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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** Executive Secretariat, National Security Council:  
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 Box 39

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**Date:** 5/7/99

DOCUMENT AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Draft Letter	Reagan to Chernenko, (draft reply to Chernenko letter of July 26, 1984), 2 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
<del>2. Cable</del>	<del>#280510Z Jul 84, 4 p.</del>	<del>7/28/84</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
3. Draft Letter	R F99-051 #236 7/25/00 Copy of Item #1, 2 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
<del>4. Instructions</del>	<del>Guidance for use in delivering the proposed joint statement, 1 p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
5. Statement	R F99-051 #238 7/25/00 Joint Soviet American Statement, 1 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
6. Draft Letter	R " #239 " u Copy of Item #1, 2 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
<del>7. Statement</del>	<del>Copy of Item #5, 1 p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
8. Instructions	R F99-051 #241 7/25/00 Copy of Item #4, 1 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
9. Memo	R " #242 " Jack Matlock to RobertMcFarlane, re: Reply to Chernenko Letter, 2 p.	7/27/84	P1/F1/P3/F3
10. Draft Letter	Copy of Item #1, 2 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
<del>11. Draft Letter</del>	<del>Reagan to Chernenko with annotations, 2 p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
<del>12. Draft Letter</del>	<del>R 10/26/00 NLSM00-003 #21 Reagan to Chernenko with annotations, 1 p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
13. Inserts	R 10/26/00 NLSM00-003 #22 Typed copies of Matlock draft letter version inserts, 1 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
<del>14. Draft Letter</del>	<del>Copy of Item #1 with annotations, 2 p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
<del>15. Statement</del>	<del>R 10/26/00 NLSM00-003 #23 Copy of Item #5 with annotations, 1 p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
16. Instructions	R 10/26/00 NLSM00-003 #24 Copy of Item #4 with annotations, 1 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].

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

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

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- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

2

**Collection:** Executive Secretariat, National Security Council:

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Head of State File

**File Folder:** U.S.S.R.: General Secretary Chernenko-8490829

**Date:** 5/7/99

Box 39 (page 2 of 2)

DOCUMENT AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
17. Instructions	Copy of Item #4 with edits, 1 p.	n.d.	P1/F1/P3/F3
18. Memo	George Shultz to Reagan, re: July 26 Letter from Chernenko on Vienna, 1 p.	7/26/84	P1/F1/P3/F3
<del>19. Letter</del>	<del>Chernenko to Reagan, (translation), 2 p.</del> K F99-051 #252 7/25/00 A 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #253	<del>7/26/84</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>
<del>20. Letter</del>	<del>Chernenko to Reagan, (Russian), 3 p.</del> A 10/16/00 NLSF99-051 #254	<del>7/26/84</del>	<del>P1/F1/P3/F3</del>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

TO PRESIDENT

FROM SHULTZ, G

*msp  
SII/IAH*

RECEIVED 26 JUL 84 17

DOCDATE 26 JUL 84

CHERNENKO, KONSTANT I

26 JUL 84

KEYWORDS: USSR

*9*  
HS

SUBJECT JULY 26 CHERNENKO LTR RE VIENNA

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ACTION. PRLPARL MEMO FOR PRES DUE. STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

LINHARD

POINDEXTER

COMMENTS

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LOG 8490793

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( K / *B* )

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<i>Mallock</i>	<i>S JUL 27 1984</i>	<i>further action</i>		
<i>Pres</i>	<i>P JUL 27 1984</i>	<i>for decision</i>		<i>VP ✓</i>
	<i>JUL 27 1984</i>	<i>Pres approved msg</i>		<i>✓</i>
	<i>C JUL 27 1984</i>	<i>Kennett sgd</i>		<i>Jim ✓</i>
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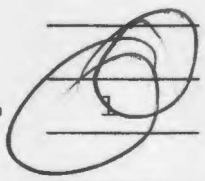
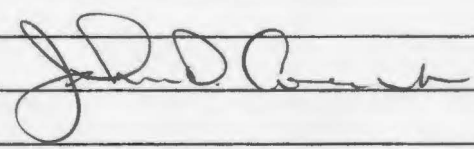
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White House Guidelines August 26, 1997  
NARA, Date 6/6/99

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

7/31/84

84 JUL 31 P 7: 08

COLIN POWELL

Attached is the text of the  
President's letter to Chernenko,  
as dispatched to Moscow on  
7/27.

Bob Kinnitt

64,5329

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E.O. 12356 DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, UR, US  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S 7/27 LETTER TO CHERNENKO

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AMBASSADOR SHOULD DELIVER THE LETTER BEGINNING PARA 3 FROM THE PRESIDENT TO CHERNENKO ALONG WITH THE DRAFT STATEMENT AT HIGHEST AVAILABLE LEVEL OF THE MFA ON SATURDAY. IN DELIVERING THE LETTER AND DRAFT STATEMENT, THE AMBASSADOR SHOULD STRESS THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PRESIDENT IN APPROACHING THE MEETING IN VIENNA. HE SHOULD ALSO MAKE THE FOLLOWING TWO POINTS:

A) ON THE SOVIET MORATORIUM PROPOSAL: WE WOULD CONSIDER LANGUAGE IN THE STATEMENT WHICH STATES THAT BOTH SIDES WILL CONSIDER WHAT MUTUAL RESTRAINTS ON ACTIVITIES WOULD BE APPROPRIATE DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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NLS F99-051 #236  
BY CAS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

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PAGE 02 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 2775 DTG: 280510Z JUL 84 PSN: 057593

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B) WE OFFER THE PROPOSED JOINT STATEMENT ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT, IF QUESTIONED ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE PHRASE "MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE," THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT IT REFERS TO PROPOSALS WHICH EITHER SIDE MAY MAKE RELEVANT TO THIS MATTER.

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3. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER: DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:  
- CANDOR SHOULD BE AN ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF OUR DIALOGUE GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF OUR TWO OFFICES. THUS, I MUST BE FRANK IN INFORMING YOU THAT I AM SURPRISED BY YOUR LETTER OF JULY 26, 1984, SINCE IT DRAWS CONCLUSIONS WHICH ARE NOT WARRANTED BY THE EXPLANATIONS I HAVE GIVEN YOU.

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- MR. CHAIRMAN, SINCE RECEIVING YOUR PROPOSAL TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE "MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE" ON JUNE 29, I HAVE BELIEVED THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL IN AN AREA OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. THIS IS WHY I IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTED YOUR PROPOSAL AND IN SUBSEQUENT LETTERS AND DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES SUGGESTED THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES GET DOWN TO WORK ON DEVELOPING AN AGREED FORMULATION FOR THE VIENNA MEETING, SO THAT NEGOTIATIONS THERE COULD LEAD TO MEANINGFUL RESULTS.

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- THUS, I AM DISTURBED THAT IN YOUR MOST RECENT LETTER, YOU MISREPRESENT OUR POSITION. LET ME ONCE AGAIN MAKE THE US POSITION ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. AS I STATED IN MY LETTER TO YOU OF JULY 2, YOUR PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE ON THE "MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE" REMAINS "AN EXCELLENT IDEA." THE CONCEPT OF THE "MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE" IS A BROAD ONE, AND AS I HAVE INDICATED PREVIOUSLY, IN MY VIEW ACCOMODATES OFFENSIVE AS WELL AS DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS. YOUR SIDE MAY HAVE A DIFFERENT CONCEPT, BUT THE IMPORTANT THING AT THIS STAGE IS FOR OUR NEGOTIATORS TO MEET IN VIENNA AND WORK OUT WHATEVER DIFFERENCES MAY EXIST.

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PAGE 03 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 2775 DTG: 280510Z JUL 84 PSN: 057593

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- SO, MR. CHAIRMAN, CONTRARY TO YOUR ASSERTION IN YOUR LATEST LETTER, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED FOR TALKS ON THE "MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE" WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. I MUST REMIND YOU THAT IT IS THE SOVIET UNION, NOT THE UNITED STATES, THAT SEEMS UNWILLING TO REACH NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO IMPORTANT MILITARY PROBLEMS. IT WAS, AFTER ALL, THE SOVIET UNION AND NOT THE UNITED STATES THAT LEFT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES IN GENEVA. AND IT IS THE SOVIET UNION AND NOT THE UNITED STATES THAT CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO COOPERATE ON THE IMPORTANT TASK OF REDUCING STRATEGIC ARMS. THUS, MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR LATEST LETTER RAISES A QUESTION IN MY MIND ABOUT WHETHER, HAVING MADE A PROPOSAL TO GO TO VIENNA, YOU ARE NOW BACKING AWAY FROM IT. I HOPE THIS IS NOT THE CASE.

- IF, AS YOU SAY IN YOUR LATEST LETTER, YOUR PROPOSAL STILL STANDS, I THINK IT IS TIME NOW FOR OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO WORK OUT THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE

MEETING IN VIENNA, INCLUDING, IF POSSIBLE, A JOINT STATEMENT. I HAVE INSTRUCTED SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ TO CONTINUE THIS EFFORT. IF YOUR SIDE APPROACHES THIS TASK WITH THE GOOD WILL AND SERIOUS INTENT WHICH IS THE BASIS OF MY APPROACH, I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN SERVE THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. RONALD REAGAN.  
END TEXT OF LETTER.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT STATEMENT: JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN STATEMENT. AS-A RESULT OF EXCHANGES THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS BETWEEN THE USA-AND THE USSR, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED-TO OPEN TALKS WITH THE AIM OF WORKING OUT AND CONCLUDING AGREEMENTS CONCERNING THE MILITARIZATION OF OUTER -SPACE, INCLUDING ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS AND OTHER-ASPECTS OF THIS ISSUE. THE TALKS WILL BEGIN IN VIENNA ON SEPTEMBER 18,

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PAGE 04 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 2775 DTG: 280510Z JUL 84 PSN: 057593

1984, AT THE LEVEL OF SPECIALLY APPOINTED DELEGATIONS.  
ENDTEXT. -- - ---  
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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 90829 11  
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Subject: RESPONSE TO CHERNENKO LTR

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| _____                    | _____ Mr. Fontaine  | _____ Col. Lilac    | _____ Ms. Reger    | _____ Mr. Tyson       |
| _____ Sit. Room          | _____ Mr. Fortier   | _____ Ltc. Linhard  | _____ Mr. Robinson | _____ Mr. Wattering   |
| _____ Mr. Beal           | _____ Mr. Helm      | _____ Mr. Martin    | _____ Gen. Russell | _____ Exec. Secretary |
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WASHINGTON 90829

7/27/84

BRUNSON MC Kinley:

The attached three items  
have been approved by  
the President for dispatch tonight  
via cable to Embassy  
Moscow, for delivery  
tomorrow.

Bob Kinnitt

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8490829 14

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90829

15

Guidance for use in delivering the proposed joint statement

--We offer the proposed joint statement on the understanding that, if questioned about the meaning of the phrase "militarization of outer space," the United States will make clear that it refers to proposals which either side may make relevant to this matter.

--(With respect to the Soviet ~~for~~atorium proposal)

You should say that we would consider language in the statement which states that both sides will consider what mutual restraints on activities would be appropriate during the course of the negotiations.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F99-051 #238

BY CS NARA, DATE 7/25/00



Joint Soviet-American Statement

As a result of exchanges through diplomatic channels between the USA and the USSR, agreement has been reached to open talks with the aim of working out and concluding agreements concerning the militarization of outer space, including anti-satellite systems and other aspects of this issue. The talks will begin in Vienna on September 18, 1984 at the level of specially appointed delegations.

≡

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NLS F99-051 #239  
BY CJS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

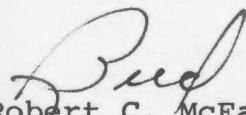
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1984

Mr. Vice President:

Attached is a draft reply to the latest Chernenko letter together with a proposed joint announcement of possible talks in Vienna.

I am staffing this with Cap, Jack Vessey and George and hope to take it to the President later today. I would welcome any comments you may have.

  
Robert C. McFarlane

Attachment

811-0827<sup>19</sup>

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

Joint Soviet-American Statement

As a result of exchanges through diplomatic channels between the USA and the USSR, agreement has been reached to open talks with the aim of working out and concluding agreements concerning the militarization of outer space, including anti-satellite systems and other aspects of this issue. The talks will begin in Vienna on September 18, 1984 at the level of specially appointed delegations.

Please also comment on the possible additional statement below:

It has also been agreed that beginning with the date of the commencement of the talks in Vienna, a mutual two-year moratorium on the testing and deployment of anti-satellite weapons and related systems will be established. The Soviet side has furthermore pledged itself, with the commencement of talks in Vienna, to undertake the dismantlement of its existing anti-satellite system, a task which shall be completed by November 18, 1984.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED  
NLS F99-051 #241  
BY CS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

Guidance for use in delivering the proposed joint statement

--We offer the proposed joint statement on the understanding that, if questioned about the meaning of the phrase "militarization of outer space," the United States will make clear that it refers to proposals which either side may make relevant to this matter.

--(With respect to the Soviet moratorium proposal and assuming that no US proposal is made) You should say that we would consider language in the statement which states that both sides will consider what mutual restraints on activities would be appropriate during the course of the negotiations.

DECLASSIFIED (Rt/ASER)  
NLS 199-051 # 242  
BY CAS NARA, DATE 7/25/00

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Done:

Disregard, the  
message has been  
sent to the VP.

We are only awaiting  
confirmation of  
delivery time.

Rafsh

National Security Council  
The White House

Put in  
Sys. II

System #

Package #

90829



84

P12: 38

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	1	J	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	2	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	3	M	A
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	5	B	D
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
JP	4	J	_____

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

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

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

Bud,  
I wasn't sure what directions you gave Jack but I think the letter and draft statement need something added to indicate we haven't fallen off talking about offensives.

84 1000 713

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24

I

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SUPER SENSITIVE 8421256

76

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON  
84 JUL 26 4:41

July 26, 1984

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz *W7*

SUBJECT: July 26 Letter From Chernenko on Vienna

Soviet Charge Sokolov, under the impression I was out of town, came in today to hand over to Ken Dam a new letter from Chernenko on Vienna. The letter takes a tough line. It claims our response to their proposed announcement "does not tally" with the statement in your letter that you accept their proposal and leaves "no doubt whatsoever" that we are "not prepared to conduct negotiations with the aim of preventing the militarization of outer space." Chernenko says that they "regret that the current American position makes it impossible to conduct the negotiations," that they would be ready to "return to consideration of the issue" should we change our position, and that the Soviet position of June 29 remains in force.

Sokolov had nothing to add to this message and Ken did not comment other than to say we would forward it to you right away. The letter, with a translation, is attached.

I will have recommendations for you shortly on how we should deal with this situation.

DECLASSIFIED

NLS P99-05 #252

BY CAS NARA, DATE 7/25/00~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
DECL: OADR

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

Translation from the Russian

His Excellency  
Ronald W. Reagan  
President of the United States of America  
Washington, D.C.

July 26, 1984

Dear Mr. President:

In your letter of July 18, it was stated that you accept without any preconditions our proposal of June 29, and the wish was expressed that our representatives work out an agreed statement regarding the beginning of the negotiations we proposed.

Taking this into account, on July 21 we handed over to the American side a draft of such an agreed statement prepared in strict conformity with what we proposed on June 29, namely: to begin negotiations with the aim of working out and concluding an agreement on preventing the militarization of outer space, including complete mutual renunciation of anti-satellite systems, and to establish from the day of the beginning of the negotiations a mutual moratorium on testing and deployment of space weapons.

Since, as I have already noted, you wrote that you accepted our proposal of June 29, it was natural to expect that such a text of a joint statement would not meet with any objections on the American side.

However, the response which we received through the Department of State does not tally in any way with what was said in your letter. The draft statement proposed by the American side has nothing at all to do with the negotiations which we proposed. Instead of negotiations on outer space, it speaks of some "meeting to discuss and to define approaches for negotiating" and it is absolutely unclear what the negotiations will be about.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
DECL: OADR

NLS F99-051#253

BY smf, NARA, DATE 10/16/05

To put it briefly, Mr. President, no doubt whatsoever now remains that the American side is not prepared to conduct negotiations with the aim of preventing the militarization of outer space.

To be candid, we deeply regret the unwillingness of the American side to reach agreement on this vitally important problem. We believed and continue to believe that now, while things have not yet gone too far, it would be easier to reach agreement on the complete prohibition of the entire class of space attack systems. Such is the objective of our proposal for the negotiations.

And the establishment of a mutual moratorium on testing and deployment of space attack weapons, as we proposed to do in conjunction with the beginning of the negotiations, would of itself be a major step showing, among other things, the commitment of the sides to the goals of strengthening strategic stability and reducing the military threat.

I repeat, we regret that the current American position makes it impossible to conduct the negotiations. Should this position subsequently change -- and we would like to hope this will happen -- and should the wish be expressed on the part of the U.S. to start negotiations with the aim of reaching agreement on the complete and unconditional prohibition of space weapons, we would be ready to return to consideration of this issue. In other words, our position, as it was presented in the statement by the Soviet Government of June 29, remains in force.

Sincerely,

K. Chernenko

29

Его Превосходительству  
Рональду У. Рейгану,  
Президенту Соединенных Штатов Америки  
г. Вашингтон

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS F99-051 # 254

BY Amf, NARA, DATE 10/16/00

Уважаемый господин Президент,

В Вашем письме от 18 июля говорилось, что Вы принимаете без каких-либо предварительных условий наше предложение от 29 июня, а также было выражено пожелание, чтобы наши представители подготовили согласованное сообщение насчет начала предложенных нами переговоров.

С учетом этого 21 июля нами был передан американской стороне проект такого совместного сообщения, составленный в строгом соответствии с тем, что предлагалось нами 29 июня, а именно: приступить к переговорам с целью выработки и заключения соглашения о предотвращении милитаризации космоса, включая полный взаимный отказ от противоспутниковых систем, с установлением со дня начала переговоров взаимного моратория на испытания и развертывание космических вооружений.

Поскольку, как я уже отмечал, Вы писали, что принимаете сделанное нами 29 июня предложение, то естественно было ожидать, что такой текст совместного сообщения не должен был бы вызвать возражений с американской стороны.

Однако ответ, который мы получили через государственный департамент, никак не согласуется с тем, что говорилось в Вашем письме. Предлагаемый американской стороной проект сообщения вообще не имеет никакого отношения к тем переговорам, которые предложили мы. Вместо переговоров по космосу в нем идет речь о какой-то "встрече для обсуждения и определения подходов к переговорам", причем к переговорам совершенно неясно о чем.

Короче говоря, господин Президент, теперь не остается никаких сомнений в том, что американская сторона не готова вести переговоры с целью недопущения милитаризации космического пространства.

Нежелание американской стороны договариваться по этой жизненно важной проблеме, скажу прямо, вызывает у нас глубокое сожаление. Мы считали и считаем, что сейчас, пока дело еще не зашло слишком далеко, достичь договоренности о полном запрещении всего класса ударных космических средств было бы легче. Такова цель нашего предложения о переговорах.

Да и введение на взаимной основе моратория на испытания и развертывание ударных космических вооружений, как это предлагалось сделать нами в сочетании с началом переговоров, уже само по себе было бы крупным шагом, показывающим, помимо всего прочего, приверженность сторон целям укрепления стратегической стабильности и ослабления военной угрозы.

Повторяю, мы сожалеем, что нынешняя американская позиция делает невозможным проведение переговоров. Если впоследствии

эта позиция изменится, - а хотелось бы все же на это надеяться, - и со стороны США будет выражено желание начать переговоры с целью достижения договоренности о полном и безусловном запрещении космического оружия, мы будем готовы вернуться к рассмотрению этого вопроса. Иными словами, наша позиция, как она была сформулирована в Заявлении Советского правительства от 29 июня, остается в силе.

С уважением,

К. ЧЕРНЕНКО

26 июля 1984 года.



DRAFT REPLY TO CHERNENKO LETTER OF JULY 26, 1984

32

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Candor should be an essential feature of our dialogue given the responsibilities of our two offices. Thus, I must be frank in informing you that I am surprised by your letter of July 26, 1984, since it draws conclusions which are not warranted by the explanations I have given you.

Mr. Chairman, since receiving your proposal to begin negotiations on the "militarization of space" on June 29, I have believed that our two countries have an important opportunity to make progress in arms control in an area of fundamental importance. This is why I immediately accepted your proposal and in subsequent letters and diplomatic exchanges suggested that our representatives get down to work on developing an agreed formulation for the Vienna meeting, so that negotiations there could lead to meaningful results.

Thus, I am disturbed that in your most recent letter, you misrepresent our position. Let me once again make the US position absolutely clear. As I stated in my letter to you of July 2, your proposal for a conference on the "militarization of outer space" remains "an excellent idea." Of course, as I have indicated before, there may be differences between the two sides over the precise meaning of the concept of "militarization of outer space." But that is not unusual; throughout our experience in negotiating arms control, our representatives have disagreed over precise definitions but they have resolved these differences.

[You referred to the proposed public statements exchanged by our representatives. We considered yours inappropriate as a public statement at this time because it contained preconditions to negotiation and sweeping commitments which, in the absence of negotiation, cannot seriously be made by either side. Since my acceptance of your proposal was without preconditions and was based on the assumption that your proposal also contained none, your text was not appropriate.]

[You have, on several occasions, proposed a moratorium on the testing and deployment of space weapons and I owe you my thoughts on this subject. I must say frankly that inasmuch as

*Suggested additions in brackets*

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS - 100-003 #21

BY WJ NARA, DATE 12/13/00

the Soviet Union is the only nation which has tested and developed an anti-satellite weapon, the proposal is vulnerable to the suspicion that it is designed to preserve a unilateral advantage. You will recall that, in 1978 and 1979, when our governments last conducted negotiations on this subject, it was the Soviet Union which refused to negotiate a total ban. I infer that your position on this score has changed, but have yet to receive an explanation of the reasons for the change, or the basis for your judgment that such a ban could be verified.

[Nevertheless, we both should be able to agree that, in the context of ongoing negotiations which have realistic prospects of success, neither side should take actions which would undermine the goal of the negotiations. I do not, therefore, exclude the possibility that our negotiators could agree on a formula for mutual restraints to cover the period of the negotiations.]

So, Mr. Chairman, contrary to your assertion in your latest letter, the United States is prepared <sup>for talks</sup> ~~to negotiate~~ on the "militarization of outer space" without preconditions. I must remind you that it is the Soviet Union, not the United States, that seems unwilling to reach negotiated solutions to important military problems. It was, after all, the Soviet Union and not the United States that left the negotiations on Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces in Geneva. And it is the Soviet Union and not the United States that continues to refuse to cooperate on the important task of reducing strategic arms. Thus, Mr. Chairman, your latest letter raises a question in my mind about whether, having made a proposal to go to Vienna, you are now backing away from it. I hope this is not the case, ~~for in that event I would be forced to conclude that your aim is not negotiations but something else.~~

If, as you say in your latest letter, your proposal still stands, I think it is time now for our representatives to work out the preparations for the meeting in Vienna, including, if possible, a joint statement. I have instructed Secretary of State Shultz to continue this effort. If your side approaches this task with the good will and serious intent which is the basis of my approach, I am confident that we can ~~reach a goal~~ ~~which~~ serves the interests of both our countries.

34

II

BY LOT NARA, DATE 12/14/00

SECRET/SENSITIVE

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Candor should be an essential feature of our dialogue given the responsibilities of our two offices. Thus, I must be frank in informing you that I am concerned by your letter of July 26, 1984, *since it <sup>surprised</sup> draws conclusions which are not warranted by the explanation I have given you.*

Mr. Chairman, since receiving your proposal to begin negotiations on the "militarization of space" on June 29th, I have believed that our two countries have had an important opportunity to make progress in arms control in an area of fundamental importance. This is why I immediately accepted your proposal and in subsequent letters and diplomatic exchanges suggested that our representatives get down to work on developing an agreed formulation for the Vienna meeting, so that negotiations there could lead to meaningful results.

Thus, I am disturbed that in your most recent letter, you appear to misrepresent our position. Let me once again make the US position absolutely clear. As I stated in my letter to you of July 2, your proposal for a conference on the "militarization of outer space" remains "an excellent idea." ~~Of course, as I have indicated before, there may be differences between the two sides over the precise meaning of the concept of "militarization of outer space." But that is not unusual; throughout our experience in negotiating arms control, our representatives have disagreed over precise definitions but they have resolved these differences. So let our negotiators meet in Vienna and get down to work~~ *to negotiate*

INSERT

So, Mr. Chairman, contrary to your assertion in your latest letter, the United States is prepared ~~for talks~~ on the "militarization of outer space" without preconditions. I must remind you that it is the Soviet Union, not the United States, that seems unwilling to reach negotiated solutions to important military problems. It was, after all, the Soviet Union and not the United States that left the negotiations on Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces in Geneva. And it is the Soviet Union and not the United States that continues to refuse to cooperate on the important task of reducing strategic arms. Thus, Mr. Chairman, your latest letter raises a question in my mind about whether, having made a proposal to go to Vienna, you are now backing away from it. I hope this is not the case, *for in that event I would be forced to conclude that your aim is not negotiations but something else.*

If, as you say in your latest letter, ~~that~~ your proposal still stands, I think it is time now that our representatives begin working on preparations for Vienna, including, if possible, a joint statement, ~~and~~ I have instructed Secretary of State Shultz to continue this effort. If ~~both sides~~ <sup>you</sup> approaches this task with <sup>the</sup> good will and serious intent, I am confident we can ~~achieve this objective~~.

*reach a goal which serves the interests of both our countries.*

*which is the basis of my approach,*

36

III

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38  
NLS - 100-003#23  
BY 10J NARA, DATE 12/14/00

DECLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Candor should be an essential feature of our dialogue given the responsibilities of our two offices. Thus, I must be frank in informing you that I am surprised by your letter of July 26, 1984, since it draws conclusions which are not warranted by the explanations I have given you.

Mr. Chairman, since receiving your proposal to begin negotiations on the "militarization of space" on June 29, I have believed that our two countries have an important opportunity to make progress in arms control in an area of fundamental importance. This is why I immediately accepted your proposal and in subsequent letters and diplomatic exchanges suggested that our representatives get down to work on developing an agreed formulation for the Vienna meeting, so that negotiations there could lead to meaningful results.

Thus, I am disturbed that in your most recent letter, you misrepresent our position. Let me once again make the US position absolutely clear. As I stated in my letter to you of July 2, your proposal for a conference on the "militarization of outer space" remains "an excellent idea." The concept of the "militarization of outer space" is a broad one, and as I have indicated previously, in my view accommodates offensive as well

as defensive systems. *Thus, as we have said many times we also want to talk, at Vienna*  
~~Your side may have a different concept,~~  
*ok*  
~~but the important thing at this stage is for our negotiators to~~  
*Oppose*  
~~meet in Vienna and work out whatever differences may exist.~~  
*Minister*  
*Consider*  
*C. An.*  
*FE*

So, Mr. Chairman, contrary to your assertion in your latest letter, the United States is prepared for talks on the "militarization of outer space" without preconditions. I must

Discussed.

remind you that it is the Soviet Union, not the United States, that seems unwilling to reach negotiated solutions to important military problems. It was, after all, the Soviet Union and not the United States that left the negotiations on Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces in Geneva. And it is the Soviet Union and not the United States that continues to refuse to cooperate on the important task of reducing strategic arms. Thus, Mr. Chairman, your latest letter raises a question in my mind about whether, having made a proposal to go to Vienna, you are now backing away from it. I hope this is not the case.

If, as you say in your latest letter, your proposal still stands, I think it is time now for our representatives to work out the preparations for the meeting in Vienna, including, if possible, a joint statement. I have instructed Secretary of State Shultz to continue this effort. If your side approaches this task with the good will and serious intent which is the basis of my approach, I am confident that we can serve the interests of both our countries.



*Offensive missile systems  
see upper sheet*

Joint Soviet-American Statement

As a result of exchanges through diplomatic channels between the USA and the USSR, agreement has been reached to open talks with the aim of working out and concluding agreements concerning the militarization of outer space, including anti-satellite systems and other aspects of this issue. The talks will begin in Vienna on September 18, 1984 at the level of specially appointed delegations.

↓, offensive missile systems, and

Please also comment on the possible additional statement below:

~~It has also been agreed that beginning with the date of the commencement of the talks in Vienna, a mutual two-year moratorium on the testing and deployment of anti-satellite weapons and related systems will be established. The Soviet side has furthermore pledged itself, with the commencement of talks in Vienna, to undertake the dismantlement of its existing anti-satellite system, a task which shall be completed by November 18, 1984.~~

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NLS M00-003 #24

BY LJS, NARA, DATE 12/14/00

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42

National Security Council  
The White House

System # IF

Package # 98829

84 JUL 26  
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PP

P 7: 35

1271

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>3</u>	<u>K</u>	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
<u>Matlock</u>	<u>5</u>	_____	<u>A</u>

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

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

To Matlock for further action, (w/  
original of State package) ✓ attached

National Security Council  
The White House

System # \_\_\_\_\_

Package # \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	1	<i>[Signature]</i>	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	2	M	ADVANCE
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

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

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

COMMENTS

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

*Bud,*  
*Jack and Ron are working on*  
*a memo for the President.*  
*My initial reaction is we*  
*should stick to our position and*  
*respond to Chernenko accordingly.*

II 90 829 44

**URGENT**

84 JUL 28 4:31

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TO: \_\_\_\_\_

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Executive Secretary

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