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**Collection:** Matlock, Jack F.: Files  
**Folder Title:** Matlock Chron May 1986 (3)  
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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

JET 4/15/2005

**File Folder** MATLOCK CHRON MAY 1986 (3/4)

**FOIA**

F06-114/4

**Box Number** 16

YARHI-MILO

1606

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
8295	MEMO	MATLOCK TO POINDEXTER RE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO GORBACHEV <b>R 3/20/2013 F2006-114/4</b>	2	5/21/1986	B1
8296	MEMO	POINDEXTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE LETTER TO GORBACHEV <b>R 3/20/2013 F2006-114/4</b>	1	ND	B1
8298	LETTER	DRAFT LETTER PRESIDENT REAGAN TO GORBACHEV <b>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</b>	6	ND	B1
8297	LETTER	DRAFT LETTER PRESIDENT REAGAN TO GORBACHEV <b>R 3/9/2011 F2006-114/4</b>	6	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]

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

Matlock

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1986

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, Director  
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: RODNEY B. MCDANIEL *Bob for*

REQUEST: Meeting with Arthur Hartman, U.S. Ambassador  
to the Soviet Union.

PURPOSE: To brief the President on U.S.-Soviet  
relations and the outlook for a 1986 summit.

BACKGROUND: The Ambassador is in the U.S. on  
consultations through the beginning of June.  
He has met with the President on previous visits.

PREVIOUS  
PARTICIPATION: Most recently the President met with  
Ambassador Hartman in March of this year.

DATE & TIME: May 19-23, 27-28 or June 2.  
DURATION: 15 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The Vice President, Secretary Shultz, Donald  
Regan, John Poindexter, and Jack Matlock

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: The President greets Ambassador Hartman,  
solicits his views on the current situation  
in Moscow, and discusses the issues as  
appropriate.

REMARKS REQUIRED: None

MEDIA COVERAGE: None

PROPOSED "PHOTO": White House photo

RECOMMENDED BY: ADM Poindexter, Secretary Shultz

OPPOSED BY: None

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 29, 1997  
By CJS NARA, Date 6/20/02

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 19, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Ambassador Hartman

Art Hartman has just returned from Moscow and has requested a meeting with the President to discuss U.S.-Soviet relations and the outlook for a 1986 summit. Such a meeting is particularly timely in light of the recent nuclear accident in Chernobyl, and Secretary Shultz recommends that the request be approved.

*J.M.*  
Judy Mandel and *Michael Plaster for* Johnathan Miller concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize the schedule proposal to Fred Ryan at Tab I for Art Hartman to meet with the President.

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

Attachments:

Tab I Schedule Proposal  
Tab II State Department memo requesting a meeting with the President for Ambassador Hartman.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 29, 1997  
By *CAS* NARA, Date *6/20/02*





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3  
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

8614635

May 16, 1986

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Meeting Between the President and Ambassador Hartman,  
Our Envoy to the Soviet Union

Ambassador Hartman, our envoy to the Soviet Union, will visit Washington in mid to late May and would very much appreciate a fifteen-minute meeting with the President. He would like to review the state of U.S.-Soviet relations and prospects for a meeting between the President and General Secretary Gorbachev this year. The Secretary recommends approval of the Ambassador's request.

The Ambassador will be in Washington on May 15-16, 19-23, 27-28, and June 2. He will meet with the Secretary, and has requested meetings with the Vice President and others.

*Nicholas Platt*  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
By CUS NARA, Date 4/20/02

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8295  
SYSTEM II  
90389  
JM-C  
JFM10 4

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.

Rodman and Linhard concur.

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR FD6-114/4 #8295  
BY RW NARA DATE 3/20/13

5

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

EDV

SECRET/SENSITIVE

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

SUBJECT: Letter to Gorbachev

Issue

Whether to sign a letter to Gorbachev.

Facts

Gorbachev has not answered your most recent letters. However, Secretary Shultz has recommended that you send him a letter to clear the air following the Chernobyl disaster and encourage him to reply to the suggestions you have made.

Discussion

I agree with George that a letter could be helpful at this time. You can express your sympathy for the victims of Chernobyl, reiterate your readiness to be of assistance, endorse his call for more international cooperation regarding nuclear safety, remind him that he owes you replies to the suggestions you gave Dobrynin, and suggest a Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting, in Europe if they prefer.

Recommendation

OK                      No

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments:

Tab A            Letter to Gorbachev

Tab B            Memorandum from Secretary Shultz

Prepared by:  
Jack F. Matlock

SECRET/SENSITIVE  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR 106-114/4#8296  
BY RW NARA DATE 3/20/13



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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 / RE / CASE  
Authority NLSF 99-051 #427 SMF 10/16/00  
BY CWS, NARA, Date 6/20/02

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



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

SYSTEM 11  
90389

86 MAY 19

~~SECRET~~

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER:

ACTION OFFICER:

DUE: 20 MAY

Prepare Memo For President

Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew

Prepare Memo For Poindexter / Fortier

Prepare Memo McDaniel to Elliott

Prepare Memo

to

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 5112

FYI

FYI

**URGENT**

FYI

Burghardt

Levine

Sachs

Cannistraro

Linhard

Sestanovich

Childress

Mahley

Sigur

Cobb

Major

Small

Covey

Mandel

Sommer

Danzansky

Matlock

Soos

deGraffenreid

May

Stark

Djerejian

Menges

Steiner

Dobriansky

Miller

Tahir-Kheli

Donley

North

Teicher

Douglass

Platt

Thompson

Grimes

Pugliese

Tillman

Hughes

Raymond

Wigg

Kraemer

Reger

Wright

Laux

Ringdahl

RODMAN

Lanczowski

Sable

INFORMATION

McDaniel

Pearson

Secretariat

Rodman

Lehman

Poindexter (advance)

Fortier (advance)

COMMENTS

CW

6/20/62

Return to Secretariat



National Security Council  
The White House

System # 11  
Package # \_\_\_\_\_  
DOCLOG \_\_\_\_\_ A/O \_\_\_\_\_

86 MAY 19 P 5: 38

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Rodney McDaniel			
Don Fortier			
Paul Thompson			
Florence Gantt			
John Poindexter			
Rodney McDaniel			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>		<u>stuff</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP    Regan    Buchanan    Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

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

advance to JMF/LBM  
action: JFM  
SYS II  
concern: PWR  
REL

12

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.

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: *USF 99-051 #479 OJ 7/25/00*  
BY: *CS*, NARA, Date: *6/20/02*  
~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
DECL: OADR

~~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. I felt it would be useful at this time for you to have my personal thoughts on what is needed to set 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 with Dr. Gale, who described to me in stirring detail the sacrifices and skill with which your experts are dealing with the human and physical consequences of the disaster.

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  
NLRR FD6-114/4#8298  
BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11



You have made some specific proposals for ensuring against a repeat of the Chernobyl accident. As you may know, your ideas appear similar in some respects to measures which I and other Western leaders advocated in Tokyo. I therefore agree to support enhanced international nuclear safety, both through our own efforts and through the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international organizations. Ambassador Kennedy and Chairman Petrosyants should be prepared to discuss in detail such efforts when they meet in June.

Mr. General Secretary, your misunderstanding of our motives in the Chernobyl incident is unfortunately all too characteristic 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



15

~~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, without preconditions, a discussion of nuclear testing issues to see if progress in this area is possible.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

10

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

- 4 -

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 move beyond rhetorical exchanges and return to the agenda we agreed upon in Geneva last November.

I am prepared to do my part. As I have said, I am 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.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

17

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 will emphasize in my address, as I have in this letter, the need, and our willingness, to revive active work on the Geneva agenda. To this end, I will offer to make Secretary Shultz available to meet with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze at a 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 resolve anything. This is the moment which has been given us. I believe that, despite the difficulties which will always trouble our relationship, it is a moment of unique, of historic potential. Let us not lose it for lack of effort.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~



~~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. <sup>Therefore, it may</sup> I felt it would be useful at this time for you to have my personal thoughts on <sup>how we might</sup> what is needed to set <sup>relations between our countries</sup> 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 <sup>to speak</sup> 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  
NLRR FOI 6-114/4 #8297  
BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/11

In your address of May 14, 1986,

<sup>A</sup> 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.

appear similar in some respects to measures which I and other

I agree with you that such action is highly desirable.

Western leaders advocated in Tokyo. I therefore agree to

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 area. I would propose that

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)

<sup>A</sup> 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~~

~~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~~ <sup>concentrate on</sup> time to ~~move beyond rhetorical exchanges and return to~~ <sup>set forth</sup> the agenda we ~~agreed upon~~ in Geneva last November.

I am prepared to do my part. As I have said, I am <sup>eager</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>I agree with you that</sup> ~~an atmosphere conducive to progress~~ <sup>is important.</sup> ~~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.~~

The atmosphere of our relationship<sup>5</sup> 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 hope that in our correspondence we can begin to make I will outline as I did to Secretary Dobrynin what it might be such progress.~~

~~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.~~

~~... address as I have in this letter, the~~

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]

~~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.~~

2

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~~ <sup>are unlikely to</sup> 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~~  
<sup>unique</sup>  
potential. Let us not lose it for lack of effort.

SECRET/SENSITIVE



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 27, 1986

*JML*  
*B*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT:

Atlantic Conference Invitation

Attached at Tab I are responses to Senators Paul Simon and Charles Mathias, co-chairmen of the International Steering Committee for the 1986 Atlantic Conference, who have invited you to attend the Conference in St-Paul-de-Vence, France, November 9-12. The subject of this year's meeting is "Soviet Leadership Transition: Implications for Atlantic Area Nations."

I am sure you would find the Conference interesting if your schedule allows. At the same time, it does not appear to be "a must" in substantive terms. We have indicated in the letters to Simon and Mathias that you would like to attend but cannot make a commitment this far in advance.

*P.S.*  
Peter Sommer and Ron *R*Sable concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab I to Senators Simon and Mathias.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab I Letters to Senators Simon and Mathias  
Tab II Invitation from Senators Simon and Mathias  
Tab A Background Information on the Atlantic Conference

20-

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Simon:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 18 and your kind invitation to attend this year's Atlantic Conference on Soviet Leadership Transition. It sounds like it will be a most instructive and worthwhile session.

It is still early for me to know whether my schedule will allow me to travel to France in November, but I would certainly like to attend if time permits. I will be back in touch with you as the Conference approaches and my schedule becomes clearer.

I will be in direct contact with Senator Mathias to advise him of my interest in the Conference. Again, many thanks for your invitation.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Paul Simon  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

27.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Mathias:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 18 and your kind invitation to attend this year's Atlantic Conference on Soviet Leadership Transition. It sounds like it will be a most instructive and worthwhile session.

It is still early for me to know whether my schedule will allow me to travel to France in November, but I would certainly like to attend if time permits. I will be back in touch with you as the Conference approaches and my schedule becomes clearer.

I will be in direct contact with Senator Simon to advise him of my interest in the Conference. Again, many thanks for your invitation.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510



# ATLANTIC CONFERENCE

3638

April 18, 1986

**CO-CHAIRMEN**

Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.  
Senator Paul Simon

**STEERING COMMITTEE:**

**Canada**

Ivan Head

**Europe**

Piero Bassetti  
Thierry de Montbrial  
Juan Tomas de Salas  
Jean Francois-Poncet  
Karl Kaiser  
Helmut Kohl  
Volker Ruhe  
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**Latin America**

Dante Caputo  
Marcilio Marques Moreira  
Olavo Setubal

**United States**

Kenneth W. Dam  
Thomas S. Foley  
James Hoge  
Martha T. Muse  
John M. Richman  
Donald H. Rumsteld

**CONFERENCE DIRECTOR:**

John E. Rielly

**SECRETARIAT:**

The Chicago Council  
on Foreign Relations  
116 South Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60603  
(312) 726-3860

Rear Adm. John Poindexter  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
National Security Council  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Admiral Poindexter,

On behalf of the Steering Committee, we would like to invite you to participate in the 1986 meeting of the Atlantic Conference, which will be held at Le Mas d'Artigny in St-Paul-de-Vence, France. The meeting will begin on Thursday, November 6, and conclude by noon on Sunday, November 9, 1986.

This meeting will bring together political, governmental, business, banking, academic and other professional leaders from Western Europe, South America and North America. The conference will include 50 participants, about half of whom will be drawn from among previous participants. The subject for the meeting this year is, "Soviet Leadership Transition: Implications for Atlantic Area Nations". Four papers will be presented on different aspects of this subject by leading authorities from the three continents.

This private international conference series was started by the Ford Foundation in 1965 and for the past decade has been administered by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in cooperation with an international steering committee. A summary of the Atlantic Conference program is enclosed, along with a partial list of those who have participated in the conference over the past decade. A formal program for the 1986 meeting will be sent to you at a later date, but we thought to alert you to the meeting now.

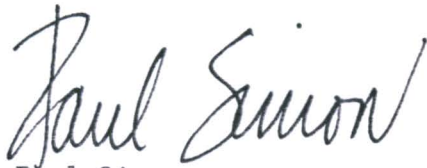
The ground rules for the meeting will also be the same as in previous years. The conference is strictly off-the-record. You are being invited to attend in your private (not official) capacity. We want to stress that the invitation is personal and not transferable. Travel expenses (including economy air fare) for conference participants will be covered where alternate sources are not available.

Participants are invited to bring spouses, although their travel expenses will not be covered. Accommodations, meals and other essential expenses at the conference will be covered. Additional information on the site, travel arrangements and the meeting itself will be supplied by the Conference Secretariat, located at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, which has administrative responsibility for the meeting.

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A member of the Steering Committee or the Conference Director may be contacting you to provide additional information. You should contact the Conference Director, Mr. John E. Rielly, at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations to answer any questions.

We hope very much that you will be able to join us in St-Paul-de-Vence in November, and look forward to hearing from you.



Paul Simon  
United States Senator

Sincerely yours,



Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.  
United States Senator

PROJECT SUMMARY  
1986 ATLANTIC CONFERENCE

St. Paul de Vence, France  
November 6-9, 1986

The Atlantic Conference

The 1986 session of the Atlantic Conference will be the ninth meeting in a biennial series which began in 1970. The Conference assembles approximately fifty leaders from North America, South America and Western Europe for focused, off-the-record discussions of political, economic and security questions of consequence. The rationale for this international series has been and remains the conviction that closer collaboration among leaders of the Western world is essential. Each meeting of the Conference addresses an important theme of shared concern among the nations involved. Emphasis is placed on the timeliness of topics and participation by younger leaders as well as more established senior figures. Conference subjects are rather broad by definition and policy-oriented, as opposed to more narrow issues of concern primarily to specialists.

Shared assumptions provide the impetus for this regular assembly of influential people from the Western world. These include first a perception that the role of the United States in the world continues to change in the modern era, during a period of continuing international economic competition and increasing military competition with the Soviet Union. Second, there has been some skepticism about the adequacy of existing institutions in the industrialized world to deal with the diverse political, economic and social challenges confronting them. Third, in a period when economic issues have moved to the forefront of the international agenda, relationships among the industrialized countries of Europe and North America and the newly industrialized countries of South America are shifting in important ways.



The Atlantic Conference provides a multilateral framework for discussion of problems which affect the entire area. Meetings of the Atlantic Conference focus on problems common to the three continents. Indeed the title "Atlantic Conference" is designed to emphasize that these are not United States-Europe or United States-South America meetings, but rather gatherings of leaders from the major nations of the Western world for the purpose of addressing collective concerns. The name is not intended to imply any particular form of organization for cooperation among the nations involved or any specific postures on defense, diplomatic or economic policies. The only assumption is that the three continents do share a western culture which continues to provide a cohesive bond among the peoples of Europe, North America and South America.

The 1986 meeting of the Atlantic Conference will focus on the Soviet Union and in particular the implications of the new Soviet leadership for Europe and the Western hemisphere. The meeting will be held at Hotel Le Mas D'Artigny, St. Paul de Vence, France, from November 6 to 9. The title for the 1986 Atlantic Conference is "Soviet Leadership Transition: Implications for Atlantic Area Nations".

The 1986 Conference theme has been chosen because of the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev. This has brought extensive shifts in domestic policy, including emphasis on economic productivity and social discipline, as well as changes in senior and lower-ranking government personnel. Under General Secretary Gorbachev, the Soviets may

also become even more adventurous in foreign policy. Second, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have been strained for the past half decade, which is reflected in the lack of progress in arms control negotiations. Third, disputes over the deployment of new Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, the wisdom of the West European gas pipeline agreement with the Soviets underscore the influence of that superpower on Western Europe and the wider Nato area. Fourth, Soviet ties to Cuba and Nicaragua, and wider engagement in South America, represent - but do not exhaust - their actual and potential influence in that part of the world. The conference will address not only foreign policy issues, but the implications of changes within the Soviet Union on relations with the Western countries.

#### Conference Structure

As with previous conferences in the series, there will be four principal authors of papers. Each author will present a paper at the conference and each of the four main sessions will focus on one paper. The papers planned for discussion at the conference are as follows:

1. The USA and the USSR: Relations between the Super Powers.

Professor Seweryn Bialer, Ruggles Professor of Political Science and Director of the Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University (confirmed).

2. The Soviet Challenge in Europe: Management of its Empire in Eastern Europe and Threat or Accommodation with Western Europe.

Professor Pierre Hassner, Foundation de Science Politique, Paris (confirmed).

3. Internal Soviet Economic and Social Change under Gorbachev.

Professor Michael Kaser, Oxford University, (confirmed).

4. Western Power Relations with the Soviet Union: A South American Perspective.

Mr. Aldo Vacs, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh.

A wide range of topics have been addressed by previous meetings of the Atlantic Conference. The 1984 meeting, held in Iguazu, Argentina, considered the topic, "Surviving International Economic Upheaval: Political, Economic and Security Implications for Atlantic Area Nations." The paper topics and authors were:

1. "Prospects for Atlantic Area Political and Security Relationships in the Wake of Economic Upheaval"  
-- Riordan Roett, Professor and Director, Latin American Studies Program and Center of Brazil Studies, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
2. "Political and Economic Transition in South America"  
-- Alejandro Foxley, Director, CIEPLAN, Santiago, Chile
3. "Surviving International Economic Upheaval: Europe and the Western Hemisphere"  
-- Shirley Williams, Policy Studies Institute and Social Democratic Party, London, England
4. "The Debt Crisis: Problems and Prospects as Seen from the United States."  
-- Rimmer de Vries, Senior Vice President, Morgan Trust Company

Earlier meetings held on a rotating basis among the three regions involved have considered the following subjects: "Looking Toward the East: How does the West Respond to the Soviet Union?," at the 1982 meeting in St. Croix, Virgin Islands; "Western Europe: The Alliance in Transition," at the 1980 Conference in the Algarve, Portugal; "Political and Economic Change in Atlantic Area Nations," at the 1978 Conference in Bahia, Brazil; "Detente and the Atlantic Nations," at the 1976 Conference in Sea Island, Georgia; "Resources and International Security," at the 1974 meeting in Taormina, Italy; "International Economic Policy - Europe, North America and Latin America," at the 1972 meeting in Macuto, Venezuela; and "The Role of the United States in the World," at the 1970 meeting in Puerto Rico, United States.



The Atlantic Conference is supervised by an international steering committee chaired by U.S. Senators Paul Simon (Democrat - Illinois) and Charles McC. Mathias (Republican - Maryland). The Conference Director is John E. Rielly, President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Atlantic Conference Steering Committee

Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. -- Chairman

Senator Paul Simon -- Co-Chairman

Canada

Ivan Head

Europe

Piero Bassetti - Italy

Thierry de Montbrial - France

Juan Tomas de Salas - Spain

Jean Francois-Poncet - France

Karl Kaiser - Germany

Helmut Kohl - Germany

Volke Ruehe - Germany

Shirley Williams - Britain

Latin America

Dante Caputo - Argentina

Marcilio Marques Moreira - Brazil

Olavo Setubal - Brazil

United States

Kenneth W. Dam

Thomas S. Foley

James Hoge

Martha T. Muse

John M. Richman

Donald H. Rumsfeld

Participants in Atlantic Conference Meetings: Partial Listing, 1970-1984

(Position listed in most cases is that held at the time of participation)

EUROPEBelgium

Gaston Geens  
Minister for the Budget and Science  
and later Minister of Finance

Federal Republic of Germany

Karl Carstens  
Member of Parliament and President of the Bundestag  
former President of the Federal Republic

Peter Corterier  
Member of Bundestag and former Minister of State in the  
German Foreign Office

Karl Kaiser  
Director, Research Institute Forschungsinstitut der  
Deutschen Gessellschaft fur Auswartige Politik E.V.

Helmut Kohl  
Minister-President of Rhineland-Palatinate and  
President of the C D U  
now Chancellor of the Federal Republic

Volker Ruehe  
Member of the Bundestag, Vice-Chairman of the CDU-CSU Parliamentary  
Group, CDU Speaker on Foreign and Defense Policy

Klaus Schutz  
Mayor of Berlin

Theo Sommer  
Editor-in-Chief -- DIE ZEIT

Dietrich Stobbe  
Member of the Bundestag

Karsten Voigt  
Member of the Bundestag, SPD Speaker on Foreign Affairs

Richard von Weizsaecker  
Member of Parliament,  
Mayor of Berlin  
President of the Federal Republic

Wolfgang Wagner  
Editor-in-Chief, Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung



Manfred Woerner  
Member of Bundestag,  
Minister of Defense

France

Thierry de Montbrial  
Director, French Institute of International Relations

Andre Fontaine  
Directeur - LE MONDE

Jean Andre Francois-Poncet  
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Michel Tatu  
Foreign Editor - LE MONDE

Great Britain

Harold Evans  
Editor, THE SUNDAY TIMES  
Editor, THE LONDON TIMES

Thomas McNally M.P.  
Political Advisor to the Prime Minister

George Robertson M.P.  
House of Commons  
Deputy Speaker on Foreign Policy, Labour Party

Peter Walker M.P.  
Minister of Agriculture  
Minister of Environment

Shirley Williams  
Policy Studies Institute  
President, Social Democratic Party  
Former Minister of Education

Italy

Giovanni Agnelli  
President, FIAT, S.p.a.

Suzanna Agnelli  
Under Secretary of State  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Umberto Agnelli  
Vice Chairman of FIAT and Member of the Senate

Piero Bassetti  
Member of Parliament

Italy (cont'd)

Giorgio LaMalfa  
Member Chamber of Deputies and later  
Minister of Economic Planning and Budget

Arrigo Levi  
Director, LA STAMPA

Franco Mattei  
Director General, Confederation of Industry

Filippo Pandolfi  
Member of Parliament and Minister of Finance

Donato Speroni  
Vice Director of Il Mondo

Portugal

Diogo Freitas do Amaral  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Francisco Pinto Balsemao  
Deputy Minister to the Prime Minister  
Now Prime Minister

Francisco Lucas Pires  
Chairman  
CDS Political Committee

Spain

Jorge Brosa  
Director General, Banco Espanol de Credito

Ignacio Camunas  
President, Commission on Foreign Affairs at the Congress

Juan Tomas de Salas  
President, CAMBIO 16

Manuel Fraga Iribarne  
Member of Parliament and Minister of Information and Tourism

Laureano Lopez Rodo  
Minister of Planning and Deputy Prime Minister

Joaquin Ruiz-Jiminez  
Professor of Law and Opposition Leader

Switzerland

Ernst Keller  
President, ADELA Investment Company

NORTH AMERICACanada

Monique Begin  
Member of Parliament and later  
Minister of Health

J. P. Goyer  
Member of Parliament and later  
Attorney General

Ivan Head  
Special Assistant to the Prime Minister

Flora MacDonald  
Member of Parliament  
Former Secretary of State for External Affairs

Mark MacGuigan  
Member of Parliament and later  
Secretary of State for External Affairs

United States

John Anderson  
United States Congressman

Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the Board  
Atlantic Richfield Company

Roger Anderson  
Former Chairman  
Continental Illinois National Bank

C. Fred Bergsten  
Director, Institute for International Economics and  
former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs

Joseph Biden  
United States Senator



United States (cont'd)

Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Professor, Columbia University and former Special Assistant to the  
President for National Security Affairs

Richard B. Cheney  
United States Congressman

Lawton Chiles  
United States Senator

Frank Church  
United States Senator

John Culver  
United States Senator

Kenneth Dam  
Deputy Secretary of State

Rimmer de Vries  
Senior Vice President  
Morgan Guaranty Trust Company

David Durenberger  
United States Senator

Thomas S. Foley  
United States Congressman  
Majority Whip

Donald Fraser  
United States Congressman

Richard N. Gardner  
Professor of International Law, Columbia University  
and former United States Ambassador to Italy

Philip Geyelin  
Chief, Editorial Page  
THE WASHINGTON POST

Gary Hart  
United States Senator

Neil F. Hartigan  
Attorney General  
State of Illinois

Arthur A. Hartman  
United States Ambassador to France  
now United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union

United States (cont'd)

James Hoge  
Editor and Publisher  
THE CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

Thomas Hughes  
President  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Samuel P. Huntington  
Director  
Center for International Affairs at Harvard University

Peter T. Jones  
Former Senior Vice President  
Levi Stauss and Company

Clayton Kirkpatrick  
Editor  
THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Peter F. Krogh  
Dean, School of Foreign Service  
Georgetown University

Harald B. Malmgren  
Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations  
The White House

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.  
United States Senator

George McGovern  
United States Senator

Robert P. McNeil  
Partner, Stein Roe and Farnham

Charles A. Meyer  
Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

Walter F. Mondale  
United States Senator  
former Vice President of the United States

Alfred O. Munk  
Manager, Foreign Affairs  
Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

Martha T. Muse  
Chairman of the Board  
The Tinker Foundation

United States (cont'd)

Frank Ortiz  
U.S. Ambassador to Argentina

Charles H. Percy  
United States Senator  
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

John M. Richman  
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer  
Dart & Kraft, Inc.

Riordan Roett  
Professor & Director of Latin American Studies  
& Center of Brazilian Studies  
Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

Joseph E. Slater  
President  
The Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
Counselor  
United States Department of State

Howard Stein  
President  
The Dreyfus Fund

Adlai E. Stevenson, III  
United States Senator

Robert Taft  
United States Senator

Richard L. Thomas  
President  
The First National Bank of Chicago

Joseph Tydings  
United States Senator

Tom Wicker  
Associate Editor  
THE NEW YORK TIMES



SOUTH AMERICAArgentina

Jose Ber Gelbard  
Minister of Economy and President of  
Economic General Confederation

Oscar Camilion  
former Ambassador of Argentina to Brazil and Editor of EL CLARIN  
former Foreign Minister of Argentina

Dante Mario Caputo  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Guido di Tella  
Chairman, Instituto Torcuato di Tella

Mariano Grondona  
Editor - CARTA POLITICA

Elsa D.R. Kelly  
Secretary of State for External & Cultural Relations  
Ministry of External Relations

Jose Martinez de Hoz  
Minister of Economy

Arturo O'Connell  
Decano  
FLACSO

Jose Rohm  
Director General  
Banco General de Negocios

Brazil

Helio Beltrao  
President, Ultra Group

Roberto de Oliveira Campos  
Ambassador of Brazil to the United Kingdom and  
Minister of Planning and Development

Antonio Delfim Netto  
Minister of finance, now  
Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs

Celso Lafer  
Professor, University of Sao Paulo

Brazil (cont'd)

Marcilio Marques Moreira  
Executive Vice President, UNIBANCO

Jarbas Passarinho  
Minister of Education

Fernando Pedreira  
Director, Editor-in-Chief, O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO

Marcos Viniceus Pratini de Moraes  
Camara dos Deputados

Jao Paulo do Reis Velloso  
Minister of Planning

Marcos Sa Correa  
Editor of Veja

Olavo E. Setubal  
President  
Banco Itau  
now Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mario Henrique Simonsen  
Minister of Finance

Marcos P. Vianna  
President, National Bank of Economic Development

Chile

Sergio Bitar  
Former Minister of Mining

Sergio de Castro Spikula  
Minister of Finance

Alejandro Foxley  
Director  
CIEPLAN

Eduardo Frei Montalvo  
former President of Chile

Francisco Orrego Vicuna  
Director, Institute de Estudios Internacionales  
Universidad de Chile

Maximo Pacheco Gomez  
Vice President  
Comision Chilena de Derechos Humanos

Claudio Veliz  
Director, Center for International Studies

Colombia

Rodrigo Botero  
Minister of Finance

Peru

Jorge Chavez Quelopana  
Director, Centro de Altos Estudios Militares and  
former Minister of the Budget

Eduardo DiBos  
Mayor of Lima

Manuel Ulloa Elias  
former Minister of Finance and  
Prime Minister of Peru

Uruguay

Enrique Iglesias  
Secretario Ejecutivo  
Comision Economica para America Latina

Venezuela

Aristides Calvani  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Marcial Perez Chiriboga  
Foreign Policy Spokesman, COPEI  
Former Ambassador to the United States

Marcos Falcon Bricena  
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee  
House of Representatives

Enrique Perez Olivares  
Minister of Education and  
Governor of District of Caracas

Luis Esteban Rey  
Federal Deputy  
National Congress



J4-C  
46NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 27, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Letter from World Freedom Foundation

Attached at Tab I is a suggested thank you letter to W. Stanley Mooneyham, President of the World Freedom Foundation. Mr. Mooneyham sent you a complimentary copy of Robert G. Kaiser's Russia: The People and the Power.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter to W. Stanley Mooneyham at Tab I.

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

## Attachments:

Tab I: Letter to W. Stanley Mooneyham

Tab II: Letter from Mooneyham

Tab A: Russia: The People and the Power

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Mooneyham:

Thank you for your letter of May 8 and the copy of Robert Kaiser's Russia: The People and the Power. I know it by reputation as a fine book, and I look forward to reviewing it.

Many thanks for taking the time to share it with me.

Sincerely,

W. Stanley Mooneyham, President  
World Freedom Foundation  
P.O. Box 1300  
Rancho Mirage, Ca. 92270







# World Freedom Foundation

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W. Stanley Mooneyham, President

May 8, 1986

Admiral John M. Poindexter  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Admiral Poindexter:

Perhaps not since the Russian Revolution itself has there been as much dramatic change to come out of the Kremlin as we have seen in recent months. To determine how much of it is style and how much is substance will require diligent analysis and evaluation.

We believe that such an evaluation is especially critical for an important member of the President's staff like yourself. Otherwise, the country will remain, in Winston Churchill's words, "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma" and that adds a dangerous element to the present challenge.

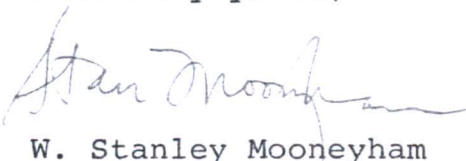
Yet we know that the demands on your time make it virtually impossible for you to gain any comprehensive knowledge from original sources.

For this reason, on behalf of the Board of Directors of our foundation, I take the liberty to send you a copy of an extraordinarily helpful book, Russia -- the People and the Power (1984 update edition) by Robert Kaiser. From 1971 to 1974, Mr. Kaiser covered the Kremlin for The Washington Post and was honored by the Overseas Press Club for his insightful and authoritative work.

Its' concise form and readable style make his book especially valuable for people with limited time. Chapter 12, "The Russians and the World," may be of special interest to you and Chapter 13, "A Time of Slow Changes," has been added as an update to the new edition.

I hope you will find this volume helpful. The World Freedom Foundation will be pleased to send copies to any person you might suggest.

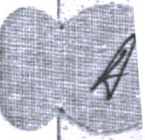
Sincerely yours,



W. Stanley Mooneyham

lj

51





NOV 1971

FULLY UPDATED!



Robert G. Kaiser

# Russia

## The People and the Power

Now, more than ever, we must understand the Russians. A superb journalist reveals their whole startling story!



WASHINGTON SQUARE PRESS 35-95-2503-3-3



