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Ronald Reagan Library

Withdrawer **Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

> JET 4/20/2005

File Folder MATLOCK CHRON NOVEMBER 1986 (1/5) **FOIA**

F06-114/5

YARHI-MILO **Box Number** 18

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ID Doc Type	Doc	ument Description	n	No of Pages		Restrictions
8641 MEMO	SHUL		TER RE MEMO FOR A MEETINGS WITH	2	11/3/1986	B1
	R	3/14/2011	F2006-114/5			
8642 MEMO		SHULTZ RE MEET ARDNADZE	INGS WITH	2	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8643 MEMO		OSED NEXT STEP S CONTROL	S IN CONVENTIONAL	2	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8644 MEMO	NUCL	TMENT OF THIRD LEAR BALLISTIC M ARMS CONTROL P	MISSILE SYSTEMS IN	1	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8645 E-MAIL		IL PROFS FROM P TZ-SHEVARDNAI TINGS	A STATE OF THE CONTRACT OF THE	1	10/28/1986	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8652 TALKING POINTS	SHUL	TZ-SHEVARDNAI	OZE TALKING POINTS	6	10/29/1986	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8654 PAPER	DIREG		TEGIC OFFENSIVE	3	10/29/1986	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

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B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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

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Withdrawer

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File Folder

MATLOCK CHRON NOVEMBER 1986 (1/5)

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F06-114/5

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8656 PAPER		Celleration and the control of the c	MEDIATE-RANGE	3	10/29/1986	B1
		LEAR ARMS				
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8657 PAPER	DIRE ARM	CTIVES ON DEFEN	NSE AND SPACE	3	10/29/1986	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8658 PAPER			ONSIDERATIONS IN	1	10/30/1986	B1
	MOV	ING BEYOND INIT	TAL REDUCTIONS			
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8659 PAPER	DIRE	CTIVES ON VERIF	ICATION	2	10/29/1986	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8660 PAPER	DIRE	CTIVES ON NUCLI	EAR TESTING	1	10/29/1986	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8661 PAPER	REPO	ORT OF U.SSOVIE	T UNDERSTANDING	1	10/29/1986	B1
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8646 MEMO			KTER RE CLEARING	1	11/3/1986	B1
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8647 MEMO	FROM USSR	I MCDANIEL RE T	TDY TRAVEL TO THE	4	11/3/1986	B1
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8662 MEMO			R RE CLEARING TDY	1	10/25/1986	B1
		ORS TO EMBASS	Y MOSCOW			
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8663 LETTER	SUGG	ESTED DRAFT RI	E EMBASSY MOSCOW	2	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8664 LETTER	SUGG	ESTED DRAFT RI	E EMBASSY MOSCOW	2	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8665 LETTER	SUGG	ESTED DRAFT RE	E EMBASSY MOSCOW	2	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8666 LETTER	SUGG	ESTED DRAFT RE	E EMBASSY MOSCOW	2	ND	B1
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8648 MEMO	MATL	OCK/DEAN TO PO	OINDEXTER RE	1	10/28/1986	B1
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ID Doc Type	Doc	ument Descriptio	n	No of Pages		Restrictions
8668 LETTER	SUGO	GESTED DRAFT R	E EMBASSY MOSCOW	1	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8669 LETTER	SUGO	GESTED DRAFT R	E EMBASSY MOSCOW	1	ND	B1
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			
8649 MEMO	MAT	LOCK/DEAN TO P	OINDEXTER RE	1	10/28/1986	B1
	CLEARING ALL TDY TRAVEL TO US					
	EMB.	ASSY MOSCOW T	HROUGH STATE			
	R	3/14/2011	F2006-114/5			
8650 E-MAIL	E-MA	IL PROFS FROM I	DAVID MAJOR RE	1	10/30/1986	B1
	MOS	COW STAFFING				
	R	3/14/2011	F2006-114/5			
8651 MEMO	MATI	LOCK TO MAJOR	RE MEMO TO	1	11/3/1986	B1
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	EMB _A	ASSY MOSCOW				
	R	11/29/2007	NLRRF06-114/5			

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

7577

November 1, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHY R. JAFFKE

FROM:

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL Both for

SUBJECT:

Reply to Rep. Rudd on US Expulsion of 25 Soviets

from Soviet Mission to the UN

On October 2 Congressman Rudd wrote the President to express concern over reports the Administration was reconsidering its order expelling 25 Soviets from the Soviet UN Mission.

The NSC recommends the draft at Tab A to respond to Congressman Rudd. It updates an earlier State draft to reflect our actions against Soviet intelligence agents at the Soviet Embassy, and our moves to bring the numbers at the Embassy into parity with our Embassy in Moscow. State drafted a response to Congressman Rudd as per your request at Tab C.

Attachments:

Tab A Proposed Reply to Rep. Rudd
Tab B Congressman Rudd's Letter

Tab C Your memo to State requesting draft response

Dear Congressman Rudd:

Thank you for your letter of October 2 on reports the Administration might rescind its order to expel 25 Soviet diplomats from the Soviet Mission to the U.N.. The Soviets have complied with our reduction order. The last of those 25 Soviets left the United States on October 14.

In March we announced to the Soviets a program of reductions that will cut the size of their missions to the U.N. by about 100 personnel by April 1, 1988. The list of 25 we gave the Soviets on September 17 was part of this larger reduction plan.

As has been made clear by events since your letter, the Administration has not only held firm on expelling these 25 at the U.N., but we have also declared persona non grata 5 Soviets at their Embassy and have expelled 50 more and have brought the Soviet Embassy here into parity with our Embassy in Moscow.

Throughout all of these actions, the President has made it clear to the Soviet Union that we will not allow the Soviet presence here to be safehaven for espionage activities. We intend to stick to that policy.

We appreciate your support, and that of other members of Congress, for our efforts to reduce espionage activities in the United States.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Eldon Rudd U.S. House of Representatives Washington D.C. 20515

COMMITTEE O' APPROPRIATIONS

P860 1 28 - 0 268 Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Mashington, DC 20515

October 2, 1986

The Honorable Ronald Reagan President of the United States of America The White House Washington, D.C.

is assigned to

75

Dear Mr. President:

I am greatly disturbed by news reports, quoting "top administration officials," indicating the United States may rescind its order that 25 Soviets be expelled from the U.N. mission.

As you are aware, the order by your administration originally set yesterday as the deadline for the Soviet's departure. Congress too has passed legislation requiring a reduction in the number of Soviet personnel at the United Nations. We have also cut almost \$20 million in U.S. contributions to the organization in FY '87 believing these monies help to subsidize the KGB's and GRU's subversive activities against the United States.

On a matter of national security, such as the expulsion of these identified Soviet espionage agents, I strongly believe there should be no reconsideration of their status. If they remain in this country, they have the potential to jeopardize the future security and freedoms of all Americans. Therefore, an "agreement" with the Soviet leadership on this question should not be a subject for negotiation during your upcoming meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Iceland.

News accounts have also suggested the United States may use the Soviet envoys to help win the release of imprisoned Soviet dissidents. their release would be both morally right and politically appealing, I respectfully suggest it cannot be a prudent action, or an appropriate concession if we allow the Soviet personnel to remain on American soil.

I have applauded your decision to issue the expulsion order for the Soviet personnel, Mr. President. We cannot tolerate continued Soviet abuse of the international civil service system. Nor can we legitimize their actions by allowing identified espionage agents to remain in this country under any circumstances.

With every best wish,

 TUO

99 :6 HV 6- 130 9861

Sincerely,

Eldon Rudd Member of Congress

ER/ff

Honorable George Shultz ✓ Vice Adm. John M. Poindexter

WASHINGT DE SHELLE 2465 RAYBURN 5 WASHINGTON LO 204 15 (202) 225-33r DISTRICT OFFICE

6900 E CAMELBACK ROAD SCOTTSDALE AZ 85251 (602) 241-2801

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CATHY THIBODEAU

Congressional Correspondence

Department of State

FROM:

KATHY RATTE JAFFKE POPULATION Director, Congressional Correspondence

SUBJECT:

Soviets Expelled from the U.N. Mission

In the attached letter, Congressman Eldon Rudd indicates concern over reports that the Administration may rescind its order that 25 Soviets be expelled from the U.N. mission.

I would appreciate State's guidance in a draft response for Will Ball's signature.

Thanks so much for your help.

cc: Records Management - FYI (ID# 428720)

THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

3631444

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: OCTOBER 06, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE ELDON RUDD

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER NEWS REPORTS

INDICATING THAT THE U.S. MAY RESCIND ITS ORDER THAT 25 SOVIETS BE EXPELLED FROM THE

UNITED NATIONS MISSION

			AC	CTION	DI	SPOSITION	
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,0EOB) EXT-2590 KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

s/s	8631444		
Date_	October	18,	1986

For:

VADM John M. Poindexter National Security Council The White House

Ref	er	en	ce:
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To: Presid	ent Reagan	From:_Congres	silian kuaa
Date: Oct	ober 2, 1986	Subject: 25 So	viets expelled
from UN	Mission		
Referral	Dated: October	7, 1986 II	428720
	e attached item partment of Sta	was sent directly t	(if any)
Action Taken:			
X	A draft reply	is attached.	
	A draft reply	will be forwarded.	
	A translation	is attached.	
	An information	copy of a direct re	eply is attached.
	We believe no cited below.	response is necessar	ry for the reason
	The Department proposed trave	of State has no obj	ection to the
Remarks:	Other.		

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

7577

October 31, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. McDANLEL

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK

R. SCOTT DEAN

SUBJECT:

Reply to Rep. Rudd on US Expulsion of 25 Soviets

from Soviet Mission to the UN

The draft reply at Tab A updates a State draft for Congressman Rudd on the Administration's expulsion of 25 Soviets from the Soviet Mission to the UN.

At Tab I is a memo to Kathy Jaffke for your signature.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I to Kathy Jaffke.

Approve Disapprove

Judyt Mandel, Ron Sable and Steve Sestanovich concur.

Attachments:

Tab I Memo to Kathy Jaffke

Tab A Proposed Reply to Rep. Rudd
Tab B Congressman Rudd's Letter

Tab C Your memo to State requesting draft response

System II 90754 11/3/86 WHITE HOUSE VASHINGTON

PRESERVATION

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SYSTEM II 8641 9

Jack Motlock

SECRET

ACTION

November 3, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

BOB LINHAR

SUBJECT:

Memorandum for SecState on His Vienna Meetings

with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze

Attached at Tab I for your signature, is the memorandum that you had asked via PROFs note (see Tab A) be prepared as a TOR for the Shultz-Shevardnadze meetings in Vienna.

You should note that the attachment to Tab I includes the two items of guidance (on conventional force arms control and on the treatment of third country missiles) that we have recently sent to you for review and approval. We have already gotten your approval on the conventional force item -- but not on the item on third country missiles. These pieces of guidance are referenced in the next to last paragraph of your memorandum to the SecState in a way that would permit you to remove the item on third country missiles if we are not yet in a position to issue this as Presidentially approved guidance. If this is the case, you do need to physically remove this item from the attachment before releasing it.

We have been working with the State staff on the plans for the meetings and the materials to be used in Vienna. Attached at Tab II is a copy of the talking points and "draft directives" that State has prepared, annotated to reflect the changes that the NSC staff have asked by made in these materials. The plan would be to table the "draft directives" as a mechanism to achieve the objectives identified in the TOR memorandum (Tab I).

As far as JCS participation, we have discussed this with the JCS and they will likely send General Moellering. This would be a good solution to that problem.

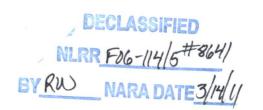
Recommendation

That you sign the memorandum to Secretary Shultz today so that it (Tab I with its attachment) can be formally transmitted to him before his departure at 3 pm tomorrow.

Approve	Disapprove	X

SECRET Declassify on: OADR





Concurrence: Matlock, Kraemer, Brooks, Mahley

cc: Cockell, Rodman

Attachments:

Tab I -- Memorandum for Secretary Shultz (S)

Atch - Other Items of Guidance (S)
Tab A -- PROFs Note Tasking (S)

Tab II -- State Department Materials (S)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ The Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

Your Meetings with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze

Based upon our earlier discussions, the President has reviewed the plans for your upcoming meetings in Vienna with the Soviet Foreign Minister. The President agrees that the U.S. objectives for these meetings are as follows:

- 1. consolidate the accomplishments made at Reykjavik by confirming Soviet agreement on those issues which we feel were resolved to our satisfaction;
- 2. clarify the U.S. and Soviet positions in the Defense and Space area;
- 3. pocket the positive aspects of General Secretary Gorbachev's remarks on verification;
- 4. press for making progress in START, INF and in other areas where common ground exists and resist Soviet attempts to link such progress to the Defense and Space area; and
- 5. confirm Soviet intent to press forward with planned activities in the non-arms control areas as agreed in Reykjavik. (S)

The President also agrees with our objectives in each of the individual areas discussed at Reykjavik. (U)

- With respect to the areas of human rights, regional and bilateral issues, we should confirm the work plan developed in Iceland. (U)
- In START, we should confirm the language agreed at Reykjavik, as well as the supporting understanding reached during the U.S./Soviet experts discussions concerning the implementation of the agreed language. (8)
- In the INF and nuclear testing areas, we should seek Soviet agreement on the language that we have previously proposed. (8)

DECLASSIFIED

SECRE BY QV NARA DATE 11/29/07

Declassify on: OADR

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- -- In the area of Defense and Space, we should:
- a. note for the record the last U.S. proposal made in Reykjavik;
- b. note for the record the last Soviet proposal made in Reykjavik;
- c. identify the key differences between these positions to include:
 - 1. that the Soviet position is more restrictive than the existing ABM Treaty;
 - 2. that we differ on what further reductions should occur during the second five years of the ten-year period; and
 - 3. that we require a clear statement that either side would be free to deploy advanced defenses against ballistic missiles after the ten-year period, unless mutually agreed otherwise. (S)

The most recent instructions to the U.S. Delegation to the Nuclear and Space Talks (documented in NSDD 249) provide the authoritative guidance needed in the START, INF and Defense and Space areas. NSDD 247 provides corresponding guidance in the area of nuclear testing. Also attached are other items of guidance recently approved by the President which will also be helpful to you. With these documents to draw upon as needed, we should be in an excellent position to pursue the objectives outlined above. (S)

The President agrees that, if we are successful in achieving our objectives in Vienna, there could be a statement issued as a result of the meeting. He also agrees that if we are not successful, we should make a concerted effort to present and explain the positions we have recently tabled in Geneva to the public in the U.S. and overseas. (S)

FOR THE PRESIDENT:



PROPOSED NEXT STEPS IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL _(U)

- We would propose to complete the High Level Conventional Task Force (CTF) report for NAC Ministers on December 11-12, to incorporate the following concepts.
- At the NAC Ministerial, Ministers would (1) review the CTF report; (2) endorse the concept of alliance-to-alliance negotiations on Atlantic-to-the-Urals force reductions and limitations, as an essential element of the response to the Halifax mandate; (3) mandate the CTF to remain in existence both to complete details of preparing for such negotiations, and to become the directing body for developing and issuing coordinated "guidance" to the delegations at the negotiations, clearly understood to foreclose individual national positions at the negotiations, and (4) call for the Warsaw Pact to agree to meet at a Preparatory Conference (PrepCon) at a time and place mutually agreed, to establish terms of reference for such a negotiation.
- Subsequent to the NAC statement, the Allies would undertake two separate areas of action at the CSCE RevCon in Vienna, respectively concerning future negotiations within the CSCE framework on confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) and human rights, and outside the CSCE framework on force reductions, as follows:
 - Within CSCE Framework Call on the RevCon to mandate:
 - A new CSBM negotiation, within the CSCE framework, as a follow on to CDE -- a kind of CDE II.
 - A human rights negotiation, within the CSCE framework, of equal status to the above negotiation on CSBM.
 - Outside of the CSCE Framework Call on the RevCon to:
 - take note of the importance of reductions in the forces of the two Alliances;
 - encourage the two Alliances to establish b. negotiations for significant conventional force reductions and limitations from the Atlantic to the Urals; and
 - invite such a negotiation to inform CSCE C. participants not parties to the negotiation periodically on progress in the negotiation.

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DECLASSIFIED SECRET ON ON NARA DATE 11/29/07 SECRET

2

If the Warsaw Pact has responded before the end of the RevCon to the Western invitation, the RevCon could note the encouraging activity on the part of the two Alliances. If the Warsaw Pact does not respond promptly to our invitation, we should seek to have the RevCon urge the Warsaw Pact to respond.

SECRET



SECRET

15

Treatment of Third Country Nuclear Ballistic Missile Systems in U.S. Arms Control Proposals

The guidance below reflects the President's decision on how third country nuclear ballistic missile systems are to be treated in the context of our arms control proposals to the Soviets. (W)

The US would describe its position, if asked, as

- (1) The proposals we have put forward to the Soviets concerning the reduction and elimination of offensive ballistic missiles in the next ten years are bilateral proposals, applying explicitly only to US and USSR systems. As the US has long stated, we do not propose to negotiate, now or in subsequent phases, for third countries (e.g. UK and France). That is a matter of national decision by the country involved. (5)
- (2) Inherent in our proposals for eliminating US and USSR ballistic missiles is the point that both the US and USSR would then be free to deploy advanced defensive systems that would, as well as deter against retention of missiles by either the US or the USSR, provide protection against third country systems, of countries that now have or could acquire such systems. (8)

As a separate point, the US would be willing to support a UK/French position that offered to discuss, in future negotiations following deep US and USSR reductions, prospects for negotiating the level of their national nuclear forces in the context of agreements redressing the conventional imbalance which now favors the Warsaw Pact. The US would also support similar discussions involving the PRC, once again following deep US and Soviet reductions in strategic offensive forces.

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DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/5 #8644

BY CH NARA DATE 11/-09/07

SECRET

10/28/86 13:16:02

From: NSJMP --CPUA

To: NSREL --CPUA BOB LINHARD

-- SECRET --

NOTE FROM: JOHN POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Shultz-Shevardnadze Vienna Meeting

Bob and Jack should plan to go with George for the meeting. You are both invited. I would like a memo from me to George prepared that I can send him before he goes. In a nice tactful way I want it to be essentially a TOR for the meeting. The objective of the meeting would be to confirm and try to get agreement on the issues that were agreed in Reykjavik and to try to separate them from the ABM/SDI issue.

Regional, Human Rights, Bi-lateral: confirm plan from Roz's group

- START: confirm language agreed in Reykjavik
- INF: agree on language we prepared in Reykjavik
- · Nuclear Testing: agree on langauge we prepared
- ABM/SDI: note for the record our last proposal note for the record their last proposal note there are three fundamental differences
 - 1. more restrictive than ABM treaty
 - 2. difference in weapons reduced in second five years
 - 3. freedom to deploy at end of 10 years.

The memo should reference the NSDD on Geneva instructions. Will the NSDD on Nu clear Testing that Herrington referenced yesterday record our current position? If so we should get it out before Vienna and reference it.

My plan would be that if George is successful then there could be a statement out of that meeting. If not, I think he should go public with the positions we have tabled in Geneva.

George agrees with this plan.

cc: NSJFM --CPUA JACK MATLOCK NSAGK --CPUA AL KEEL --CPUA BILL COCKELL --CPUA NSWAC NSPWR PETER RODMAN NSRBM --CPUA ROD MCDANIEL NSWRP --CPUA BOB PEARSON

- 1. CONSOLIDATE WHAT ACCOMPLISHOT

 2. SET DOWN US/SOV POSITIONS ON DIG/SPACE

 3. CAPTURE VERIFICATION -- BENEART

 4. NON-ARMS CONTROL

· 2 MEETINGS - afternoon 5 th

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NLRR FOLD-1145 # 8645

BY QU NARA DATE 11/29/07

10/29/86

SHULTZ-SHEVARDNADZE TALKING POINTS

- -- Ambassador Dubinin has told me you want this to be ambitious meeting, to consolidate progress made at Reykjavik and move forward.
- -- President has said exactly same thing. We're ready.
- Suggest appropriate first step would be to commit to paper everything on which there was common ground at Reykjavik -in arms control and other aspects of our relations -- as well as positions of our two sides on issues where we have yet to find common ground.
- -- With this done, we can then focus on remaining issues to see if some convergence is possible.
- -- Resulting joint texts can form basis for agreements our leaders could sign.

Arms Control

- -- Have with me draft texts for each of the three areas of nuclear and space talks and for testing, as well as for two supplementary areas.
- -- Believe these texts accurately represent positions of our two sides; where there is no common ground, we've included in brackets positions of both sides.
- Suggest we go through each to ensure they are in fact accurate and can provide basis for joint work.

START

- -- START text is drawn from paper negotiated by experts and agreed to by leaders at Reykjavik.
- -- It includes our agreement to 1600 delivery systems, 6000 warheads, certain counting rules for warheads, significant reductions in heavy missiles, and handling of SLCMs.
- -- Have also included three general verification measures agreed to in principle in discussion of INF limits at experts meeting at Reykjavik; believe these measures should be acceptable for START as well.

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DECL: OADR NLRR FO6-114/5 # 8652

BY U NARA DATE 11/79/03

- -- This represents a good amount of progress, but we should not be satisfied to stop here.
- -- Our efforts on this text should focus on fleshing it out further.
- -- We need sublimits to constrain particularly threatening systems, along lines both sides have been discussing. It was agreed at Reykjavik that negotiations on sublimits would continue.
- -- Have proposed such sublimits in Geneva, taking into account Soviet views.
- -- For example, the number we propose for ballistic missile warheads -- 4800 -- is the result of applying an earlier Soviet proposal -- 80% -- to the agreed warhead total of 6000.
- -- We have also adjusted the numbers for the other sublimits in your direction.
- -- Ballistic missiles, and especially ICBMs, pose special threats to stability. Swift, accurate, they threaten the other side's forces. They must be subject to special sublimits.
- -- Completion and implementation of a 50% reductions agreement should move forward; we should not hold it hostage to progress in other areas.

(If he returns to their proposal to cut strategic forces by 50% in each category.)

- -- As we told you in Reykjavik, we cannot agree to 50% cuts in each category, since this would result in unequal levels.
- -- At Reykjavik both sides agreed upon an approach to implement the concept of 50% reductions -- 1600 SNDVs, 6000 warheads, etc. Let's focus on that approach.

INF

- -- INF text records our leaders' agreement on 100 warheads on LRINF missiles -- in the central USSR and in the US.
- -- It also includes agreement of the two sides on general verification measures.
- -- The INF agreement would remain in force until replaced by a new agreement calling for further reductions. This was part of your May 15 draft Treaty.

- -- Text also incorporates both sides' positions on SRINF.
- -- With regard to these systems, we can agree to your proposal to a freeze at current Soviet level. We also agree on prompt follow-on negotiations on reductions of systems of a range less than 1000 KM.
- -- But we cannot agree to unequal levels for our two sides; US must be permitted same level as USSR.
- -- Suggest our efforts on this text focus on resolving this question.
- -- We have long agreed that an INF agreement should not be held hostage to agreements in other areas. Let's follow through and complete a text and put it in force, as an interim agreement if necessary.

Defense and Space

- -- Defense and space text is drawn from final written proposal made by each side at Reykjavik.
- Three crucial questions here -- duration of period of time for which we are prepared to commit not to withdraw from ABM Treaty; situation after that time; constraints during that time.
- -- As for the first, we are prepared to undertake for 10 years (through 1996) not to exercise right of withdrawal from the Treaty.
- Of course, in agreeing not to exercise this right, neither side would be forfeiting right to withdraw for reasons of supreme national interest, or to respond to a material breach, and we will want to make sure this is part of any agreement.
- -- Prepared to meet your concerns through a more limited commitment not to withdraw for purposes of deploying advanced defenses.
- -- Our delegation in Geneva is prepared to discuss this in detail. If you have other concerns, prepared to discuss them.
- -- Turning to second question, we believe that at end of 10-year period, either side should be free to deploy defenses unless parties agree otherwise.

- -- As for third question, we believe that during this 10-year period each side should strictly observe the provisions of ABM Treaty. (Note: broad interpretation.)
- -- When ABM Treaty was negotiated, there was considerable discussion leading to agreement on what provisions of the Treaty permit and prohibit.
- -- We are prepared to set forth our view in detail. We are also prepared to listen to your view of what the Treaty permits and prohibits.
- -- We both have programs. Ours is entirely compliant with the provisions of the Treaty, and will continue to be.
- -- We cannot agree to make the Treaty more restrictive than the agreement signed in 1972.
- -- One additional issue reflected in this text -- nature of arms reductions in second five-year period.
- -- We propose elimination of remaining ballistic missiles; not only would this remove all weapons capable or potentially capable of a surprise first strike, it would also resolve your concern that ballistic missile defenses could be used to degrade your deterrent.

Moving Beyond Initial Reductions

- -- In order to move toward very low levels of nuclear weapons, we must, of course, recognize need to address concerns that require maintenance of a nuclear deterrent today. We should be able to record this recognition in agreed language.
- -- Dealing successfully with these other concerns will be necessary if we are to move beyond initial phase of 50% cuts in START and an interim INF agreement. We must begin to deal with them now.
- -- These steps should come as no surprise. We discussed them last year when I visited Moscow, and President cited them when he answered General Secretary Gorbachev's proposal of January 15.
- -- They include such necessary steps as establishment of a balance in conventional forces, an effective worldwide ban on chemical and biological weapons, and a strengthened nuclear non-proliferation regime. Eventually, we must also consider the involvement of other nuclear powers.

- -- And, of course, further efforts to reduce arms will be greatly influenced by a relaxation of tensions in various regions of the world where conflicts now exist.

 THEREFOLE
- -- As for eliminating all strategic nuclear weapons, or indeed all nuclear weapons, as is President's vision, these remain steps beyond what we are considering here today.

Verification

- -- General Secretary Gorbachev made a number of points in Reykjavik on verification and its importance with which we can agree.
- -- This too should be recorded.
- -- Our agreement on need for effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed must be implemented with concrete measures in each agreement.
- -- Language in directives on START, INF and Defense and Space is completely consistent with this text.
- -- Would like to emphasize importance of inspections; am pleased that your side now recognizes that importance.
- -- Use of inspections can solve problems as they arise and give both sides confidence that agreements are being honored.
- -- It makes no sense to arbitrarily limit number of inspections, since we cannot now predict frequency of problems.
- -- Purpose of such inspections is to give each side confidence in integrity of agreements.
- -- Suggest we add language to effect that agreements will provide for use of inspections to resolve problems that may arise and give confidence in compliance with obligations assumed.

Nuclear Testing

- -- Text on nuclear testing reflects our agreement on negotiations on testing, except for how those negotiations should be characterized.
- -- Negotiations would begin promptly. The first item on the agenda would be to resolve the verification problems with the 1974 and 1976 agreements.

[Once these problems are resolved found the treaties ratificed]

SECRET/SENSITIVE

- -- We would then immediately proceed to address further step-by-step limitations on nuclear testing in parallel with the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons, leading ultimately to cessation of testing. [We are prepared to say that publicly.]
- -- Let's see if we can bridge the semantics gap, and move forward on this issue as we progress in other areas.

Next Step

- -- Have a team of arms control experts with me; know you have brought some as well.
- -- Suggest we turn these texts over to them to see what progress they can make, for our review tomorrow.
- -- With sufficient progress, we might consider releasing at least some of the texts as a consolidation of US-Soviet understandings; I have some possible_language for an appropriate chapeau.

(0516a)

-- as we have stated before, a comprehensive test bor remains a long-term objective to be viewed in the context of a time when we do not need to depend upon nuclear detterence to ensure interactional security and stability, and when we have achieved deep, broad, and verificiable aims reductions, improved verification capabilities, expanded confidence-building measures, and a greater balance in conventional forces.

* (FYI: By "RESOLVED" WE WOULD PREFER THAT THE VERIFICATION ISSUE ASSOCIATED WITH TIBT/PLET HAS BEEN ELIMINATED AND THE TREATICE ARE RATIFICED. AS A MINIMUM, BY "RESOLVED" WE WOULD EXPECT PROTOCK NEEDED TO BE FINALIZED AND ARREST BY BOTH SIDES PENDING RATIFICATION.)

10/29/86

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DIRECTIVES ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

Having considered during their working meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12, 1986, the state of affairs with respect to strategic offensive arms and having drawn the positions of the two countries substantially closer together, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have agreed to direct their countries' Foreign Ministers to prepare the text of a document based on the key provisions set out hereunder, for signature in Washington during the official visit to the United States of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on (date).

1. The sides shall reduce their strategic offensive arms by fifty percent, taking into account historically formed distinctive features of the structures of the sides' strategic forces, as follows:

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DECL: OADR

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NLRR FO6-114/5 78654

- a. The sides shall reduce the aggregate number of deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers to a level not to exceed 1600.
- b. The sides shall reduce the aggregate number of warheads on deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers to a level not to exceed 6000. For the purpose of counting warheads pursuant to this limit, each heavy bomber carrying gravity bombs or short-range attack missiles shall count as one warhead and each long-range air-launched cruise missile carried by a heavy bomber shall count as one warhead.
- c. Within this framework, reductions shall apply to all types of strategic offensive arms, including a significant number of heavy missiles. Both sides retain the right to propose additional sublimits within the limits specified in paragraphs a. and b. above.
- d. The sides shall find a mutually acceptable solution to limiting deployment of long-range nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missiles.

- 2. The sides in the course of negotiating a treaty to codify the above reductions and limitations shall agree to measures which permit effective verification of compliance with the obligations assumed. Specific verification measures shall include: (1) a comprehensive and accurate exchange of data, both prior to reductions and thereafter; (2) on-site observation of elimination down to agreed levels; and (3) effective monitoring of the remaining inventories and associated facilities, including on-site inspection.
- 3. Within the context of the reductions and limitations above, the sides shall negotiate other appropriate constraints.
- 4. On all matters relating to the problem of strategic offensive arms the sides will negotiate having regard for their mutual interests and concerns, and displaying a political will to reach agreement.

(0512a)

10/29/86

DIRECTIVES ON INTERIM REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

Having considered during their working meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12, 1986, the state of affairs with respect to strategic offensive arms and having drawn the positions of the two countries substantially closer together, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have agreed to direct their countries' Foreign Ministers to prepare the text of a document based on the key provisions set out hereunder, for signature in Washington during the official visit to the United States of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on (date).

1. The sides shall, as an interim step, reduce their strategic offensive arms by fifty percent, taking into account historically formed distinctive features of the structures of the sides' strategic forces, as follows:

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NLRR F06-114/5 #8655

BY CV NARA DATE 11/29/07

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECL: OADR

- 2 -

- a. The sides shall reduce the aggregate number of deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers to a level not to exceed 1600.
- b. The sides shall reduce the aggregate number of warheads on deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers to a level not to exceed 6000. For the purpose of counting warheads pursuant to this limit, each heavy bomber carrying gravity bombs or short-range attack missiles shall count as one warhead and each long-range air-launched cruise missile carried by a heavy bomber shall count as one warhead.
- c. Within this framework, reductions shall apply to all types of strategic offensive arms, including a significant number of heavy missiles. Both sides retain the right to propose additional sublimits within the limits specified in paragraphs a. and b. above.
- d. The sides shall find a mutually acceptable solution to limiting deployment of long-range nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missiles.

- 3 -

- 2. The sides in the course of negotiating a treaty to codify the above reductions and limitations shall agree to measures which permit effective verification of compliance with the obligations assumed. Specific verification measures shall include: (1) a comprehensive and accurate exchange of data, both prior to reductions and thereafter; (2) on-site observation of elimination down to agreed levels; and (3) effective monitoring of the remaining inventories and associated facilities, including on-site inspection.
- 3. Within the context of the reductions and limitations above, the sides shall negotiate other appropriate constraints.
- 4. The agreement resulting from these negotiations shall remain in force until superseded by a later agreement calling for further reductions in strategic offensive arms.
- 5. On all matters relating to the problem of strategic offensive arms the sides will negotiate having regard for their mutual interests and concerns, and displaying a political will to reach agreement.

(0519a)

10/29/86

DIRECTIVES ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR ARMS

Having considered during their working meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12, 1986, the state of affairs with respect to intermediate-range nuclear arms and having drawn the positions of the two countries substantially closer together, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have agreed to direct their countries' Foreign Ministers to prepare the text of a document based on the key provisions set out hereunder, for signature in Washington during the official visit to the United States of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on (date).

1. The sides shall reduce their intermediate-range nuclear missiles of longer range to an equal global limit of 100 warheads on these missiles. The 100 warheads on the Soviet side shall be deployed in the central USSR; the 100 on the US side shall be deployed in the United States.

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DECL: OADR

NLRR F06-114/5 #265 BY CA NARA DATE !

- 2. The sides shall agree to concurrently [constrain]¹
 [freeze]² deployed intermediate-range nuclear missiles of shorter range [to the current Soviet level of ____. Constraints on these missiles shall take into account their capabilities and reflect equality between the US and the Soviet Union.]¹
 [at current levels.]². Negotiations on reductions in missiles with a range less than 1000 kilometers shall begin within six months of completion of a treaty incorporating the elements described herein.
- 3. The sides in the course of negotiating a treaty to codify the above reductions and limitations shall agree to measures which permit effective verification of compliance with the obligations assumed. Specific verification measures shall include: (1) a comprehensive and accurate exchange of data, both prior to reductions and thereafter; (2) on-site observation of elimination down to agreed levels; and (3) effective monitoring of the remaining inventories and associated facilities, including on-site inspection.

¹ US proposal

² Soviet proposal

- 4. The sides shall agree to a reductions schedule such that the above limits will be reached within five years. The limits will remain in effect until superseded by an agreement providing for further reductions.
- 5. Within the context of the reductions and limitations above, the sides shall negotiate other appropriate constraints.
- 6. On all matters relating to the problem of intermediate-range nuclear arms the sides will negotiate having regard for their mutual interests and concerns, and displaying a political will to reach agreement.

(0495a)

10/29/86

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DIRECTIVES ON DEFENSE AND SPACE ARMS

Having considered during their working meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12, 1986, the state of affairs with respect to defense and space arms and their relationship to reductions in offensive arms, and having drawn the positions of the two countries substantially closer together, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have agreed to direct their countries' Foreign Ministers to prepare the text of a document based on the key provisions set out hereunder, for signature in Washington during the official visit to the United States of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on (date).

1. The sides shall undertake for ten years not to exercise their existing right of withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, which is of unlimited duration. During that period, the sides shall strictly observe all the provisions of the ABM Treaty, while continuing research, development and testing, which are

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NLRR FOL-114/5 #8657

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DECL: OADR

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permitted by the Treaty, and shall reduce offensive arms as outlined below. [The testing in space of all space components of anti-ballistic missile defense is prohibited, except research and testing conducted in laboratories.]²

- 2. Within the first five years of the ten-year period (and thus through 1991), the strategic offensive arms of the two sides shall be reduced by fifty percent.
- 3. During the following five years of that period, the remaining [offensive ballistic missiles] [fifty percent of the strategic offensive arms] of the two sides shall be eliminated [as an interim step leading toward the elimination of all nuclear arms].
- 4. Thus, by the end of 1996, all [offensive ballistic missiles] [strategic offensive arms] of the USSR and the United States will have been totally eliminated.
- 5. At the end of this ten-year period, [either side shall be allowed to deploy advanced strategic defenses if it so chooses, unless the sides agree otherwise.] [the two sides shall, in the succeeding several years, find in the course of negotiations further mutually acceptable solutions in this field.] 2

SECRET/SENSITIVE

¹ US proposal
2 Soviet proposal

SECRET/SENSITIVE

- 6. The sides in the course of negotiating a treaty to codify the above reductions and limitations shall agree to measures which permit effective verification of compliance with the obligations assumed. Specific verification measures shall include: (1) a comprehensive and accurate exchange of data, both prior to reductions and thereafter; (2) on-site observation of elimination down to agreed levels; and (3) effective monitoring of the remaining inventories and associated facilities, including on-site inspection.
- 7. Within the context of the reductions and limitations above, the sides shall negotiate other appropriate constraints.
- 8. On all matters relating to the problem of defense and space arms and their relationship to reductions in offensive arms, the sides will negotiate having regard for their mutual interests and concerns, and displaying a political will to reach agreement:

(0513a)

* HOLD ON TABLING
THIS PENDING
DISCUSSION - CHANGES
NEEDETT

DIRECTIVES ON KEY CONSIDERATIONS IN MOVING BEYOND INITIAL REDUCTIONS

The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union hold as an ultimate goal the elimination of nuclear weapons. Toward this goal, arms reductions agreements must ensure stability and confidence at every step along the way. This requires an appreciation of the relationship between the nuclear balance and a complex of other critical security and arms control questions, including the need for a stable balance of conventional forces, for an effective worldwide ban on chemical and biological weapons, for a strengthened nuclear non-proliferation regime, and for a corresponding effort to relieve tensions in various regions where conflicts currently exist. The United States and Soviet Union agree that they will, in conjunction with their respective allies, work urgently on these issues in the recognition that their resolution will be critical to reductions of nuclear arms beyond those envisioned for the first phase

(0526a)

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DECL: OADR

NLRR 406-114/5 #068

10/29/86

DIRECTIVES ON VERIFICATION

Having considered during their working meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12, 1986, the importance of verification to the arms control process and having drawn the positions of the two countries substantially closer together, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have agreed to the following directives on verification:

- 1. The sides agree that they are now engaged in a concrete process aimed at arriving at agreements and they recognize that verification has an important part to play in this process.
- 2. The sides recall their commitment at Geneva that during the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

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NLRR <u>F06-114/5</u> #8659

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DECL: OADR

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- 3. They stress that effective verification is necessary to achieve far-reaching and enduring agreements leading to greater peace and an improvement of the international situation.
- 4. The sides agree that verification provisions will be strict, well defined and will ensure that both sides will have confidence in the observance of agreements reached.
- 5. Consequently, both sides are prepared to implement effective verification by any means necessary. Specific verification measures shall include: (1) a comprehensive and accurate exchange of data, both prior to reductions and thereafter; (2) on-site observation of elimination down to agreed levels; and (3) effective monitoring of the remaining inventories and associated facilities, including on-site inspection.

(0521a)



DIRECTIVES ON NUCLEAR TESTING

Having considered during their working meeting at Reykjavik, Iceland, on October 11-12, 1986, the state of affairs with respect to nuclear testing, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have agreed to begin negotiations on [nuclear testing]¹ [the cessation of nuclear testing]². The agenda for these negotiations will first be to resolve remaining verification issues associated with existing treaties. With this resolved, the US and USSR will immediately proceed, in parallel with the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons, to address further step-by-step limitations on testing leading ultimately to the elimination of nuclear testing.

1 US proposal
2 Soviet proposal

(0496a)

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECL: OADR

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NLRR FO6-114/5 #8668

BY CU NARADATE 11/29/17

REPORT OF US-SOVIET UNDERSTANDINGS

In their discussions at Reykjavik, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had as their aim the development of instructions to Foreign Ministers to be transmitted to their respective negotiators. The understandings that emerged in Reykjavik, and which have been developed and reconfirmed here in Vienna, are as follows.

(0518a)

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DECL: OADR

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NLRR F06-114/5 #8661 BY CU NARA DATE!/29/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C., 20506

November 3, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR ALTON G. KEEL

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT:

Tass Article on Gorbachev Meeting With

Tofflers and Other Writers/Cultural Figures

Attached at Tab A is a Tass report as translated by FBIS on Gorbachev's meeting on October 21 with several Western cultural figures. FBIS translated the report as it appeared in the October 22 <u>Literaturnaya Gazeta</u>, but the same report appeared in that day's Pravda.

The meeting included: "Albin Toffler and Haide Toffler," Arthur and Inga Miller, "writer James Baldwin and actor David Baldwin," Peter Ustinoff and Claude Simon.

Tass reports that Gorbachev said that "There is the need...to awaken the conscience and responsibility of each person for the destinies of peace." Reykjavik "showed that it is possible to reach agreements which would set the beginning to the elimination of nuclear weapons." Soviet proposals open rather than close the door for mutually acceptable solutions.

Speaking on "the restructuring processes and changes under way" in the USSR, "Gorbachev dwelt on the spread of questions concerning the country's socioeconomic development, democracy, and broad publicity. Soviet intelligentsia -- and this is very important -- has vigorously joined the restructuring process, and not simply joined, but became its fervent advocate."

III. 22 Oct 86 USSR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
WORLD & REGIONAL ISSUES

GORBACHEV MEETS CULTURAL WORKERS IN KIRGHIZIA

PM211529 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS -- Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 20 October received a group of prominent cultural workers who had attended an international meeting in Kirghizia at the invitation of Soviet author Chinghiz Aitmatov.

Taking part in the conversation were writer James Baldwin and actor David Baldwin, both of the United States, writer Yasar Kemal of Turkey, president of the Club of Rome Alexander King of Britain; composer Omer Livanelli of Turkey, public figure Federico Mayor of Spain, composer Naroyan Menon of India, writer Arthur Miller and artist Inga Miller, both of the United States, writer Lisandro Otero of Cuba, writer Claude Simon of France, artist Afework Tekle of Ethiopia, philosophers Albin Toffler and Haide Toffler of the United States, writer and actor Peter Ustinoff of Britain, member of the UNESCO secretariat Augusto Forti of Italy and writer Chinghiz Aitmatov of the Soviet Union, president of the Issyk-Kul Forum.

At the meeting, which passed in a frank and friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of views on a wide range of problems of our time dealing with the destinies of peace, civilization and culture.

The participants in the conversation noted that at the Issyk-Kul forum they discussed many outstanding problems faced by mankind today and which it can encounter tomorrow. They said that creative intelligentsia could make a substantial contribution to the molding of a new thinking meeting the goals of the progress of mankind on the threshold of the third millenium.

In his speech Mikhail Gorbachev noted that he readily decided to respond to the wish to meet him expressed by the cultural personalities. He congratulated the participants in the Issyk-Kul forum with success and wished that this forum, which he described as a good beginning, be kept going.

"The advantage of your meeting," Mikhail Gorbachev said further, "is that it has been attended by most different people. But they have been able to rise above everything that divides them and reach consensus on the principal issue — the issue of everyone's responsibility for the future of mankind. This is a lesson for all others."

"Way back at the beginning of this century Vladimir Lenin voiced an idea of a tremendous depth when he said that general human values took priority over the tasks of this or that class. The significance of this thought is felt especially keenly today. It is very desired that in the other part of the world too they understand and accept the thesis about the priority of the general human values over all others to which some or other people are committed."

"Mankind has always had enough reason, courage and conscience to sort out the reasons behind these or other upheavals. This often happened, alas, only after the misfortunes had happened. Just imagine the kind of world we would enjoy today if people had been able to ward off a misfortune in time whenever it was on their threshold."

42

"We have all drawn lessons from the past and, overcoming hardships and privations, have all risen to our feet again and marched forward, choosing our own roads. But only imagine what will happen if we fail to fend off the nuclear threat looming large over our common human home. If this happens, there would no longer be a possibility to rectify mistakes. Now we have really reached the critical moment in history when it is obvious that the fatal danger can only be removed by joint effort."

There is the need to speak at the top of one's voice about the concerns of our time, jointly to conduct the search for necessary solutions in consolidating the peaceful present and future, to awaken the conscience and responsibility of each person for the destinies of peace.

Man is, ultimately, what is all-important. If progress in some or other area is accompanied by human losses — not only spiritual or political but also physical ones — the system which allows for such losses should be called in question. Civilization with all its difficulties and contradictions should be preserved for life, for man. And if mankind lives, it will sort out contradictions this way or another.

Mikhail Gorbachev shared his impressions of the meeting with the U.S. President in Reykjavik. This meeting, he stressed, showed that it is possible to reach agreements which would set the beginning to the elimination of nuclear weapons. The program of new proposals put forward by the USSR opens rather than closes the door to the quest for mutually acceptable solutions. It provides the real opportunity to unlock the deadlock. But the meeting showed at the same time that no small difficulties should be overcome on the road towards agreements.

One of the principal lessons of Reykjavik is that a new political thinking, corresponding to the realities of the nuclear age, is the indispensable condition for breaking out of the critical situation in which mankind has found itself at the turn of the 20th century. Deep modifications in the political thinking of the entire human community are needed.

The spiritual energy of scientists and cultural personalities, their intellectual and moral authority can be instrumental in shaping this new thinking. The Issyk-Kul forum fully confirms this.

Speaking about the restructuring processes and changes under way in our country, Mikhail Gorbachev dwelt on the spread of questions concerning the country's socioeconomic development, democracy, and broad publicity.

Soviet intelligentsia -- and this is very important -- has vigorously joined the restructuring process, and not simply joined, but became its fervent advocate. All of our society was set in motion and this movement is gaining momentum.

In conclusion, the cultural personalities cordially thanked Mikhail Gorbachev for the conversation.

7767

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 3, 1986

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT:

Clearing All TDM Travel to US Embassy Moscow

Through State

At Tab I is a memo from Rod McDaniel to US agencies to require them to clear all temporary travel to our Embassy in Moscow through the Soviet desk at State. State has asked that we do this in light of the Soviets' withdrawal of all Soviet workers from the Embassy and the Soviet threat to reduce severely the number of USG TDY travelers to the Embassy. It would not prevent those on exchange programs from traveling to the Soviet Union, nor affect non-government travel. (C)

State's request seems very reasonable to me in light of the situation. It seems particularly important that if the Soviets will limit the number of TDY workers at the Embassy/Consulate, we coordinate to send our most important TDYers first. I recommend that you authorize Rod McDaniel to issue the directive. (U)

Dave Major had some concerns with the original memo. He was out today but the new draft should take care of his concerns. (LOU)

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Rod McDaniel to sign the memo at Tab I instructing agencies to clear all TDY travel to the US Embassy in Moscow with State. (LOU)

Approve _____ Disapprove ____ Sofate Cobb, John Lenczowski, Judyt Mandel and Steve Sestanovich concur.

Attachments

Memo from McDaniel to US agencies

Tab A Platt-Poindexter Memo

State Draft for McDaniel Memo Tab B

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/5 #8646 BY RW NARA DATE 3/14/11

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. WASHINGTON, D.O. 20506

7767

November 3, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM STAPLES
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Mr. Floyd Gaibler Confidential Assistant to the Secretary Department of Agriculture

Mr. Richard Meyer Executive Secretary Agency for International Development

Mr. Beryl Sprinkel Chairman President's Council of Economic Advisers

Mr. John H. Rixse Executive Secretary Central Intelligence Agency

Mrs. Helen Robbins Executive Assistant to the Secretary Department of Commerce

Mr. William von Raab Commissioner U.S. Customs Service

Colonel David R. Brown Executive Secretary Department of Defense

Mr. William Vitale Department of Energy

Mr. Fitzhugh Green
Associate Administrator of International
Activities
Environmental Protection Agency

Mr. William H. Draper, III
President and Chairman
Export-Import Bank of the U.S.

NLRR 606-114/5 #86+7

45

Mr. James Geer Assistant Director, Intelligence Division Federal Bureau of Investigation

Ms. Janice Obuchowski
Assistant to the Chairman for
International Communications
Federal Communications Commission

Mr. Charles Siegman Senior Associate Director Division of International Finance Federal Reserve Board

Mr. Terence C. Golden Administrator General Services Administration

Mr. James J. Delaney Executive Secretary Department of Health and Human Services

Mr. Stephen Gleason Executive Assistant to the Secretary Department of the Interior

Captain Joseph C. Strasser, USN Executive Assistant to the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff

Mr. Stephen Galebach Senior Special Assistant to the Attorney General Department of Justice

Mr. Dennis Whitfield Under Secretary-Department of Labor

Mr. Richard Barnes Director of International Affairs National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Mr. Samuel Chilk Secretary of the Commission Nuclear Regulatory Commission -3-

MR. JAMES GEER Assistant Director, Intelligence Division Federal Bureau of Investigation

MR. BODA BARTOCHA
Division Director
Division of International Programs
National Science Foundation

MR. WILLIAM H. DRAPER, III President and Chairman Export-Import Bank of the U.S.

MS. JANICE OBUCHOWSKI
Assistant to the Chairman for
International Communications
Federal Communications Commission

MR. CHARLES SIEGMAN
Senior Associate Director Division of
International Finance
Federal Reserve Board

National Security Agency

MR. WILLIAM VON RAAB Commissioner U.S. Customs Service

SUBJECT:

TDY Travel to the USSR

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose a ceiling on U.S. TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we reduce non-essential TDY travel to Moscow and reduce the number of official delegations and visitors requiring Embassy services.

All U.S. agencies planning official travel to the Soviet Union should clear travel plans with the Office of Soviet Union Affairs of the Department of State, which will coordinate the plans with Embassy Moscow. Travel plans should be submitted in writing to EUR/SOV, Room 4225, The Department of State, (647-8956, 647-8670). The Office of Soviet Union Affairs will work with concerned agencies to establish a regular mechanism to facilitate the coordination of TDY travel over the longer term.

CONFIDENTIAL

This memorandum complements the President's Directive of February 22, 1982, on foreign travel, which requires that travel by government officials at the level of Assistant Secretary or above be approved by the National Security Adviser.

The Embassy will make every effort to provide as much support as possible. However, it will be unable to give its customary level of visitor support for the present. While the usual vehicle support, hotel reservations, ticketing, check cashing, and snack bar/commissary support will not be available from the Embassy, they normally can be obtained through Intourist. Exchange visitors should arrange to rely on their Soviet host organizations or Intourist for these services.

Rodney B. McDaniel Executive Secretary

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

October 25, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Clearing TDY Visitors to Embassy Moscow

In light of the Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we curtail TDY travel to Moscow and sharply reduce the number of delegations and visitors whose programs could have an impact on Embassy facilities.

The withdrawal of local employees and consequent need to restructure staffing patterns means that the Embassy will be unable to provide its customary level of visitor support for an indefinite time. In addition, the Soviet decision to establish restrictions on US TDY travel will require us to examine all such travel carefully. We recognize that this will pose operational difficulties for US agencies in Moscow but only close coordination of TDY travel will enable us to meet basic USG objectives and equally distribute the burdens involved.

We request that the NSC issue the attached directive requiring that all US agencies clear prospective TDY travel with the Department of State, which will coordinate these plans with Embassy Moscow. The Department of State will work with concerned agencies to establish mechanisms for clearing and coordinating TDY travel to the USSR.

In addition, all agencies with programs and exchanges in the USSR should be aware that the Embassy will normally not be able to provide the usual vehicle support, hotel reservations and ticketing arrangements, check cashing facilities and snack bar or commissary support. Exchange visitors whose support will be provided by Soviet host organizations may proceed to the USSR but they should not expect any of these services from Embassy Moscow.

Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

NLRR F06-1145 #8662 Decl:0adr

BY CH NARA DATE: 1 49/07

49

CONFIDENTIAL

SUGGESTED DRAFT

TO: Executive Secretaries

All Executive Branch Agencies

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we curtail TDY travel to Moscow and sharply reduce the number of official delegations and visitors whose programs could have an impact on Embassy facilities.

The withdrawal of Soviet locals and consequent need to restructure Embassy Moscow staffing patterns means that the Embassy will be unable to provide its customary level of visitor support for an indefinite period of time. In addition, the Soviet decision to establish restrictions on TDY travel to Moscow requires that all such travel be carefully coordinated.

ILRR FO6-114/5# 8/de3

CONFIDENTIAL

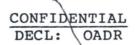
DECL: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

All US agencies planning official travel to the Soviet Union should clear travel plans with the Office of Soviet Union Affairs of the Department of State, which will coordinate these plans with Embassy Moscow. Travel plans should be submitted in writing to EUR/SOV, Room 4225, The Department of State (647-8956; 647-8670). The Office of Soviet Union Affairs will work with concerned agencies to establish a regular mechanism to facilitate the coordination of TDY travel over the long term.

In addition, all agencies with programs and exchanges in the USSR should be aware that the Embassy will normally not be able to provide the usual vehicle support, hotel reservations and ticketing arrangements, check cashing facilities and snack bar or commissary support. Exchange visitors whose support will be provided by Soviet host organizations may proceed to the USSR but they should not expect any of these services from Embassy Moscow.



TIME STAMP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

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ACTION OFFICER: MATLOCK		DUE: 27 October		
☐ Prepare Memo For President	☐ Prepare	☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew		
Prepare Memo For Poindexter	/ Keel Prepare	☐ Prepare Memo McDaniel to Dolan		
Prepare Memo	to to			
CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*	PHONE* to action officer	rat ext. 5112		
FYI =	FYI	FYI		
☐ ☐ Brooks	☐ ☐ Lavin	Ross		
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INFORMATION A McDaniel Rodman Poindexter (adv	Pearson Cockell vance) Keel (advance)	Secretariat		
COMMENTS				

Not & copy but so 42 ottoch to my Man appy of 7767 This is State's draft as approved by sveryour

TO:

Executive Secretaries

All Executive Branch Agencies

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy

Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on

US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we all non-current

Curtail TDY travel to Moscow and sharply reduce the number of official delegations and visitors whose programs could have an impact on Embassy facilities.

The withdrawal of Soviet locals and consequent need to restructure Embassy Moscow staffing patterns means that the Embassy will be unable to provide its customary level of visitor support for an indefinite period of time. In addition, the Soviet decision to establish restrictions on TDY travel to Moscow requires that all such travel be carefully coordinated.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-1145 +8W4

CONFIDENTIAL BY CU NARADATE 1/19/07

DECL: OADR

All US agencies planning official travel to the Soviet
Union should clear travel plans with the office of Soviet UT

Affairs of the Department of State, which will coordinate the plans with Embassy Moscow. Travel plans should be submitted writing to EUR/SOV, Room 4225, The Department of State

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CONFIDENTIAL DECL: OADR

FOR From Scott Dean X6959

FOR From Scott Dean X6959

CONFIDENTIAL CON

TO:

Executive Secretaries

All Executive Branch Agencies

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CONFIDENTIAL

DECL: OADR

NURR FOB-114/5 # FULS

CU NARA DATE 11/09/07

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the USSR but they should not expect any of these services from will have Embassy Moscow. and they host organization

> CONFIDENTIAL OADR DECL:

For John, Dave Major, Steve Sestanovich Stern Your clearance by COB today (Wed 29th)

From Scott Dean X 6959

CONFIDENTIAL (Amb Motlock has not yet seen.)

SUGGESTED DRAFT

Peter: This is more up your alley.

TO:

Executive Secretaries

All Executive Branch Agencies

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy

Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on

US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we

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DECLASSIFIED

NLRR FOLD-114/5 T#8646

CONFIDENTIAL BY CV NARA DATE 11/29/07

DECL: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

All US agencies planning official travel to the Soviet

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CONFIDENTIAL DECL: OADR

I'm hoping my printer will actually work weren we battery.

Neprent this for final-please ignore the chooked lettery.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 2050£

October ? B, 1986

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK

SCOTT DEAN

SUBJECT:

Clearing All TDY Travel to US Embassy Moscow

Through State

At Tab I is a memo from Rod McDaniel to US agencies to required them to clear all temporary travel to our Embassy in Moscow through the Soviet desk at State. State has asked that we do this in light of the Soviets' withdrawal of all Soviet workers from the Embassy and the Soviet threat to reduce severely the number of USG TDY travelers to the Embassy. It would not prevent those on exchange programs from traveling to the Soviet Union, nor affect non-government travel. (Q (

State's request seems very reasonable to me in light of the situation and I recommend that you authorize Rod McDaniel to issue the directive. (U)

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Rod McDaniel to sign the memo at Tab I instructing agencies to clear all TDY travel to the US Embas y in Moscow with State. (LOU)

Approve	Disapprove

Ty Cobb, John Lenczowski, Dave Major, Judyt Mandel and Steve Sestanovich concur.

Attachments

Tab I Memo from McDaniel to US agencies

Tab A Platt-Poindexter Memo

Tab B State Draft for McDaniel Memo with hindwritten NSC changes

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 66-114/5#8648

BY RW NARA DATE 3/14/1/

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

7767

October 25, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Clearing TDY Visitors to Embassy Moscow

In light of the Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we curtail TDY travel to Moscow and sharply reduce the number of delegations and visitors whose programs could have an impact on Embassy facilities.

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> Nicholas Platt Executive Secretary

Decl:Oadr

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR FOLD-114/5 # 8467

BY CH NARA DATE 11/79/07

For your clearance by COB today (Wed 29th)

From Scott Dean X 6959

CONFIDENTIAL (Amb Motlock has not yet seen.)

SUGGESTED DRAFT

Fine: SRS

TO:

Executive Secretaries

All Executive Branch Agencies

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we curtail TDY travel to Moscow and sharply reduce the number of official delegations and visitors whose programs could have an impact on Embassy facilities.

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DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/5 #8468

CONFIDENTIAL

BY CJ NARA DATE 1/0/0

DECL: OADR

For Tys John, Dave Major, Steve Sestanovich W For your clearance by COB today (Wed 29th) From Scott Dean X 6959 CONFIDENTIAL (Amb Motlock has not yet seen.)

SUGGESTED DRAFT

TO:

Executive Secretaries

All Executive Branch Agencies

Scott - John good to me to me John L

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose restrictions on US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we all non-carried curtail TDY travel to Moscow and sharply reduce the number of official delegations and visitors whose programs could have an impact on Embassy facilities.

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DECLASSIFIED

MLRR FO6-114/5 +8WA

BY GJ NARA DATE 4/107

CONTIDUNTIAL

DECL: OADR

7767

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October(? 8, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK

SCOTT DEAN

SUBJECT:

Clearing All TDY Travel to US Embassy Moscow

Through State

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RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Rod McDaniel to sign the memo at Tab I instructing agencies to clear all TDY travel to the US Embas y in Moscow with State. (LOU)

Approve	Disapprove
---------	------------

Ty Cobb, John Lenczowski, Dave Major, Judyt Mandel and Steve Sestanovich concur.

Attachments

Memo from McDaniel to US agencies

Tab A Platt-Poindexter Memo

Tab B State Draft for McDaniel Memo

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

10/30/86 09:

MSG FROM: NSRSD --CPUA TO: NSPMC --CPUA

To: NSPMC --CPUA

*** Resending note of 10/30/86 09:44

To: NSPWR --CPUA

*** Reply to note of 10/29/86 18:53

NOTE FROM: David Major

Subject: Moscow Staffing STATE'S MEMO"CLEARING TDY VISITORS TO EMBASSY MOSCOW" I AGREE WITH JUDTY, THE SOVIET'S HAVE BEEN AGGRESSIVELY SURVEILLING OUR PEOPLE IN MOSCOW, HERE THE FBI IS BEING AS SENSITIVE AS POSSIBLE AND IN FACT A FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP EXISTS ON THE STREET. STATE SOV APPEARS TO BE PREPARED TO MAKE THE SITUATION OUT SO BAD WE WILL TURN ON OURSELVES JUST TO FULLFILL THEIR PREDICTIONS. EXAMPLE IS THE DRAFT MEMO ON TDY WITH LANGUAGE LIKE "curtail tdy travel to Moscow", "sharply reduce delegaand visitors whose programs could have a negative impact on the Embassy facilities" THEY ARE IN BUSINESS TO PROVIDE FACILITIES, THESE COMMENTS SE A VERY NEGATIVE ATMOSPHERE AND CERTAINLY NOT AN UP BEAT CAN DO ATTITUDE. COMMENTS LIKE "ALL AGENCIES WITH PROGRAMS AND EXCAHNGES IN THE USSR should be aware the embassy will not normally be able to provide the usual vehicle support, hotel reservations and ticket arrangements check cashing facilities snack bar or commissary support" THIS MEMO IS NOT NECESSARY. IT LOOK LIKE STATE IS SAYING "SEE I TOLD YOU SO" THE WORLD IS GOING TO HELLIN A HAND CART THE SOVIETS ARE NOT SENDING OUT GLOOM AND DOOM INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR AGENCIES.

I OPPOSE SENDING THIS MEMO, UNLESS IT IS DRAMATICALLY CHANGES TO BE UPBEAT IN TONE.

cc: NSTC --CPUA SESTANOV--VAXB --CPUA NSRSD NSWAC --CPUA

NSJFM --CPUA NSJL --CPUA NSKED --CPUA NSDGM --CPUA

NLRR F06-114/5#8650 BY LW NARA DATE 3/14/1

For Amb. Motlock

For Your approval to

Send out ASAP so you

can send up of final text

to Poindexten before you

leave withe the Secretory

without so that you

culless you prefer to wait so that you

are around white the Admiral considers it.) but

Lets fry to move with it to day. (Keel cam sign for JMP- or they sign for JMP- or they can day com it to be for Jack

de

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Nov. 3, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE MAJOR

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK

SUBJECT:

Memo to Agencies on Immediate Travel to Embassy

Moscow

Thanks for your prof note. Please take a look at the new draft below. I believe it addresses the concerns you mentioned earlier. I'd prefer not having to send up a split recommendation, but do intend to send up something today or Tuesday.

Everyone else has cleared State's draft with the modifications you saw earlier. I believe that given the Soviet actions, it is necessary to coordinate US travel to Moscow and Leningrad. If the Soviets intend to limit the number of TDYers traveling to work at the Embassy, we should make sure we are sending our most important TDYers first.

Please get back to me today on this. Thanks.

Draft for memo to Exec Secs

In light of the recent Soviet decision to withdraw Embassy Moscow's staff of local employees and to impose a ceiling on US TDY travel to the USSR, Ambassador Hartman has asked that we reduce non-essential TDY travel to Moscow and reduce the number of official delegations and visitors requiring Embassy services.

All US agencies planning official travel to the Soviet Union should clear travel plans with the Office of Soviet Union Affairs of the Department of State, which will coordinate the plans with Embassy Moscow. Travel plans should be submitted in writing to EUR/SOV, Room 4225, The Department of State, (647-8956, 647-8670). The Office of Soviet Union Affairs will work with concerned agencies to establish a regular mechanism to facilitate the coordination of TDY travel over the longer term.

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DECLASSIFIED | RE | EASO)

NLRR 906-114/5 # 8051

BY CH NARA DATE 11/79/07