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Council: Head of State File: Records

Folder: U.S.S.R: General Secretary Gorbachev
(8690389-8690433)

Box: 40

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: HEAD OF STATE FILE **Withdrawer** CAS 9/2/2011
File Folder USSR: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV 8690389-8690433 **FOIA** M11-407
Box Number 40 MATLOCK

3

| ID | Doc Type | Document Description | No of Pages | Doc Date | Restrictions |
|--------|---------------|---|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 118038 | LETTER | REAGAN TO GORBACHEV R 10/16/2000 NLSF99-051 #427 | 3 | 5/23/1986 | B1 |
| 118039 | MEMO | JOHN POINDEXTER TO RR RE LETTER TO GORBACHEV | 1 | 5/23/1986 | B1 |
| 118040 | MEMO | SHULTZ TO RR RE LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV R 7/25/2000 NLSF99-051 #429 | 1 | 5/19/1986 | B1 |
| 118041 | DRAFT LETTER | RR TO GORBACHEV | 6 | ND | B1 |
| 118042 | MEMO | JACK MATLOCK TO POINDEXTER RE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO GORBACHEV R 8/2/2016 M407/1 | 2 | 5/21/1986 | B1 |
| 118044 | DRAFT LETTER | REAGAN TO GORBACHEV (ANNOTATED) R 3/26/2013 M407/1 | 10 | ND | B1 |
| 118046 | DRAFT MESSAGE | REAGAN TO GORBACHEV R 10/16/2000 NLSF99-051 #433 | 1 | ND | B1 |
| 118048 | LETTER | RR TO GROBACHEV | 3 | ND | B1 |
| 118049 | LETTER | COPY OF 118048 | 3 | ND | B1 |

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]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- 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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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: HEAD OF STATE FILE **Withdrawer**
CAS 9/2/2011

File Folder USSR: GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV 8690389-8690433 **FOIA**
M11-407

Box Number 40 **MATLOCK**

| ID | Doc Type | Document Description | No of Pages | Doc Date | Restrictions |
|--------|----------|---|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 118051 | MESSAGE | GORBACHEV TO RR (TRANSLATION) R 10/16/2000 NLSF99-051 #436 | 7 | 6/1/1986 | B1 |
| 118052 | MESSAGE | GORBACHEV TO RR (RUSSIAN) R 10/16/2000 NLSF99-051 #437 | 6 | ND | B1 |
| 118054 | MEMO | NICHOLAS PLATT TO POINDEXTER RE DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE TO GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT ON NUCLEAR SAFETY AFTER CHERNOBYL R 3/16/2000 NLSF99-051 #438 | 1 | 6/16/1986 | B1 |
| 118055 | MESSAGE | REAGAN TO GORBACHEV | 3 | ND | B1 |
| 118057 | MEMO | LOU PUGLIARESI TO POINDEXTER THRU STEPHEN DANZANSKY RE RESPONSE TO GORBACHEV ON CHERNOBYL | 1 | 6/26/1986 | B1 |
| 118058 | MEMO | POINDEXTER TO RR RE RESPONSE TO GORBACHEV'S ORAL COMMUNICATION ON NUCLEAR SAFETY R 8/2/2016 M407/1 | 1 | ND | B1 |
| 118067 | LETTER | REAGAN TO GORBACHEV R 3/26/2013 M407/1 | 3 | ND | B1 |
| 118068 | MEMO | LINTON BROOKS TO PUGLIARESI RE RESPONSE TO GORBACHEV ON CHERNOBYL | 1 | 6/25/1986 | B1 |

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

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Executive Secretariat, National Security Council:

Archivist: dlb

Head of State File

File Folder: U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Gorbachev 8690389-8690433 Date: 5/18/99

Box 40 (Page 1 of 2)

| DOCUMENT AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------------|------------------------|
| NSC System II #8690389 | | | |
| 1. Letter | Reagan to Gorbachev, 3 p. R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 # 422 | 5/23/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 2. Memo | John Poindexter to Reagan, re: Letter to Gorbachev, 1 p. | 5/23/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 3. Memo | Shultz to Reagan, re: Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev, 1 p. R 7/25/00 F99-051 # 429 | 5/19/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 4. Draft Letter | Reagan to Gorbachev, 6 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 5. Memo | Jack Matlock to Poindexter, re: Presidential Letter to Gorbachev, 2 p. | 5/21/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 6. Draft Letter | Reagan to Gorbachev, (with edits), 6 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| NSC System II #8690420 | | | |
| 7. Draft Message | Reagan to Gorbachev, 1 p. R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #423 | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| NSC System II #8690433 | | | |
| 8. Letter | Reagan to Gorbachev, 3 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 9. Letter | Copy of Item #8, 3 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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

Archivist: dlb

File Folder: U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Gorbachev 8690389-8690433 **Date:** 5/18/99
Box 40 (Page 2 of 2)

| DOCUMENT AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|------------------------|--|--------------------|------------------------|
| #8690344 cont. | | | |
| 10. Message | Gorbachev to Reagan, (translation), 7 p. A 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #436 | 6/1/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 11. Message | Gorbachev to Reagan, (Russian), 6 p. R 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #437 | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 12. Memo | Nicholas Platt to Poindexter, re: Draft Presidential Response to Gorbachev's Statement on Nuclear Safety after Chernobyl, 1 p. R 3/6/01 NLSF99-051 #438 | 6/16/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 13. Message | Reagan to Gorbachev, 3 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 14. Memo | Lou Pugliaresi via Stephen Danzansky to Poindexter, re: Response to Gorbachev on Chernobyl, 1 p. | 6/26/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 15. Memo Letter | Poindexter to Reagan, re: Response to Gorbachev's Oral Communication on Nuclear Safety, 1 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 16. Letter | Reagan to Gorbachev, 3 p. | n.d. | P1/F1/P3/F3 |
| 17. Memo Message | Linton Brooks to Pugliaresi, re: Response to Gorbachev on Chernobyl -- Rev 99, 1 p. | 6/25/86 | P1/F1/P3/F3 |

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
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UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 19 MAY 86 20

TO PRESIDENT

FROM SHULTZ, G *WJ/S/16/86*

DOCDATE 19 MAY 86 3

KEYWORDS: USSR

HS

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES LTR TO GORBACHEV RE CHERNOBYL & POSSIBLE NEXT SUMMIT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR POINDEXTER DUE: STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

LINHARD

RODMAN

COMMENTS

REF# 8615554

LOG

NSCIFID

(J B)

| ACTION OFFICER (S) | ASSIGNED | ACTION REQUIRED | DUE | COPIES TO |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------------------|-----|-----------|
| <i>Poindester</i> | <i>X 5/21</i> | <i>Pres for signature</i> | | |
| <i>Pres</i> | <i>P 5/23</i> | <i>signature</i> | | |
| | <i>- 5/23</i> | <i>her spl ltr</i> | | |
| <i>Poindester</i> | <i>C 5/23</i> | <i>for dispatch</i> | | <i>Jm</i> |

DISPATCH *ed Bon*

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

National Security Council
The White House

System # II
Package # 90389
DOCLOG BT AIO _____

86 MAY 23 5:23

| | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN | DISPOSITION |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Bob Pearson | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Rodney McDaniel | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Don Fortier | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Paul Thompson | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Florence Gantt | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| John Poindexter | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Rodney McDaniel | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>1</u> | <u>BT</u> | <u>D/R</u> |
| Situation Room | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Date ltr today
 Return Orig & one
 copy to JMP.
 He wants to give
 original to Shultz
No additional distribution
 done BSM 5/23/86

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1986

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

Since my last letter, a number of events have occurred which neither of us could have predicted. Therefore, it may be useful for you to have my personal thoughts on how we might set relations between our countries in a more positive direction.

Let me begin by expressing my admiration for the courage with which the Soviet people have responded to the recent tragedy at Chernobyl. Dr. Gale has described to us in stirring detail the sacrifices and skill with which your experts are dealing with the human and physical consequences of the disaster. We wish you success in your efforts. Our hearts go out to those Soviet citizens who have been affected by this tragedy. We offer our condolences to the families of those who perished and our good wishes for the recovery and well-being of others affected. We remain ready to help in dealing with the consequences of the tragedy if this is desired.

In your address of May 14, 1986, you made some constructive suggestions for international cooperation in dealing with the safety of nuclear power plants. I agree with you that such action is highly desirable. You will have the full cooperation of the United States in working for effective international arrangements in this area. I would propose that Ambassador Kennedy and Chairman Petrosyants be prepared to discuss in detail what form such cooperation might take when they next meet.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS F99-051 * 427

BY smj, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

Mr. General Secretary, it is time to put behind us any misunderstandings arising out of the accident at Chernobyl. I regret that you misinterpreted the motives behind our offers of assistance. Unfortunately, this misunderstanding is all too characteristic of the recent dynamics of our relationship. Following our meeting last fall, I wanted to build on the momentum I felt we had established. I thought we had agreed to accelerate progress in achieving the very specific goals we had set for ourselves. That was why I instructed Secretary Shultz to propose early dates for our next meeting.

In the absence of a response to our proposal, I have sought to communicate to you in our private correspondence, during Secretary Dobrynin's recent visit, and through diplomatic channels specific ideas on what the outcome of a 1986 meeting might be. I described to Secretary Dobrynin, for example, our readiness to reach agreement by the next summit on the key elements of treaties to reduce strategic nuclear forces and eliminate intermediate range nuclear missiles, as well as on methods to remove both the threat of an effective first strike from either side and the use of space for basing weapons of mass destruction. I also indicated that I was prepared for our experts to meet to discuss the important issue of nuclear testing. As you know, we feel that effective verification is the key to further progress in this area, but we are prepared, of course, to give careful consideration to any proposals you wish to advance.

We have, in short, made a good faith effort to set in motion the serious, high-level discussions necessary to prepare for a meeting between us. I regret that it has not been possible to begin them. While there have been positive steps in some areas, we have lost a full six months in dealing with the issues which most merit our personal attention. I hope you will agree that it is time to concentrate on the agenda we set forth in Geneva last November.

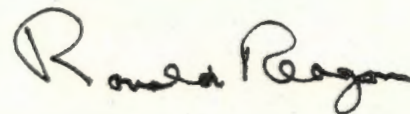
I am prepared to do my part. As I have said, I am eager to achieve tangible practical results at our next meeting. I agree with you that an atmosphere conducive to progress is important. The suggestions I have made, which took careful account of your comments to me on the issues, sought to find a mutually acceptable approach to some of the key issues.

The atmosphere of our relationship is also affected, of course, by what the two of us say publicly. The approach I intend to take in my public statements is to reaffirm my strong personal commitment to achieve concrete progress in all the areas of our relationship during the remaining years of my administration. I hope that in our correspondence we can begin to make such progress.

I would also propose that we arrange for our Foreign Ministers to meet to review these critical matters as soon as possible. If it is more convenient for Minister Shevardnadze to have the meeting in Europe than in Washington, that would be acceptable to us.

Mr. General Secretary, our recent history provides ample evidence that, if we wait for an ideal moment to try to resolve our differences, we are unlikely to resolve anything. This is the moment which has been given us. We should take advantage of it since it is a time of historic and possibly unique potential. Let us not lose it for lack of effort.

Sincerely yours,



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

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 2 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

SYSTEM II
90389

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1986

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*

SUBJECT: Letter to General Secretary Gorbachev

I noted in my recent discussions with you that, as a result of Chernobyl and other events since last year's summit, the Soviets are becoming increasingly defensive and withdrawn. Much of this problem is of their own making, and you are under no obligation to make a special effort to bring them back to a more active negotiating posture. Nevertheless, the current Soviet mood undermines the prospects for significant progress in our own agenda. A prolonged deadlock in U.S.-Soviet relations also may increase the electoral difficulties facing such strong supporters of yours as Mrs. Thatcher and Helmut Kohl. An American act of statesmanship now could go a long way to helping us on both these scores in the months ahead.

As I mentioned to you last week, I think the time is right for a forward-looking personal letter to Gorbachev which notes your dissatisfaction with results since the summit, tells him the time for recrimination is over, picks up his suggestions for cooperation on nuclear reactor safety, reminds him of the ideas you gave Dobrynin in April, and urges him to get down to business. The letter also notes that, given Gorbachev's stress on atmospherics, you will make a speech in the near future on U.S.-Soviet relations. A draft letter is attached. We will provide a draft speech text in the next few days.

In addition, I strongly recommend that you receive Armand Hammer and Dr. Robert Gale (the physician who treated many of the Chernobyl victims) on Thursday. Both met recently with Gorbachev and may be able to provide fresh insights on his current thinking. In addition, the meeting would provide an excellent opportunity to underscore your support for greater cooperation between the U.S. and Soviet peoples despite recent tensions in the relationship.

*George no longer recommends this. I did not recommend.
John*

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F99-051 # 429
BY Q4s NARA, DATE 7/25/00

36 1/2 10

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THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 7 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

National Security Council
The White House

JM

//

86 MAY 21 ^{CL} P 5: 44

System # JE
Package # 90389
DOCLOG 80 A/O _____

| | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN | DISPOSITION |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Bob Pearson | <u>1</u> | | |
| Rodney McDaniel | | <i>M^{5th}</i> | |
| Don Fortier | | | |
| Paul Thompson | <u>2</u> | <i>T</i> | |
| Florence Gantt | | | |
| John Poindexter | <u>3</u> | <i>J</i> | <u>A</u> |
| Rodney McDaniel | | | |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>4</u> | | |
| Situation Room | | | |

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other DRF, ROM WRP

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

JACK asks if the reference to "ready to help" answers the Manney mail?

Make 3 copies of Tabs I, A, B and I'll take up at 0930 Friday. J

115042

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

May 21, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Gorbachev

Secretary Shultz has recommended that the President send Gorbachev a letter in an effort to bring Gorbachev back to a more active negotiating posture.

I concur that this would be useful at this time, and that the basic thrust in the draft letter State submitted is sound. It has the following elements:

-- An expression of sympathy for the victims of Chernobyl and a reiteration of our willingness to assist;

-- Support for Gorbachev's proposals for enhanced international cooperation on nuclear power plant safety, and a suggestion that Kennedy and Petrosyants discuss details at their next meeting;

-- Encouragement to get high-level communication working again, and specifically for a reply to ideas the President presented to Dobrynin;

-- Indication that the President will be making public statements to reaffirm his commitment to concrete progress; and

-- Suggestion for a Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting in Europe.

I have edited the State draft, largely in stylistic areas, but have removed any direct reference to a speech on U.S.-Soviet relations. I support the idea of a speech, but believe it is not good practice to discuss this with Gorbachev before we have a clear idea of what we might put in it. (When we have the speech ready and the text approved, it might be a good idea to share the points with the Soviets somewhat in advance.)

In any event, I have enclosed, at TAB II, a marked-up text of the State draft to indicate the changes we made in it.

PWR Rodman and Linhard concur. *RL*

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR M11-407 #118042
BY *RLW* NARA DATE *8/2/16*

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward the memorandum at TAB I to the President.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Letter to Gorbachev
- Tab B Memorandum to the President from Secretary Shultz
- Tab II State Draft of letter to Gorbachev, with changes indicated



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

SYSTEM II
90389

86 MAY 19

~~SECRET~~

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: _____

ACTION OFFICER: MATLOCK DUE: 20 MAY

- Prepare Memo For President
- Prepare Memo For Poindexter / Fortier
- Prepare Memo _____ to _____
- Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew
- Prepare Memo McDaniel to Elliott

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS* PHONE* to action officer at ext. 5112

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Burghardt <input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro <input type="checkbox"/> Childress <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb <input type="checkbox"/> Covey <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky <input type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid <input type="checkbox"/> Djerejian <input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky <input type="checkbox"/> Donley <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes <input type="checkbox"/> Hughes <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer <input type="checkbox"/> Laux <input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski | <p>FYI</p> <p>URGENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Linhard <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley <input type="checkbox"/> Major <input type="checkbox"/> Mandel <input type="checkbox"/> Matlock <input type="checkbox"/> May <input type="checkbox"/> Menges <input type="checkbox"/> Miller <input type="checkbox"/> North <input type="checkbox"/> Platt <input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi <input type="checkbox"/> Raymond <input type="checkbox"/> Reger <input type="checkbox"/> Ringdahl <input type="checkbox"/> Sable | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Sachs <input type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich <input type="checkbox"/> Sigur <input type="checkbox"/> Small <input type="checkbox"/> Sommer <input type="checkbox"/> Soos <input type="checkbox"/> Stark <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli <input type="checkbox"/> Teicher <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman <input type="checkbox"/> Wigg <input type="checkbox"/> Wright <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>RODMAN</u> <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
|---|---|---|

- INFORMATION
- McDaniel
 - Rodman
 - Pearson
 - Lehman
 - Secretariat
 - _____
 - Poindexter (advance)
 - Fortier (advance)

COMMENTS

DECLASSIFIED
 White House Collection, August 28, 1997
 By dlb NARA, Date 6/18/99

118044

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

Dear Mr. General Secretary,

~~It has been some time since our last correspondence.~~ A number of events have occurred Since my last letter which neither of us could have predicted, and which have clearly complicated our relationship. ^{Therefore, it may} ~~I felt it would~~ be useful at this time for you to have my personal thoughts on ^{How we might} ~~what is needed~~ to set ^{relations between our countries} things in a more positive direction.

Let me begin by expressing my admiration for the courage with which ~~you and~~ the Soviet people have responded to the recent tragedy in Chernobyl. ~~I recently had the opportunity to speak~~

~~of the disaster.~~ We wish you success in your efforts. Our hearts go out to those Soviet citizens who have been affected by this tragedy. We offer our condolences to the families of those who perished and our good wishes for the recovery and well-being of others affected. We remain ready to help in dealing with the consequences of the tragedy if this is desired.

(INSERT)

~~As you have said, what happened in Chernobyl transcends national boundaries. I was puzzled, therefore by suggestions that the United States sought to exploit the incident there, when our only concern was to help in any way possible to alleviate the situation, and to elicit information of vital significance to American citizens in the Soviet Union and adjacent countries.~~

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

BY RW NARA DATE 3/26/13
NLRR M11-407 #118044

In your address of May 14, 1986,

[^] You have made some specific proposals for ensuring against a ~~repeat of the Chernobyl accident. As you may know, your ideas with the safety of nuclear power plants.~~ *constructive suggestions for international cooperation in dealing* ~~repeat of the Chernobyl accident. As you may know, your ideas with the safety of nuclear power plants.~~ appear similar in some respects to measures which I and other Western leaders advocated in Tokyo. I therefore agree to *I agree with you that such action is highly desirable.* You will have the full cooperation of the United States support enhanced international nuclear safety, both through *in working for effective international arrangements in this* our own efforts and through the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international organizations. Ambassador

Kennedy and Chairman Petrosyants ~~should be prepared to discuss~~ *what form such cooperation might take* in detail ~~such efforts~~ when they meet in June.

Geneva in

Mr. General Secretary, it is time to put behind us any misunderstandings arising out of the accident at Chernobyl. I regret that you misinterpreted the motives behind our offers of assistance.

(INSERT B)

[^] *Following* of the recent dynamics of our relationship. ~~Since our meeting last fall, we have not been as successful as I think we both hoped we would be in building upon our genuine achievements in Geneva. I honestly do not believe that the actions of the United States have been the major factor behind that failure. I must admit that I have been disappointed by a growing tendency in Moscow to publicize your proposals before they have been presented to us. And I do not understand what appear to be attempts to call into question the venue of our next meeting, or to reduce the summit process to a single issue which was not even on the list of objectives agreed to in our November joint statement to guide preparations for our~~

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

- 3 -

~~meeting this year. But let our staffs debate who is responsible for our lack of progress. Our task is to look ahead to what can be done to change the situation. After our meeting in Geneva,~~ I wanted to build on the momentum I felt we had established. I thought we had agreed to accelerate progress in achieving the very specific goals we had set for ourselves. That was why I instructed Secretary Shultz to propose early dates for our next meeting.

In the absence of a response to our proposal, I have sought to communicate to you in our private correspondence, during Secretary Dobrynin's recent visit, and through diplomatic channels specific ideas on what the outcome of a 1986 meeting might be. I described to Secretary Dobrynin, for example, our readiness to reach agreement by the next summit on the key elements of treaties to reduce strategic nuclear weapons and eliminate intermediate range nuclear forces, as well as on methods to remove both the threat of an effective first strike from either side and the use of space for basing ~~offensive~~ weapons of mass destruction. ~~I suggested that we begin,~~

~~for basing weapons of mass destruction.~~ I also indicated that I was prepared for our experts to meet to discuss the important issue of nuclear testing. As you know, we feel that effective verification is the key to further progress in this area, but we are prepared, of course, to give careful consideration to any proposals you wish to advance.

[INSERT C]

We have, in short, made a good faith effort to set in motion the high-level, serious discussions necessary to prepare for a meeting between us. I regret that it has been impossible to begin such discussions. While there have been positive steps in some areas, we have lost a full six months in dealing with the issues which most merit our personal attention. I hope you will agree that it is ~~past~~ time to ^{concentrate on} ~~move beyond rhetorical exchanges and return to~~ the agenda we ^{set forth} ~~agreed upon~~ in Geneva last November.

I am prepared to do my part. As I have said, I am ^{eager} ~~more than~~ ready to achieve ~~as you recently put it to Dr. Armand Hammer~~ tangible practical results at our next meeting. ~~Perhaps the meeting next month between Ambassador Kennedy and Chairman Petrosyants could provide a strong lead in the form of agreement and support for increased international cooperation on the safety of nuclear power plants.~~

~~I also take seriously, however, your views as expressed to Dr. Hammer and through other channels on the importance of establishing an atmosphere conducive to progress. To help create such an atmosphere, I intend in the near future to give a major speech on U.S. - Soviet relations. The suggestions I have made, which took careful account of your comments to me on the issues, sought to find a mutually acceptable approach to some of the key issues.~~

I agree with you that is important.

The atmosphere of our relationship ⁵ is also affected, of course, by what the two of us say publicly. The approach I intend to take in my ^{public} statements is to

~~In this speech, I will reaffirm my strong personal commitment~~
to achieve concrete progress in all the areas of our

relationship during the remaining years of my administration.

~~I will outline as I did to Secretary Dobrynin what it might be possible to achieve in a meeting between the two of us this year, and how we might go about realizing such an agenda. I will express willingness to cooperate in establishing the kinds of safeguards you outlined in your May 14 statement to help deal with future nuclear accidents.~~

~~I hope that in our correspondence we can begin to make such progress.~~

I would also propose that we arrange for our Foreign Ministers to meet to review these critical matters as soon as possible. If it is more convenient for Minister Shevardnadze to have the meeting in Europe than in Washington, that would be acceptable to us.

[INSERT D]

[INSERT D]

~~neutral site in Europe, perhaps Helsinki, to begin the process.~~

~~I do not intend to mention the suggestion I made to Secretary Dobrynin for breaking the logjam at the Geneva talks. I trust you are giving that proposal serious consideration, and would hope for a reply in due course. I hope that you will feel free to suggest any alternative means of addressing this problem which might be preferable to you.~~

SECRET/SENSITIVE

- 6 -

Mr. General Secretary, our recent history provides ample evidence that, if we wait for an ideal moment to try to resolve our differences, we ~~will never~~ *are unlikely to* resolve anything. This

is the moment which has been given us. ~~I believe that,~~
We should take advantage of it since it is a time of
~~despite the difficulties which will always trouble our~~

~~relationship, it is a moment of unique,~~ *of historic and possibly*
unique
potential. Let us not lose it for lack of effort.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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ACTION

NLRRM11-407 #118058
BY RW NARA DATE 8/2/16

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Response to Gorbachev's Oral Communication
on Nuclear Safety

Issue

Whether to sign the attached letter (Tab A) to General Secretary Gorbachev in response to his oral communication on nuclear safety.

Facts

As you recall, General Secretary Gorbachev sent a message to you through the Soviet Embassy on June 1 discussing his proposals for prompt notification of a nuclear reactor accident and his plans for greater international cooperation on nuclear safety. On June 7 you sent him an interim response while we developed an interagency review of the General Secretary's proposals. We are now prepared to give the General Secretary a full reply.

Discussion

We are, in general, supportive of Gorbachev's proposals and inform him that we look forward to Soviet assistance in strengthening international technical cooperation on nuclear safety issues through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). We also inform him that we are supporting efforts now underway to draft conventions on notification and mutual emergency assistance. We remind the General Secretary that both our countries have previously agreed through the IAEA to provide prompt notification of a nuclear accident with potential transboundary effects.

Regarding Gorbachev's proposals on nuclear testing limitations, you inform the General Secretary that you will respond to him shortly on this matter.

Recommendation

OK No
____ _____

That you sign the attached response to General Secretary Gorbachev's oral communication to you (Tab A). The speechwriters have cleared the text of the letter.

Prepared by:
Lou Pugliaresi

Attachment
Tab A

Letter to Gorbachev

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

118067

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

As I noted previously, I read with great interest your message delivered by the Soviet Embassy on June 1 on conclusions on nuclear safety which follow from the Chernobyl accident. I appreciate your proposals on nuclear safety and welcome their positive spirit.

As you know, the leaders of seven Western industrialized nations met in Tokyo the first week of May and called for the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency to improve international cooperation on ensuring safe nuclear installations, handling nuclear accidents and providing mutual emergency assistance.

The seven leaders at Tokyo also called for the early elaboration of an international convention committing the parties to report and exchange information in the event of nuclear emergencies or accidents. I welcome your proposals suggesting a mechanism for speedy notification in case of nuclear power plant accidents and the provision of radiological data in connection with such accidents. So too, I believe it possible to develop mechanisms ensuring the availability of assistance in dangerous situations.

I note with satisfaction that the IAEA has already taken a number of important steps to begin to address these problems at the special session of the Board of Governors on May 21. Among those steps was a decision to draft on an urgent basis conventions on notification and mutual emergency assistance, which carries forward both the statement of the leaders in Tokyo as well as your own proposals.

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NLRR M11-407 #118067
BY RW NARA DATE 3/20/13

Regarding your concern that we act as expeditiously as possible on a system of notification, I am informed that all members of the IAEA Board of Governors undertook to provide prompt notification and information in the event of a nuclear accident with potential transboundary effects and urged all countries to do likewise. We welcome the prompt and cooperative spirit with which the IAEA has acted. This only reinforces our mutual belief that this international technical organization should continue to be strengthened and be a principal forum for continuing international collaboration in this area.

In addition I welcome your plans to expand the links between your nuclear safety specialists and those in other nations and international organizations. We wish to cooperate with you in this regard. A number of your other proposals are of potential interest and deserve further study.

I share your expressed concern about nuclear terrorism and believe that nuclear facilities of all countries must be protected against this threat. We must take all necessary steps to combat terrorism in whatever form it appears. With respect to nuclear terrorism, the United States proposed the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, which was opened for signature in 1980. Our two countries have ratified the convention, and we have welcomed your continued cooperation in working to urge all other states to become parties to this convention without delay. And last June, as a result of a U.S. initiative, our two countries signed a Common Understanding to the 1971 "Accidents Measures" agreement that clarifies our obligations to consult in the event of a nuclear incident involving unknown or unauthorized groups or individuals, including terrorists.

With regard to the testing of nuclear weapons, I have read your recent letter, delivered by Ambassador Dubinin, with much interest and am studying it carefully. I will respond to you shortly.

If nuclear energy is to continue as a growing source of electric power, each country must continue to make its existing and future nuclear power plants as safe as they can possibly be. The nations at the Tokyo Summit recognized that safety and security at nuclear power plants were crucial. While each country is fully responsible for its own nuclear program, each country bears full responsibility for the safety of the design, manufacture, operation, and maintenance of its installations. Cooperation among countries can help each country to meet its responsibilities on nuclear safety. It is our job to foster and support the fullest possible international cooperation in nuclear safety.

Mr. General Secretary, we in the U.S. are encouraged by Soviet efforts to learn from the tragic accident at Chernobyl. Those Soviet citizens directly affected, and their families, have our deepest sympathy and best wishes for a rapid return to a normal life. We welcome your offer to share your knowledge with other nations. You have our commitment to work closely with you, your experts, and the appropriate international organizations to improve and expand new international nuclear safety measures to ensure the safety of all nations.

Sincerely,

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

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RECEIVED 04 JUN 86 15

TO PLATT, N

FROM MCDANIEL

*msg
5/26/86*

DOCDATE 04 JUN 86 16

KEYWORDS: USSR

HS

GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

SUBJECT: DRAFT ORAL MSG TO GORBACHEV

ACTION: MCDANIEL SGD MEMO

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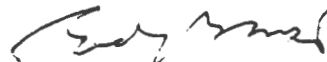
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June 4, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Draft Oral Message to Gorbachev

Attached is a proposed oral message to respond to General Secretary Gorbachev's oral statement which was received on Sunday June 1. Request you incorporate this into an outgoing cable. (8)


Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
Draft Oral Message to Gorbachev

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White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By clb NARA, Date 5/18/99

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21

DRAFT ORAL MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV

The President has received the General Secretary's oral statement which was delivered June 1 and welcomes the proposals for international cooperation in dealing with nuclear power plant safety. He has directed that United States Government officials include these constructive proposals in their ongoing study of possible international efforts to improve nuclear power plant safety. He hopes to communicate his detailed views to the General Secretary in the near future.

The President also shares the General Secretary's expressed desire to reduce the size of nuclear arsenals and to find ways to move ultimately to a cessation of nuclear testing and the elimination of nuclear weapons. He hopes, therefore, that the Soviet Union will join the United States in serious negotiations to implement the understandings reached in Geneva last November and to explore ways to verify progressive limitations on nuclear testing, which would move us toward these goals.

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