only that politically neutral medical teams enter those countries in need and do the job. Existing multilateral agencies, which are already involved, could administer much of this worldwide program, and other nations and private organizations would be called upon to contribute resources. The thrust would come from the superpowers acting in constructive partnership.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ACTION

October 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Background Paper for the First Lady

Attached at Tab A is the fifth in a series of weekly papers on the Soviet Union that we are doing for the First Lady. It concerns women in the USSR and was prepared by the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to James G. Rosebush at Tab I forwarding the paper to the First Lady.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments

Tab I Memo to James G. Rosebush  
Tab A "Women in the USSR"

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DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 23, 1997  
By *CRS* NARA, Date *7/1/02*

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506LIMITED OFFICIAL USEACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES G. ROSEBUSH

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Background Paper for the First Lady

Attached at Tab A is the fifth in a series of weekly papers we are putting together for the First Lady as background reading on the Soviet Union. It deals with women in the USSR and was drafted by the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the paper to the First Lady.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab A "Women in the USSR"

LIMITED OFFICIAL USEDECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By ois NARA, Date 7/1/02

17

A



CS 7/1/02

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WOMEN IN THE USSR

Soviet women, for all their vaunted legal equality, are second-class citizens both at home and in the workplace. Although they constitute a majority of the population and labor force and enjoy the same formal rights as men, women are practically excluded from the upper echelons of party and government. In the workplace they are generally confined to low-prestige and low-paying jobs and spend the remainder of their time coping with family and household chores, usually without male assistance. Sex education and family planning are virtually unknown in the USSR, adding to the problems faced by Soviet women.

\* \* \* \*

The Workplace

Soviet law proclaims equality and even special protection for women. Legislation limits the amount of heavy lifting a woman is permitted to do, and other laws prohibit their being assigned particularly dangerous jobs. According to recent figures, 92 percent of adult Soviet women are either working or studying. Most of those working are stuck in menial jobs, however, with little hope of advancement. Their pay averages half that of Soviet men, and their pensions only three-quarters as much. This is not only because of inherent sex discrimination, but also because household demands use up most of the free time which could be devoted to the skill training courses necessary for salary increases. Even in professions dominated by women, such as medicine--some 70 percent of Soviet doctors are women--the salary scale and status are well below those in the West. (As it is, most Soviet "doctors" would be classified as paramedics in the United States, and they earn less than skilled laborers in the USSR).

The Second Job

Soviet women must perforce combine their paying job with household duties--the USSR is still a male-dominated society. Few men help out in the home in any capacity--in Russian peasant tradition, they consider the day's work completed when they come in from the factory or field. As a result, the average Russian woman spends forty hours per week working at the factory and another forty hours standing on line for basic commodities, cleaning house, and attending to family needs while her husband puts in less than fifty hours a week total. The variety of family benefits--paid maternity leave,



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government stipends for child support, and medals and titles to mothers with numerous children--is small compensation for the double existence demanded of wives and mothers, as the phenomenally high divorce rate (approaching 50 percent for European Russians) and low birth rate (an average of one child per family in Slavic areas) testify.

### Political Impotence

Regardless of their alleged equality, there are no women in the top echelons of the Soviet government and party. Though well represented in the legislative bodies which have high visibility but little real power, women have been conspicuously absent from the highest levels of the Soviet political pyramid. The only exceptions were Yekaterina Furtseva, a Politburo member in the 1960s, and the legendary revolutionary, government official and diplomat of the 1920s, Alexandra Kollontai. Despite accounting for more than 53 percent of the population, women make up only one-fourth of the Party membership and less than four percent of the Central Committee. Ironically, the presence of a woman in an apparently senior Soviet post can be regarded as a good indicator of its actual unimportance.

### Feeble Protests

The frustrations of daily living for women in the USSR have had several significant consequences:

- a rising level of female alcoholism;
- increasing domestic strife and violence;
- skyrocketing divorce rates;
- a lack of sex education and contraception resulting in frequent abortions as the primary means of birth control.

The Soviet state has yet to successfully address these problems to any significant degree, beyond producing more refrigerators and washing machines. Liberation is still an alien notion to most Soviet women though a nascent feminist group was active in Leningrad in the early 1980s. Its stated goal was merely to achieve official recognition that Soviet women have distinct problems apart from those affecting society as a whole. But their discussion of these problems went beyond the bounds of what is permitted in the Soviet state. The group was forcibly disbanded by the KGB and its members imprisoned or exiled after it printed an unauthorized journal devoted to women's issues.

Prepared by:  
Justin Liffander  
Department of State

JH-C

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET~~

October 23, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Shevardnadze

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to the President forwarding talking points for his October 24 meeting with Shevardnadze.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President  
Tab A Talking points

~~SECRET~~

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DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By *CJS* NARA, Date *7/1/02*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Your Meeting with Shevardnadze

Issue

To review the talking points for your meeting with Shevardnadze.

Facts

We have prepared the attached talking points for use with Shevardnadze.

Discussion

Your meeting with Shevardnadze will provide an opportunity to give a push to your regional initiative and make clear that it, along with human rights and expanded people-to-people ties, are very much a part of our agenda for the meeting. Since Soviet negotiators have been dragging their feet in some of the bilateral negotiations, it would be helpful for you to make note of that fact, without however suggesting overeagerness for specific agreements. There is no need to get into details of our respective arms control positions, but you may wish to indicate that we will be responding to their proposals. Human rights remains one of the most difficult areas, with Gorbachev showing absolutely no give up to now. Therefore, I believe it would be helpful for you to detain Shevardnadze for a couple of minutes at the end of the meeting to deliver in private a stiff message, along the lines of the attached talking points.

Recommendation

OK

No

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

That you review the attached talking points.

Attachment:

Tab A Talking points for the Shevardnadze meeting.

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DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR F06-114/3 #7926  
BY RW NARA DATE 3/8/11



PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE  
New York, October 24, 1985, 4:00 P.M.

Talking Points

- Appreciate your making time for meeting.
- In my speech today I tried to deal with a set of issues which has cast a heavy burden on U.S.-Soviet relations. We want to deal with them constructively, and I hope that you and Mr. Gorbachev will think seriously about them.
- If we can make progress toward solution of any of these conflicts during our Geneva meeting, this could have a very positive effect on the whole span of our relations.
- We are studying your recent arms control proposals with great care. We see some positive elements, although you doubtless understand that some of the elements are not acceptable to us.
- We will get back to you with concrete ideas of our own shortly.
- As I told you in Washington, I instructed our people to propose some more imaginative ideas for communication and cooperation between our peoples. I understand Ambassador Hartman presented some of them to you last week. They have my enthusiastic endorsement.
- I would hope that Mr. Gorbachev and I could announce agreement on some of these ideas, at least in principle, when we meet in Geneva. What do you think?
- I am glad you will be meeting with George Shultz several times more before the Geneva meeting. We still have a lot to do.
- Frankly, I'm beginning to be disturbed by the slow pace of substantive preparations. Even the negotiations on bilateral issues seem to be victims of footdragging from your side.
- Of course, if you are not interested in them, that's fine. But it seems a pity to miss this opportunity to restore some of the normal ties between our countries.
- Please let Mr. Gorbachev know that I am still very much looking forward to our meeting. But I would hope that you and George will give our various negotiators a push to achieve some real progress in the short time we have remaining.

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NLRR F06-114/3 #7927



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FOLLOWING FOR PRIVATE SESSION:

-- I have one other important message for the General Secretary, but I will pass it on orally, off the official record.

-- I am deeply disturbed at the lack of any evidence that the Soviet side understands the importance of resolving some of the important humanitarian issues which burden our relationship.

-- This issue will be a heavy burden on our meeting unless there are concrete moves by the Soviet authorities to solve some of these problems.

-- I would like to concentrate on other matters at Geneva. But if there is no progress, there will be no way I can ignore the problem.

-- The lack of action, quite frankly, makes me wonder whether Mr. Gorbachev is really serious about improving our relationship.

-- Just let him know that I am watching for actions in this area as a clear signal of serious intent. If there is no progress, it will certainly make everything else more difficult.

TALKING POINTS--MEETING WITH  
SHEVARDNADZE, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 24,  
1985, 4:00 P.M.

- APPRECIATE YOUR MAKING TIME FOR MEETING.
- IN MY SPEECH TODAY I TRIED TO DEAL WITH A SET OF ISSUES WHICH HAS CAST A HEAVY BURDEN ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. WE WANT TO DEAL WITH THEM CONSTRUCTIVELY, AND I HOPE THAT YOU AND MR. GORBACHEV WILL THINK SERIOUSLY ABOUT THEM.
- IF WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD SOLUTION OF ANY OF THESE CONFLICTS DURING OUR GENEVA MEETING, THIS COULD HAVE A VERY POSITIVE EFFECT ON THE WHOLE SPAN OF OUR RELATIONS.
- WE ARE STUDYING YOUR RECENT ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS WITH GREAT CARE. WE SEE SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS, ALTHOUGH YOU DOUBTLESS UNDERSTAND THAT SOME OF THE ELEMENTS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US.
- WE WILL GET BACK TO YOU WITH CONCRETE IDEAS OF OUR OWN SHORTLY.

DECLASSIFIED/RE/CAS/DJ

NLRR 106-114/3 #7928

BY CAS NARA DATE 10/30/87

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- AS I TOLD YOU IN WASHINGTON, I INSTRUCTED OUR PEOPLE TO PROPOSE SOME MORE IMAGINATIVE IDEAS FOR COMMUNICATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES. I UNDERSTAND AMBASSADOR HARTMAN PRESENTED SOME OF THEM TO YOU LAST WEEK. THEY HAVE MY ENTHUSIASTIC ENDORSEMENT.
- I WOULD HOPE THAT MR. GORBACHEV AND I COULD ANNOUNCE AGREEMENT ON SOME OF THESE IDEAS, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, WHEN WE MEET IN GENEVA. WHAT DO YOU THINK?
- I AM GLAD YOU WILL BE MEETING WITH GEORGE SHULTZ SEVERAL TIMES MORE BEFORE THE GENEVA MEETING. WE STILL HAVE A LOT TO DO.
- FRANKLY, I'M BEGINNING TO BE DISTURBED BY THE SLOW PACE OF SUBSTANTIVE PREPARATIONS. EVEN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON BILATERAL ISSUES SEEM TO BE VICTIMS OF FOOTDRAGGING FROM YOUR SIDE.
- OF COURSE, IF YOU ARE NOT INTERESTED IN THEM, THAT'S FINE. BUT IT SEEMS A PITY TO MISS THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RESTORE SOME OF THE

-2-

- AS I TOLD YOU IN WASHINGTON, I INSTRUCTED OUR PEOPLE TO PROPOSE SOME MORE IMAGINATIVE IDEAS FOR COMMUNICATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES. I UNDERSTAND AMBASSADOR HARTMAN PRESENTED SOME OF THEM TO YOU LAST WEEK. THEY HAVE MY ENTHUSIASTIC ENDORSEMENT.
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NORMAL TIES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

- PLEASE LET MR. GORBACHEV KNOW THAT I AM STILL VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO OUR MEETING. BUT I WOULD HOPE THAT YOU AND GEORGE WILL GIVE OUR VARIOUS NEGOTIATORS A PUSH TO ACHIEVE SOME REAL PROGRESS IN THE SHORT TIME WE HAVE REMAINING.



TALKING POINTS--PRIVATE SESSION WITH  
SHEVARDNADZE, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 24,  
1985

- I HAVE ONE OTHER IMPORTANT MESSAGE FOR THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BUT I WILL PASS IT ON ORALLY, OFF THE OFFICIAL RECORD.
- I AM DEEPLY DISTURBED AT THE LACK OF ANY EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE UNDERSTANDS THE IMPORTANCE OF RESOLVING SOME OF THE IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WHICH BURDEN OUR RELATIONSHIP.
- THIS ISSUE WILL BE A HEAVY BURDEN ON OUR MEETING UNLESS THERE ARE CONCRETE MOVES BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO SOLVE SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS.
- I WOULD LIKE TO CONCENTRATE ON OTHER MATTERS AT GENEVA. BUT IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS, THERE WILL BE NO WAY I CAN IGNORE THE PROBLEM.
- THE LACK OF ACTION, QUITE FRANKLY, MAKES ME WONDER WHETHER MR. GORBACHEV IS REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT IMPROVING OUR RELATIONSHIP.

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-2-

-- JUST LET HIM KNOW THAT I AM  
WATCHING FOR ACTIONS IN THIS  
AREA AS A CLEAR SIGNAL OF SERIOUS  
INTENT. IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS,  
IT WILL CERTAINLY MAKE EVERYTHING  
ELSE MORE DIFFICULT.

CHRON FILE

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1985

Dear Dr. Corson:

Thank you for your letter of October 9 forwarding the Club of Rome's proposal on ending arms sales to the developing world. We are, of course, receiving many serious suggestions from outside government as we approach the President's meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, and I can assure you that they are all being carefully reviewed.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

*Robert C. McFarlane*  
Robert C. McFarlane

Dr. Dale R. Corson  
President Emeritus  
Cornell University  
615 Clark Hall  
Ithaca, New York 14853

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 21, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Club of Rome Proposal on Arms Sales to Third World

Attached at Tab A is a draft response to Dr. Dale R. Corson, President Emeritus of Cornell University, thanking him for his letter (Tab B) forwarding a proposal from the Club of Rome to the President which calls on all industrialized nations to end arms sales to the third world by 1990. Dr. Corson wanted you to know of the proposal since he understands it has been forwarded to the Soviets. He is also sending a copy to Secretary Shultz, but is not personally endorsing the plan. The Club hopes the proposal could serve as the basis for an agreement in Geneva.

John McTague in the President's Office of Science and Technology Policy has drawn the proposal to John Poindexter's attention (Tab D).

In my view the Club's proposal is too sweeping and all inclusive to be a useful vehicle for negotiation, and it would undercut our ability to provide legitimate security assistance to key areas of the world.

*SRS* Steve Sestanovich and Don Fortier concur. *DF*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A to Dr. Corson.

Approve *mf*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab A	Letter to Dr. Dale Corson
Tab B	Letter from Dr. Corson
Tab C	Club of Rome proposal to the President
Tab D	Memorandum from John McTague to John Poindexter

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/3#7929

BY RW NARA DATE 3/8/11



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CORNELL UNIVERSITY  
615 CLARK HALL  
ITHACA, N.Y. 14853

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT EMERITUS

October 9, 1985

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Advisor  
Executive Office of the President

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

I have a German colleague, Dr. Eduard Pestel, who is an official of the Club of Rome. He recently sent me the enclosed "Initiative by the Club of Rome" and asked if I could assist him in getting the letter and the paper to President Reagan for consideration at the upcoming summit meeting.

Dr. Pestel personally delivered the papers to Dr. Alexandrov, President of the Soviet Academy of Science on September 18. Alexandrov agreed to deliver the material directly to Secretary General Gorbachev.

I pass these papers on to you with neither endorsement nor recommendation. If Secretary Gorbachev has the papers you will probably want to have them also.

Sincerely yours,

*Dale R. Corson*

Dale R. Corson  
President Emeritus

cc: Secretary Schultz



Neuilly, 4th September 1985

Mr Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington D.C.  
U.S.A.

Mr President,

We are taking the liberty of approaching you with a proposal which we feel could be a determinative first step towards the establishment of world peace.

We write as leaders of the Club of Rome, an independent association of 100 individuals from East and West, from North and South sharing a deep concern for the future of humanity, which transcends our various ideological positions. As a group we eschew all political ambitions, but seek to bring to the attention of political leaders and the informed public, carefully formulated analyses of world issues which we feel, should be exposed to widespread debate.

Amongst contemporary problems, that of war and peace is, of course, paramount : relation to the survival of the human race and of civilization as we know it. We do not believe that real progress can be made on the disarmament issue, in the absence of a degree of mutual trust, based on common self-interest, between the two main powers of which you are the leaders.

There does exist one important area where both nations could act together without jeopardizing their national security, namely with regard to the supply of arms to countries of the Third World. This trade which represents an intolerable waste of resources and a flow of wealth from the poor countries to the rich, contributes substantially to world disorder. Most of the 140 wars which have been fought since the end of World War II would not have been possible without the sale of arms by USA, USSR, France and other industrialized countries.

We suggest, therefore, that the time has come for the USA and the USSR to take the lead in stopping the immoral, politically unwise and disruptive sale of arms to the Third World. In so doing, they would rightfully assume a moral leadership in the world.

The first step should be a resolution to be agreed at the forthcoming US-USSR summit at Geneva, to take action to end the sale of arms to Third World

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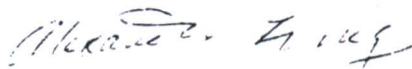
.../...

countries by 1990, at the same time warning other countries that the two world powers are resolved to enforce jointly compliance with the agreement by whatever means they deem appropriate. Through active cooperation in the execution of such an agreement, neither would place its own military security at risk and an important advance would have been made towards creating mutual trust. It would be seen throughout the world as a magnificent act of statesmanship on the part of two Heads of State and would generate a universal spirit of hope.

We attach herewith a memorandum which describes our suggestion in greater detail and we commend it to you for your earnest consideration. We are personally at your disposition for discussions on the proposal in Washington and Moscow.

With great respect.

Yours sincerely.



(Dr Alexander King  
President of the Club of Rome)



(Prof. Dr Ing. Dr h.c. mult. Eduard Pestel  
Member, Executive Committee,  
Club of Rome)

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Initiative by the Club of Rome to stop the sale of arms by the industrialized countries, particularly by the USA and the USSR, to nations in the developing world.

---

Ever since man started to take possession of this earth, his main functions have been :

- (a) the acquisition of food and the exploitation of natural resources
- (b) procreation of his kind
- (c) securing his protection against nature and hostile humans
- (d) acquiring knowledge and skills ( productive , mental, artistic, societal , spiritual) to be passed on from generation to generation.

Human behaviour in carrying out these basic functions has undergone great changes during man's cultural evolution, culminating in the tremendous behavioural transformation of the scientific-technological era of the last 200 years.

Looking at these basic human functions as the chief components of man's cultural evolution, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that during the present stage of our development , they are becoming more and more out of phase. For example, the recent and continuing explosion of world population indicates that conscious control of our reproductive behaviour is essential for the survival of the human species, that the acquisition of food and the exploitation of natural resources require careful consideration on the earth's carrying capacity, while we are also beginning to learn that man ought to direct his scientific and technological efforts differently from before, refraining in some fields from doing

.../...



what can be done . Such behavioural changes have, however, not taken place above all in our protection-securing behaviour which, during the past 40 years has found expression in an arms race unprecedented in human history.

This completely unreasonable behaviour persists, despite our awareness that warfare, as a relic of man's agricultural phase, is today totally unfitted to secure , let alone to improve the existence of individuals, societies and nations, even when they find themselves on the "winning side". On the contrary, humanity will not survive unless we succeed in changing our protection-securing behaviour. This demands in particular a drastic change on the relationship between the super-powers , the USA and the USSR, on whose shoulders rests the heaviest responsibility for the security and continuation of human life on our planet.

Gradual disarmament of the great power blocs is, of course, highly desirable, but, by itself, would not remove the threat of total destruction through war. Disarmament is unlikely to take place - as the past 30 years of negotiation have shown - unless a considerable amount of cooperation can be built up between the present opponents, leading to the creation of an atmosphere of durable mutual trust.

We believe that small steps towards the diminution of distrust are always likely to be undone by unexpected and uncontrollable events that rekindle nationalistic fervor and revive those forces that seek protection solely through military strength and might. There is need, indeed, for a real breakthrough in order to provide a new platform for constructive, peace-securing cooperation. It is understandable that neither the USA nor the USSR is prepared to take a big step which might be seen as endangering their own security. There exists, however, one important area where both nations could act together and where both could influence their friends and allies to follow suit without jeopardizing their national security - namely with regard to the sale of arms to countries of the Third World.

It is known that about half of all industrial goods imported by the poor developing countries, are arms and other military equipment, that this trade has doubled in the seventies and that the international trade in arms, led by USA, USSR and France amounts today to approximately 50 billions US dollars per annum. Most of the 140 wars , fought since the end of World War II, would not have been possible without the arms trade, wars that led to the premature death, mutilation and misery of tens of millions of innocent people.

Apart from these moral and humanitarian arguments, against the international trade in arms, there are cogent economic reasons which would favour its abolition. The arms trade represents a massive waste of resources - material, energy and human - and for the receiving countries , a diversion of capital and investment which they can ill afford. The use of funds at present spent on the purchase of arms, for constructive national development, would transform the process of world development , now so tragically lagging.

It is therefore high time for the great powers, the USA and the USSR, to take the lead in stopping this immoral, politically unwise and destructive sale of arms to the Third World. Because of their power, they are in a position to enforce the abolition of arms sales to developing countries completely. In so doing, they would rightfully assume a moral leadership of the world , whereas their continuation as the main suppliers of armaments to the Third World would deprive them of any right to claim moral or political leadership of the world.

How would such cooperation contribute to the building of mutual trust and confidence between the great powers ?

In the West, the supply of arms to developing countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries is seen as a means for the establishment there by force, of communist governments and the acquisition of military bases against the USA and its allies. By stopping



the supply of military equipment, the USSR would make it clear that it no longer intends to promote world revolution through military means, thus removing the basic American fear vis-à-vis the USSR.

On the other hand, the USSR believes that the USA is trying to encircle it and to preserve its power position in all parts of the world, denying the USSR any new foothold that it might gain through the replacement of corrupt governments and military dictatorships by "popular" movements.

Hence a great deal of mutual mistrust and suspicion would be removed, if the two powers were to join hands in putting an end to this highly immoral arms trade which in the long run would be politically counter-productive for them. For example, Egypt, for many years armed solely by the USSR is, for the time being, in the American camp and Iran, after having been supplied by the USA with the most modern arms for a decade or more, turned abruptly hostile to the Americans.

Through active cooperation in the execution of an agreement prohibiting the sale of armaments to the developing nations, which would indeed constitute a decisive breakthrough in US-Soviet relations, neither would place its own military security in jeopardy; both would be taking a big step towards creative mutual trust, the only solid basis for durable peace. Furthermore, the USA and the USSR could then enter even into military cooperation, however limited, in controlling their own adherence and that of other industrialized countries to the abolition agreement on arms trade.

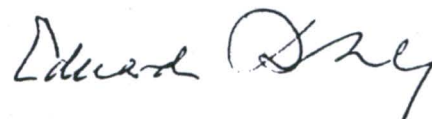
At the same time, negotiations could be started with the object of ensuring that the financial and material resources, wasted today through arms supply, were made available for material aid to the poorest countries, as an addition to the present development aid that in any case needs considerable intensification.

The first step should be a resolution to be passed during the forthcoming US-USSR summit in Geneva, to take action to end the shameful arms trade with the developing countries, before 1990. The Heads of States themselves should take the responsibility for the necessary negotiations to proceed on a strict time schedule. All other nations should be warned that the USA and the USSR are resolved to enforce jointly compliance with the agreement, by whatever means they deemed appropriate. Due to the moral weight gained by the two great powers through the agreement there should be little difficulty in bringing the others into line.

Such a step would go far in establishing an atmosphere of confidence between the two superpowers and would be seen throughout the world as a magnificent act of statesmanship on the part of the two Heads of State, one which would generate a universal spirit of hope for the future of the planet and our race.

Should, on the other hand, the USA and the USSR fail to resolve the arms sale issue, then the conclusion is inevitable that they will fail also to stop the present arms race. If they are not ready to take on an issue, the resolution of which will put an end to war and organized violence in all parts of the world where misery prevails and freedom is suppressed, then one must unhesitatingly conclude that they lack the earnest desire to end the dangerous confrontation, that they, themselves believe in the inevitability of a major armed conflict which could be won, and that they do not want to prevent the escalation of local conflicts in the Third World into war, with the risk of being involved themselves.

The conclusion of an arms-sale-abolition agreement would indeed constitute a first criterion for the honest resolve of the USA and the USSR to enter jointly, the road to peace and world cooperation.



(Dr. Alexander King  
President Club of Rome)

( Prof.Dr.Ing. Dr.h.c.mult. Eduard Pestel  
Member, Executive Committee, Club of Rome)





Alexander King

Alexander King, born in Scotland in 1909, was educated at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London and at the University of Munich. He is a D.Sc., of the University of London and has honorary doctorates from the University of Ireland and the Open University in the United Kingdom. Until 1940 he was senior lecturer in Physical Chemistry at Imperial College and at the beginning of World War II, became Deputy Science Adviser to the British Minister of Production. Later he became head of the British Scientific Mission in Washington and Councillor in the British Embassy. During this period he became increasingly interested in the interactions between science, the economy and society.

After the war King became head of the Scientific Secretariat of the Lord President of the Council in London and later Chief Scientist of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research where, although a physical scientist, he promoted research in the economic and behavioural sciences in the British Universities and led a number of multidisciplinary studies, including one on the social, economic, educational, technical and political aspects of automation.

Having been for some years Chairman of the Productivity and Industrial Research Committee for Europe within the OEEC, he then became co-director of the European Productivity Agency under the Marshall Plan and later the Director of the Office of Scientific and Technical Manpower of OEEC. On the creation of OECD in Paris, in 1964, he became Director General for Scientific Affairs and Education where he led many studies on science policy, education etc. Feeling the need to complement and stimulate governmental action on the increasingly pressing problems of contemporary society with private initiative

from individuals of the science community, humanists and industrialists, he founded the Club of Rome together with his friend Dr. Aurelio Peccei of Italy and has been active in this movement ever since.

On retirement from OECD in 1974, A. King became Chairman of the International Federation of Institutes of Advanced Study (IFIAS) of Stockholm, a body created to promote and carry out multidisciplinary research on the global problems. He was formerly Hon. Secretary of the Chemical Society of London, is an Associate Fellow of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of Santa Barbara, California and was from 1954-62 President of the International Federation of Documentation, of which he is now honorary Life President.

~~Sir~~ A. King was awarded the CBE and CMG by the British Government and holds the American Medal of Freedom.

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eng. h. c. vom Rensselaer Polytechnic In-  
stitute 1970; seit 1970; seit 1957 Ordina-  
rius für Mechanik an der Universität Han-  
nover; deutscher Delegierter im NATO-  
Wissenschaftsausschuß seit 1966; Vize-  
präsident der Deutschen Forschungsge-  
meinschaft 1971—1977; Mitglied des  
Exekutivkomitees des Club of Rome seit  
1969; Mitglied des Kuratoriums der Stif-  
tung Volkswagenwerk 1969—1979. Vor-  
standsvorsitzender von Haus Rissen, In-  
ternationales Institut für Politik und Wirt-  
schaft, seit 1975. Vorsitzender des Insti-  
tuts für angewandte Systemforschung  
und Prognose (ISP) seit 1976 Vorsitzender  
des Senats der Fraunhofer Gesellschaft  
1974—1980; Mitglied des Kuratoriums  
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scher Minister für Wissenschaft und  
Kunst 1977—1981; Vorsitzender des Ku-  
ratoriums der Deutschen Herzziftung  
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Vorsitzender der Deutschen Technion-  
Gesellschaft seit 1982.  
Arbeitsgebiete: Mechanik (Elastomecha-  
nik und Schwingungsprobleme), Rege-  
lungstechnik, Systemtheorie.

*Member of National Academy  
of Engineering (Washington)  
since 1980*

*Recipient Max Born Medal 1982  
„Fraunhofer Medal 1984“*



THE CLUB OF ROME

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MEMBERSHIP AS OF

JULY 1985

Members are asked to check if their entry is correct. In case changes are required, please inform the Club of Rome Office in Rome.

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October 9, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL POINDEXTER

FROM: JOHN McTAGUE 

The enclosed letter was given to me by Dr. Dale Corson, an eminent physicist who is President Emeritus of Cornell University. He has reason to believe that an equivalent package was given to Secretary General Gorbachev. Corson takes no position on the matter, but believes that you should have a "heads up" to avoid any possible blindside. Secretary Shultz should also receive a copy tomorrow.