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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

JET 4/25/2005

**File Folder** DANILOFF (1)

**FOIA**

F06-114/6

**Box Number** 22

YARHI-MILO

2201

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9026	CABLE	050231Z SEP 86 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	3	9/5/1986	B1
9027	MEMO	CHERNYAYEV/ENGER ARREST: CHRONOLOGY <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	ND	B1
9028	CABLE	051524Z SEP 86 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	9/5/1986	B1
9019	TALKING POINTS	TALKING POINTS POINDEXTER/SHULTZ RE DANILOFF <i>R 1/30/2007 F97-024#119 MJD 5/16/00</i>	1	ND	B1
9029	LETTER	DRAFT DEMARCHE TO SOVIET EMBASSY RE DANILOFF <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	3	ND	B1
9020	MEMO	POINDEXTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE DANILOFF CASE	5	ND	B1
9030	LETTER	PRESIDENT REAGAN TO GORBACHEV RE DANILOFF <i>R 1/30/2007 F97-024 #124 MJD 5/16/00</i>	1	ND	B1
9031	MEMO	SHULTZ TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE SOVIET RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON DANILOFF <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	9/6/1986	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.

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9032	LETTER	DRAFT DEMARCHE TO SOVIET EMBASSY RE DANILOFF <b>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</b>	3	ND	B1
9033	LETTER	GORBACHEV TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE DANILOFF <b>R 1/30/2007 F97-024 #133 CAS 5/18/03</b>	1	9/8/1986	B1
9034	LETTER	LETTER IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE <b>R 1/30/2007 F97-024 #132 CAS 5/18/03</b>	1	ND	B1
9035	MEMO	SHULTZ TO PRESIDENT RE MESSAGE FROM DANILOFF <b>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</b>	1	9/10/1985	B1
9036	CABLE	100640Z SEP 86 <b>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</b>	1	9/10/1986	B1
9021	MEMO	MATLOCK TO RODMAN/COCKELL/MAJOR RE DUBININ ARMACOST MEETING <b>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</b>	1	ND	B1
9022	MEMO	SHULTZ TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE DANILOFF <b>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</b>	1	9/10/1986	B1
9037	MEMO	RE DANILOFF TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN <b>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</b>	2	ND	B1

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9023	MEMO	MCDANIEL TO PLATT RE MESSAGE FROM DUBININ <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	ND	B1
9024	MEMO	MCDANIEL TO PLATT RE DUBININ-ARMACOST MEETING <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	9/10/1986	B1
9025	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCDANIEL RE DUBININ-ARMACOST MEETING <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	9/10/1986	B1
9038	CABLE	102322Z SEP 86 <i>R 1/30/2007 F97-024 #141 MJD 5/16/00</i>	6	9/10/1986	B1
9039	CABLE	110227Z SEP 86 <i>R 1/30/2007 F97-024 #142 MJD 5/16/00</i>	3	9/11/1986	B1

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Department of State

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PAGE 03 OF 04 STATE 279024 TOSEC 170314

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DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO THE DETENTION BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES OF THE U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT, NICHOLAS DANILOFF. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO HAVE IN MIND TWO POINTS AS YOU CONSIDER HOW TO HANDLE THIS CASE.

FIRST, I CAN GIVE YOU MY PERSONAL ASSURANCE THAT MR. DANILOFF HAS NO CONNECTION WHATEVER WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. IF YOU HAVE BEEN INFORMED OTHERWISE, YOU HAVE BEEN MISINFORMED.

SECOND, THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR MR. DANILOFF'S DETENTION, NOR FOR ANY ATTEMPT TO LINK HIM TO ANY OTHER CASE. IF HE IS NOT FREED PROMPTLY, IT CAN ONLY HAVE THE MOST SERIOUS AND FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. THAT WOULD BE AN EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE OUTCOME, AND I THEREFORE THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE PERSONALLY THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH THIS SITUATION IS VIEWED BY THE UNITED STATES.

THEREFORE, I HOPE SINCERELY YOU WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTIONS TO ALLOW US TO PUT THIS MATTER BEHIND US IN THE NEAREST FUTURE.

- SINCERELY,

- RONALD REAGAN (SIGNED)

HIS EXCELLENCY  
MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH GORBACHEV  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
- OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION  
THE KREMLIN

MOSCOW  
END TEXT WHITEHEAD

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*Department of State*

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PAGE 04 OF 04 STATE 279024 TOSEC 170314

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For Jy Cobb FYI from EUR/SOV at State

Save for  
Mantlock 5

CHERNYAYEV/ENGER ARREST: CHRONOLOGY

May 20, 1978 Arrested in Woodbridge, N.J. A Soviet diplomat arrested with them was PNG'd.

May 22, 1978 Gromyko arrived in U.S. on visit originally scheduled for May 20 but postponed prior to arrest of Chernyayev and Enger.

June 1, 1978 Dobrynin wrote to U.S. District Court in New Jersey assuring the court that Chernyayev and Enger would obey all orders of the court if released on bail.

June 6, 1978 Arraigned in Newark Federal District Court. Pleaded not guilty to charge of espionage. Judge denied defense request to reduce bail from \$2 million per defendant.

June 12, 1978 Amct. F. Jay Crawford, representative of International Harvester, arrested in Moscow for alleged currency violations.

June 19, 1978 Bail hearing. Court took application for bail reduction under advisement.

June 26, 1978 Released without bail in Dobrynin's custody. Subject to normal travel restrictions on Soviet diplomats and forbidden by court order to leave U.S.

[ June 26, 1978 Crawford released in custody of Amb. Toon ]

October 14, 1978 Found guilty of espionage. Appeal process estimated to take 3 to 4 years.

October 14, 1978 Released in custody of Amb. Dobrynin pending appeal of case. Confined to Riverdale and required to check in with federal authorities in person every week.

October 30, 1978 Sentenced to 50 years in prison. Remain in Dobrynin custody.

~~SECRET~~  
DECL: QADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/6#9027  
BY LOT NARA, DATE 12/13/06

~~SECRET~~

November 21, 1978 SMUN officer informally asked USUN about possibility of the convicted pair's returning to the USSR pending appeal of their case.

Spring 1979 Chernyayev and Enger traded for Soviet dissidents, among them Aleksandr Ginsburg.

Crawford was tried and found guilty of currency violations but released. He left the USSR well before the prisoner exchange.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
SECRETARIAT

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5398  
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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, US, UR  
SUBJECT: DANILOFF CASE: NEXT STEPS

REF: MOSCOW 15355 AND PREVIOUS

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE ASSUME THAT ONE OF OUR MAIN OBJECTIVES IN FORMULATING NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE TO ENSURE --AND NOT FURTHER ENDANGER--WELFARE OF NICK DANILOFF, NOW IN SOVIET PRISON FACING ESPIONAGE CHARGES. WE RECOGNIZE THIS IS ONLY ONE OF SEVERAL USG OBJECTIVES IN THIS MATTER. BUT WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN FOREFRONT OF OUR ATTENTION. IF THERE IS ANY DANGER OF SACRIFICING A MAN TO A PRINCIPLE, WE SHOULD PROCEED WITH SPECIAL CARE.

3. IT SEEMS EVIDENT FROM OUR CONTACTS WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER BESSMERTNYKH THUS FAR THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT GOING TO RELEASE DANILOFF FROM PRISON UNLESS WE MORE OR LESS SIMULTANEOUSLY RELEASE ZAKHAROV. WE CAN UNDERSTAND FULLY THE DESIRE WITHIN THE USG AND ELSEWHERE TO COMMENCE LEVYING SANCTIONS AGAINST THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR OUTRAGEOUS BEHAVIOR, INCLUDING THEIR CURRENT POSITION. BUT OUR SENSE OF THE SOVIET MINDSET UNDER GORBACHEV IS THAT WE WILL GET AN UNBENDING RESPONSE. ONE RESULT WILL BE THE CONTINUED INCARCERATION OF NICK DANILOFF.

4. CONSUL GENERAL DALEY, WHO ACCOMPANIED U. S. NEWS OWNER ZUCKERMAN THROUGHOUT HIS MEETING WITH DANILOFF, CONFIRMS THAT NICK SAID HE NEITHER EXPECTED NOR REQUESTED TO BE "EXCHANGED" FOR ZAKHAROV.

5. WE RECOMMEND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO A NEXT STEP, WELL SHORT OF AN "EXCHANGE," TO BE TAKEN BEFORE WE LEVY SANCTIONS AND ALMOST CERTAINLY CONDEMN DANILOFF TO A LONG STAY IN HIS LEFORTOVO

*TO JACK MATLOCK*

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F06-114/6 #9028

BY LOJ, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

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8

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
SECRETARIAT

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 5398

DTG: 051524Z SEP 86 PSN: 027747

PRISON CELL. THIS WOULD BE TO FOLLOW THE PATTERN OF THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE CRAWFORD CASE AND REMAND ZAKHAROV TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S CUSTODY IN RETURN FOR DANILOFF'S BEING REMANDED TO OUR CUSTODY. WE COULD, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS THAT WE IN NO WAY EQUATE THE TWO CASES, AND WE ARE TAKING THIS STEP SOLELY IN THE INTERESTS OF DANILOFF'S PERSONAL WELFARE.

6. IF THE SOVIETS THEN REFUSE TO GO FURTHER IN ALLOWING DANILOFF TO LEAVE THE USSR, AND THE NEGOTIATING TRACK IS UNPROMISING, WE COULD APPLY SANCTIONS WITHOUT UNDULY COMPLICATING DANILOFF'S ALREADY DIFFICULT SITUATION. COMBS  
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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

86 SEP 8 5 11: 20

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 6447

ACTION OFFICER: FOR RECORD PURPOSES DUE: \_\_\_\_\_

- Prepare Memo For President
- Prepare Memo For Poindexter / Keel
- Prepare Memo \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_
- Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew
- Prepare Memo McDaniel to Dolan

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. \_\_\_\_\_

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Brooks</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Burghardt</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Burns</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Childress</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cobb</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Donley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Douglass</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Farrar</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Grimes</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hanley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kelly</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kissell</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Laux</li> </ul> | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lavin</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Levine</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Linhard</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mahley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Major</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mandel</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Matlock</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> May</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mingle</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Morton</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Murdock</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> North</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Perry</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Platt</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Raymond</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Reger</li> </ul> | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Ross</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sable</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sachs</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Saunders</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Small</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sommer</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Soos</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Stark</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Steiner</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> St Martin</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Teicher</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Thompson</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tillman</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> </ul> |
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- INFORMATION
- McDaniel
  - Rodman
  - Poindexter (advance)
  - Pearson
  - Cockell
  - Keel (advance)
  - Secretariat
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

\*\* CRW 8606468

Return to Secretariat



11

pls down to David Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Sep 5, 1986

David Chew:

please hold this til our  
memo on Daniloff arrives.

Then, include it with the  
package - due on 9/6.

PK.

Paul Thompson

cc Rod McDaniel

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6447

September 5, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN 

12  
Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen

Zbig Brezinski called, alarmed by what he perceives as our response to the Daniloff matter. He says two points must be made: 1) What we have here is an act of "state-sponsored terrorism" -- the hostage-taking of an innocent American by an unfriendly regime. Second, if we do any kind of trade for Daniloff, we will be giving the Soviets "carte blanche" to spy with impunity in the United States, using their UN employees. If we fail to respond strongly, he said, we will "strengthen the worst elements" within the Soviet regime, and the President will "weaken himself" for the summit. He asked if I would get this message to the President -- especially the point about "state-sponsored terror" and the warning that if Sakharov goes free, every potential and actual Soviet spy will know he has nothing to fear.

cc: Donald T. Regan/per D. Chew



JOHN M. POINDEXTER/SECRETARY SHULTZ

TALKING POINTS

-- The State option is really disappointing. It amounts to:

- o waiting a few more days in our present posture,
- o then, doing nothing except reducing their ceiling by one and cogitating a bit more about Chautauqua,
- o then, "considering" two tougher options that you are really against.

-- It adds up to practically nothing.

-- The risk is that by Tuesday, Zakharov will be indicted, possibly Daniloff too, and both sides will be dug in further. There is much to be said for tough, concrete warnings now to bring things to a head before then.

-- The NSC had an earlier idea (Jack's escalating steps of reductions by 3), but State raised legal questions. We think those "legal" objections are flimsy, but we have moved to another idea which ought to avoid those problems.

-- The new idea is to accelerate the Soviet Mission drawdowns already ordered. I do not see how any new legal problems could arise.

-- Jack's option will be a follow-on threat if the SMUN acceleration does not work.

-- If we can agree on this, we can deliver a demarche today.

DECLASSIFIED  
 NLS F97-024 #19 MID 5/16/00  
 BY ADJ NARA DATE 1/30/07

DRAFT DEMARCHE TO SOVIET EMBASSY

The Government of the United States has repeatedly called to the attention of the Government of the Soviet Union the unacceptable situation which has resulted from the arrest and detention of American citizen Nicholas Daniloff in Moscow. In view of these communications, it is assumed that Mr. Daniloff will be released without further delay and allowed to leave the Soviet Union with his family without impediment.

However, should that assumption be unfounded and should Mr. Daniloff continue to be detained or prevented from leaving the Soviet Union <sup>with his family,</sup> the United States Government wishes to advise the Soviet Government of the following decisions, in order to avoid any future misunderstanding of United States policy.

If, by midnight Moscow time on Tuesday, September 9, Mr. Daniloff has not been freed from custody and given permission to leave the Soviet Union <sup>with his family,</sup> the schedule for reductions in the staff of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations will be revised as follows: By October 1, 1986, the staff must be reduced by 50 instead of the 25 previously scheduled. Subsequent reductions will occur as previously scheduled, with the final reduction to a ceiling of 170 occurring on October 1, 1987, instead of April 1, 1988.

~~in custody or prevented from leaving the~~  
In the event Mr. Daniloff is still being held on Tuesday, September 16, the schedule of reductions in the Soviet Mission to

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS FOG-114/6#9029  
BY L2J NARA, DATE 12/13/07

the United Nations will be further revised as follows: In addition to the reduction of 50 which must be completed by October 1, 1986, the remaining 55 reductions must be completed by November 1, 1986, bringing the ceiling on personnel in the Mission to 170.

In the event Mr. Daniloff is still being held on Tuesday, September 23, the ceiling on personnel assigned to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations will be reduced by an additional three positions, which will be identified by the United States Government and the incumbents required to depart the United States within seven days of such notification. In addition, a further acceleration of the previously scheduled reductions may be required.

If, on any succeeding Tuesday, Mr. Daniloff or members of his family are still being held in the Soviet Union against their will, reductions of comparable or greater magnitude will be made in the personnel ceiling of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, and the United States Government will specify which positions are to be eliminated. Under these circumstances, additional measures may also be applied.

Any reductions which are caused by the continued detention of Mr. Daniloff will be deducted from the ultimate targeted

ceiling of 170, will be permanent and may not be filled in the future.

The United States Government would also note that if it should be necessary to take any of the steps outlined above and if the Soviet authorities should attempt to retaliate against American offices in the Soviet Union (none of which are attached to international organizations, therefore are not comparable to the Soviet office mentioned), the policy of the United States will be the following: the comparable Soviet installation in the United States will be reduced in size to the exact number of Americans assigned to the American office in the Soviet Union, after which the same number of Soviet employees as that of the Americans subject to retaliatory action will be required to leave.

The United States hopes that this information will assist the Soviet Government in its deliberations regarding the detention of Mr. Daniloff.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

I am disappointed that your letter of September 6 contains no indication that Mr. Daniloff will be freed promptly. This is difficult for me to understand, inasmuch as I have given you my assurances that he has not conducted any activities on behalf of the U.S. Government. If he continues to be held, we can only consider his detention an attempt by Soviet authorities to create a hostage, and react accordingly.

Needless to say, this situation, in and of itself, does great harm to our relations. The longer it persists, the greater the damage will be. In fact, there is no way very serious and far-reaching consequences can be avoided if Mr. Daniloff continues to be detained by your authorities.

Given the gravity of this issue and the urgent requirement to solve it, I have asked that this message be delivered by the most rapid and direct means available.

Sincerely,

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

DECLASSIFIED

Authority EG7-024/1 #124 MJD 5/16/00  
BY NIS NARA DATE 1/30/07

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1986

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*  
SUBJECT: Soviet Response to President's  
Message on Daniloff

Ambassador Dubinin came by this evening to deliver Gorbachev's reply (enclosed) to your message on Daniloff. The reply makes two main points, keyed to those in your own letter:

-- That, although their investigation has not yet reached any conclusions, the Soviets have evidence that Daniloff has been engaged in activities which are against Soviet law;

-- And that the case should not be allowed to damage our broader relationship.

Dubinin's only gloss was to point out the quick turn-around on your message as a sign of the seriousness with which it was read in Moscow.

I told Dubinin that we continued to believe Daniloff was being held without justification and that he should be immediately released. The circumstances in which he had been seized, I noted, made it clear he had been trapped. I acknowledged Gorbachev's expression of concern that the case not damage our relations, but made clear that the Soviets' continued detention of Daniloff would inevitably affect our relations. Dubinin's only response was to stress that Gorbachev's letter had been written with the "most constructive" of motives and was "objective" in its presentation of the Soviet viewpoint.

I think it is significant that Gorbachev's letter does not challenge your assertion that Daniloff has had no association with the U.S. government. It seems to suggest that the Soviets feel they have sufficient evidence of wrong-doing by Daniloff to try him without directly asserting he was spying for the U.S. government. While we don't know precisely what they may have on him, Daniloff's editors have confirmed to us that he sent them photos and other materials on the basis of which a Soviet court would have no difficulty convicting him.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLS FOG-114/6 #9031

BY h0j, NARA, DATE 12/13/06

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

I am also struck by the fact that your message seems to have put the shoe on the other foot with respect to which side seems most concerned about where the Daniloff case may lead. They are now the ones saying that the case shouldn't hurt our relations. We are the ones saying it is bound to if it isn't resolved. They may, in short, be beginning to realize how serious we are about this.

Finally, I think it is important to note Gorbachev's indication that they have yet to draw any conclusions in Daniloff's case. That suggests they may want, at least for the moment, to retain some room for maneuver, even though they have not yet shown their hand.

I hope we can discuss these steps on this very sensitive matter as soon as you return to Washington.

-

~~SECRET~~

Dear Mr. President,

Your letter of September 5 prompted me to ask for information regarding the question you raised. As was reported to me by the competent authorities, Daniloff, the Moscow correspondent of the U.S. News and World Report magazine had for a long time been engaged in impermissible activities damaging to the state interests of the USSR. Now an investigation is being conducted by the results of which we shall be able to make a conclusive judgement about this entire case.

I think that we both should not permit the use of questions of such kind to the detriment of the Soviet-American relations whose improvement and development are extremely important.

Sincerely,

M. GORBACHEV

September 6, 1986

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

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

NLS EGG-051 #447  
smf 10/16/00

BY smf, NARA, DATE 6/11/02



Уважаемый господин президент,

Ваше письмо от 5 сентября побудило меня запросить информацию по вопросу, поднятому Вами. Как мне доложили компетентные органы, Давилофф, московский корреспондент журнала "Ю.С.Ньюс энд Уорлд Репорт", давно занимался не-дозволенной деятельностью, наносящей ущерб государствен-ным интересам СССР. Сейчас ведется расследование, по ре-зультатам которого мы будем окончательно судить обо всем этом деле.

Думается, что нам с вами не следует допускать, что-бы такого рода вопросы использовались во вред советско-американским отношениям, налаживание и развитие которых имеет исключительно важное значение.

С уважением

М. ГОРБАЧЕВ

6 сентября 1986 года

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED

F99-051 # 445  
NLS smf 10/16/00

BY smf, NARA, DATE 6/11/02

Его Превосходительству  
Рональду РЕЙГАНУ,  
Президенту Соединенных Штатов Америки,  
Вашингтон, округ Колумбия

Statement by the President

The continuing Soviet detention of an innocent American is unacceptable.

Whatever the Soviet motive -- whether it's to intimidate enterprising journalists, or to trade him for one of their spies caught red-handed -- this action violates the standards of civilized international behavior.

There will be no "trade." Through several channels we have made our position clear. The Soviet Union is aware of how serious the consequences will be for our relations if Nick Daniloff is not set free.

I call upon the Soviet authorities to act responsibly and quickly, so that our two countries can make progress on the many other issues on our agenda -- solving existing problems instead of creating new ones. Otherwise there will be no way to prevent this incident from becoming a major obstacle to our political relations.

23

DRAFT DEMARCHE TO SOVIET EMBASSY

The Government of the United States has repeatedly called to the attention of the Government of the Soviet Union the unacceptable situation which has resulted from the arrest and detention of American citizen Nicholas Daniloff in Moscow. In view of these communications, it is assumed that Mr. Daniloff will be released without further delay and allowed to leave the Soviet Union with his family without impediment.

However, should that assumption be unfounded and should Mr. Daniloff continue to be detained or prevented from leaving the Soviet Union, the United States Government wishes to advise the Soviet Government of the following decisions, in order to avoid any future misunderstanding of United States policy.

If, by midnight Moscow time on Tuesday, September 9, Mr. Daniloff has not been freed from custody and given permission to leave the Soviet Union, the schedule for reductions in the staff of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations will be revised as follows: By October 1, 1986, the staff must be reduced by 50 instead of the 25 previously scheduled. Subsequent reductions will occur as previously scheduled, with the final reduction to a ceiling of 170 occurring on October 1, 1987, instead of April 1, 1988.

In the event Mr. Daniloff is still being held on Tuesday, September 16, the schedule of reductions in the Soviet Mission to

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NLS F06-114/6#9032  
BY LOJ, NARA, DATE 12/13/06

the United Nations will be further revised as follows: In addition to the reduction of 50 which must be completed by October 1, 1986, the remaining 55 reductions must be completed by November 1, 1986, bringing the ceiling on personnel in the Mission to 170.

In the event Mr. Daniloff is still being held on Tuesday, September 23, the ceiling on personnel assigned to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations will be reduced by an additional three positions, which will be identified by the United States Government and the incumbents required to depart the United States within seven days of such notification. In addition, a further acceleration of the previously scheduled reductions may be required.

If, on any succeeding Tuesday, Mr. Daniloff or members of his family are still being held in the Soviet Union against their will, reductions of comparable or greater magnitude will be made in the personnel ceiling of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, and the United States Government will specify which positions are to be eliminated. Under these circumstances, additional measures may also be applied.

Any reductions which are caused by the continued detention of Mr. Daniloff will be deducted from the ultimate targeted

ceiling of 170, will be permanent and may not be filled in the future.

The United States Government would also note that if it should be necessary to take any of the steps outlined above and if the Soviet authorities should attempt to retaliate against American offices in the Soviet Union (none of which are attached to international organizations, therefore are not comparable to the Soviet office mentioned), the policy of the United States will be the following: the comparable Soviet installation in the United States will be reduced in size to the exact number of Americans assigned to the American office in the Soviet Union, after which the same number of Soviet employees as that of the Americans subject to retaliatory action will be required to leave.

The United States hopes that this information will assist the Soviet Government in its deliberations regarding the detention of Mr. Daniloff.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
SENSITIVE SPECAT SET 8 A 7: 2 **DRAFT**

USE  
SECRET ROOM

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT!

I AM SURPRISED THAT YOU WOULD RAISE THE DANILOFF MATTER TO SUCH A LEVEL AND ASSIGN TO IT AN UNWARRANTED DRAMATIC CHARACTER, EVEN CONNECTING IT WITH THE PROSPECTIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO GREAT POWERS.

*Illicit* AS IT WAS REPORTED TO ME, DANILOFF HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY SINCE 1982. THERE IS SUFFICIENTLY STRONG EVIDENCE OF THIS. BUT, JUDGING FROM EVERYTHING, YOU LACK INFORMATION REGARDING THE TRUE STATE OF AFFAIRS. THEREFORE I HAVE DIRECTED OUR FOREIGN MINISTRY TO SEND YOU THE INFORMATION, FROM WHICH IT CAN BE SEEN THAT THE APPROPRIATE AGENCIES HAVE ACTED TOTALLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW IN PROTECTING OUR STATE SECURITY.

IN YOUR MESSAGE I SENSED A HINT OF THREAT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. IT SEEMS TO ME, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU HAVE HAD MORE THAN ONE OPPORTUNITY TO BE CONVINCED THAT THIS IS NOT THE WAY TO DEAL WITH US.

ONCE AGAIN I AM EXPRESSING THE DESIRE THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS BE BUILT ON THE BASIS OF OUR AGREEMENT IN GENEVA, FIRST AND ALWAYS KEEPING IN SIGHT THE VITAL INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE INTEREST OF MAINTAINING PEACE.

AS FOR DANILOFF, LET THE RELEVANT AGENCIES SORT OUT WHAT TO DO WITH HIM.

RESPECTFULLY

M. GORBACHEV

DECLASSIFIED

Authority F97-024/1 #133 CAS 5/18/03  
BY LOS NARA DATE 1/30/07

~~TOP SECRET~~  
SENSITIVE SPECAT

**DRAFT**

WHSR HANDLING SLIP		TIME STAMP
Poindexter	O	
Keel	C	
Thompson		
McDaniel		
Pearson		
Rodman		
Cockell		
Bohn		
<b>MATLOCK</b>	<b>C</b>	
NSC/S		
REMARKS:		
C: Copy O: Original F: FYI S: Should See C/H: Copy Hand Delivered C/T: Contacted Via Phone		

LDX/TTY/FAX  
APPROVAL : \_\_\_\_\_

33



86 SEP 8 A 6: 53

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

01 GOV USA/USSR 081032R-1



DECLASSIFIED

Authority E97-024/1#132 CAS 5/18/03 ~~TOP SECRET~~  
BY LOJ NARA DATE 1/30/07 SENSITIVE SPECAT

9034

34

Уважаемый господин Президент!

Я удивлен, что Вы поднимаете дело Данилоффа на такой уровень и придаете ему излишне драматический характер, связывая даже с перспективами отношений между двумя крупнейшими державами.

Как мне докладывали, Данилофф занимается недозволенной деятельностью с 1982 года. Доказательства на этот счет достаточно весомые. Но, судя по всему, у Вас отсутствует информация о том, как обстоит дело. Поэтому я распорядился, чтобы наше Министерство иностранных дел послало Вам данные, из которых видно, что, охраняя нашу государственную безопасность, соответствующие органы действовали совершенно законно.

В Вашем обращении я почувствовал оттенок угрозы в адрес Советского Союза. Мне кажется, господин Президент, что Вы имели неоднократную возможность убедиться, что это не тот метод общения с нами.

Еще раз выражаю пожелание, чтобы советско-американские отношения строились на основе нашей с Вами договоренности в Женеве, имея постоянно и прежде всего в виду главные интересы обеих стран и интересы сохранения мира.

А что касается Данилоффа, то, как с ним поступать, пусть разберутся соответствующие ведомства.

С уважением

М. Горбачев

8 сентября 1986 г.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
SENSITIVE SPECAT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1986

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*  
SUBJECT: Message from Daniloff

Our Embassy in Moscow has passed us a message to you from Nick Daniloff. Daniloff asked our consul in Moscow yesterday to convey his deep appreciation for your support. Daniloff said he wished to emphasize that he greatly values the concern you have expressed publicly and privately in your letter to Gorbachev. Daniloff relayed his hope that a diplomatic means would soon be found to resolve his case so that "very important" U.S. - Soviet talks could take place in an atmosphere unimpaired by his continued detention.

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/b # 9035  
BY LOJ, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

~~SECRET~~  
DECL:OADR

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

Department of State

S/S-0 <sup>36</sup>  
INCOMING  
SOV

PAGE 01                    MOSCOW 15608 100640Z                    3465                    SS03676

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INFO SWO-01 EUR-01 /002 A4 LK

ACTION EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 NSCE-00  
NSAE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 OCS-06 /017 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0198

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ MOSCOW 15608

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/SOV PARRIS/EVANS

E. O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, CASC, UR, US  
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM NICHOLAS DANILOFF TO THE  
- PRESIDENT

REF: MOSCOW 15597

DURING SEPTEMBER 9 PRISON VISIT, NICHOLAS DANILOFF SPECIFICALLY ASKED CONSUL GENERAL TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT REAGAN HIS VERY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR HIS SUPPORT. MR. DANILOFF WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THAT HE GREATLY VALUES THE CONCERN THAT THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY IN THE LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV. HE ALSO WANTED TO RELAY HIS HOPE THAT A DIPLOMATIC MEANS WOULD SOON BE FOUND TO RESOLVE HIS CASE SO THAT VERY IMPORTANT AMERICAN-SOVIET TALKS COULD TAKE PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE UNIMPAIRED BY HIS CONTINUED DETENTION. COMBS

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NLS F06-114/6#9036

BY LOJ, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

ALERT COPY

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 10, 1986

TO: RODMAN/COCKELL/MAJOR  
FROM: MATLOCK  
SUBJECT: Dubinin-Armacost Meeting

Since this message purportedly came from Gorbachev, I believe it should be answered in same indirect fashion.

I would suggest that Combs be instructed to see Bessmertnykh and make the following statement (as oral statement, with non-paper).

In regard to the statement provided by Ambassador Dubinin to UnderSecretary Armacost on September 9, I am authorized to state the following: Nicholas Daniloff, has never had any connection of employment with the United States government nor has he undertaken tasks on the instructions of any U.S. government agency. He has never participated in arranging any espionage connections. He was not aware of any intelligence operations nor knowingly participated in any.  
(END OF STATEMENT AND NONPAPER)

Additionally, <sup>check</sup> Combs can inform Bessmertnykh <sup>orally, and on a personal basis,</sup> of the following:

(1) Daniloff found a sealed letter in his mailbox addressed to the U.S. Ambassador and delivered it sealed to the Embassy. He was unaware of its contents.

(2) Daniloff was not aware of any subsequent message <sup>which others may have sent,</sup> including those to persons he knew.

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/6#9021  
BY LOJ NARA, DATE 12/13/07

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

86 SEP 10 AIO: 14

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 6517

ACTION OFFICER: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

Prepare Memo For President

Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew

Prepare Memo For Poindexter / Keel

Prepare Memo McDaniel to Dolan

Prepare Memo \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. \_\_\_\_\_

FYI

FYI

FYI

Brooks

Lavin

Ross

Burghardt

Lenczowski

Sable

Burns

Levine

Sachs

Cannistraro

Linhard

Saunders

Childress

Mahley

Sestanovich

Cobb

Major

Small

Danzansky

Mandel

Sommer

deGraffenreid

Matlock

Soos

Dobriansky

May

Stark

Donley

Mingle

Steiner

Douglass

Morton

St Martin

Farrar

Murdock

Tahir-Kheli

Grimes

North

Teicher

Hanley

Perry

Thompson

Kelly

Platt

Tillman

Kissell

Pugliaresi

\_\_\_\_\_

Kraemer

Raymond

\_\_\_\_\_

Laux

Reger

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INFORMATION  McDaniel

Pearson

Secretariat

Rodman

Cockell

\_\_\_\_\_

Poindexter (advance)

Keel (advance)

\_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

CRW: 6408.

PRES HAS ALREADY SEEN.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

6/11/02

Return to Secretariat

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

38

TIME STAMP

86 SEP 10 A10: 21

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 6518

**URGENT**

ACTION OFFICER: MATLOCK DUE: 11 SEPT

- Prepare Memo For President
- Prepare Memo For Poindexter / Keel
- Prepare Memo \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_
- Prepare Memo McDaniel to Chew
- Prepare Memo McDaniel to Dolan

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 5112

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Brooks</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Burghardt</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Burns</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cannistraro</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Childress</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cobb</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> deGraffenreid</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Donley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Douglass</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Farrar</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Grimes</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Hanley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kelly</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kissell</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Laux</li> </ul> | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lavin</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lenczowski</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Levine</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Linhard</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mahley</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Major</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mandel</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Matlock</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> May</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Mingle</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> <del>██████████</del></li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Murdock</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> North</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Perry</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Platt</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Raymond</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Reger</li> </ul> | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Ross</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sable</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sachs</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Saunders</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sestanovich</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Small</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Sommer</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Soos</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Stark</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Steiner</li> <li><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> St Martin</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Teicher</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Thompson</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Tillman</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> _____</li> </ul> |
|--|--|---|

- INFORMATION
- McDaniel
  - Rodman
  - Poindexter (advance)
  - Pearson
  - Cockell
  - Keel (advance)
  - Secretariat
  - \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS CRW: 6408

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By smj NARA, Date 6/11/02

~~SECRET~~

Return to Secretariat

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1986

SECRET/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*

SUBJECT: Daniloff

Soviet Ambassador Dubinin came in at 8:30 Tuesday night to convey to Mike Armacost some information on Daniloff which Dubinin described as for you from Gorbachev. Dubinin handed over a paper (attached) which reports Daniloff's indictment and reviews the evidence against him.

The evidence cited includes material relating to alleged CIA operations in the U.S.S.R. which has not yet been made public. Presumably the Soviets want to put us on notice that they are in a position to respond if we escalate our rhetoric on Daniloff. We are transmitting the relevant material to Bill Casey for evaluation.

SECRET/SENSITIVE  
DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR PDC-11416 #9022  
BY RW NARA DATE 3/19/13

On September 7, 1986 Daniloff was presented with the official imputation of crimes, envisaged under the article 65 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Daniloff has signed the imputation presented to him as well as the minutes of the interrogation on the substance of the illegal actions incriminated to him.

He is charged with having been engaged in the collection of intelligence data on military and other matters, of participating in an espionage action to establish a conspirative connection with a Soviet citizen, who passed secret material to the American intelligence.

The investigation possesses evidence that Daniloff, utilizing his status of a foreign correspondent, collected, in particular, intelligence data on the dislocation of military installations on the territory of the USSR, on military equipment in the inventory of the Soviet Armed Forces, defense industry enterprises, locations of radioactive waste disposal sites, strength and dislocation of Soviet Armed Forces' units in Afghanistan. This is supported by witnesses' depositions.

Direct participation by Daniloff in the arrangement of an espionage connection with a Soviet citizen, whom the American intelligence had intended to use as its agent, has been established with certainty.

The investigation agencies have at their disposal authentic CIA documents pertaining to the above-mentioned person as well as a letter from American intelligence services addressed to Roman Potemkin, a Soviet citizen, with whom Daniloff maintained a personal contact. At an interrogation Potemkin, whom American intelligence officers intended to involve with the help of Daniloff in this espionage operation, provided detailed testimony exposing Daniloff.

Daniloff's role in the performing of this action is also evident from the testimony of the convicted CIA agent Vorontsov. Paragraph 13 of the CIA's instructions to this agent confiscated from American intelligence officer sellers, detained in the course of a meeting

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/6#9037  
BY NAJ NARA, DATE 12/13/07



with him, stipulates: "...We would like to get clarified yet some more details concerning the case of the former agent who was to have inscribed the initials of the favourite poet under the mail box. Who was the person who received the letter? What happened to him? Was he in any way connected with the journalist? Who exactly is Roman Potemkin? What is the KGB presently doing regarding this operation and what is it going to do in the future?"

The investigation agencies of the USSR have in their possession still other evidence exposing Daniloff.

Daniloff is held in conditions prescribed by the law, necessary attention is accorded to him, he is provided with the possibility to see his relatives, members of the Embassy staff and some officials from the USA, he is permitted to have telephone conversations with them. Daniloff does not have complaints as to the conditions of his confinement and the investigation procedure. During questioning on September 7 he made in this connection the following statement to the prosecutor: "All requirements of the Soviet law, defining the order of investigation, questioning, minutes of my depositions are explained to me and they are fully complied with. I do not have complaints as to the conduct of investigation. Neither have I any complaints as to the compliance by the administration of the investigation confinement facility with the established rules and order of the custody, provision of food, medical care and my treatment by the staff personnel.

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECLASSIFIED

NLS FOI-114/6 # 9023

BY LOJ NARA, DATE 12/13/87

Memo McDaniel to Platt -

In reference to the Secretary's Memorandum to the President regarding a message delivered by ~~Ambassador~~ Dubinin to Mike Armstrong Tuesday night, the Department is requested to instruct Charge Combs in Moscow to deliver the following oral message, <sup>the text of</sup> which ~~is~~ ~~to~~ should be left as a non-paper to Bessmentykh as soon as possible:

BEGIN ~~THE~~ TEXT OF STATEMENT

The Department should transmit the instruction by the most secure means possible (preferably ROGER CHANNEL) and keep distribution of any copies to an absolute minimum.

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

6518

*Matlock* 43  
*Cham*

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

September 10, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Dubinin-Armacost Meeting (S)

In reference to the Secretary's memorandum to the President regarding a message delivered by Dubinin to Mike Armacost Tuesday night, the Department is requested to instruct Chargé Combs in Moscow to deliver the following oral message, the text of which should be left as a non-paper, to Bessmertnykh as soon as possible: (S)

BEGIN TEXT OF STATEMENT

In regard to the statement provided by Ambassador Dubinin to Under Secretary Armacost on September 9, I am authorized to state the following: Nicholas Daniloff has never had any connection of employment with the United States Government nor has he undertaken tasks on the instructions of any U.S. Government agency. He has never participated in arranging any espionage connections. He was not aware of any intelligence operations nor knowingly participated in any. (S)

END OF STATEMENT AND NONPAPER

Additionally, Chargé Combs can inform Bessmertynkh orally the following:

1. Daniloff found a sealed letter in his mailbox addressed to the U.S. Ambassador and delivered it sealed to the Embassy. He was unaware of its contents.
2. Daniloff was not aware of any subsequent message which others may have sent, including those to persons he knew.

The Department should transmit the instructions by the most secure means possible (preferably ROGER CHANNEL) and keep distribution of any copies to an absolute minimum. (S)

*Rodney B. McDaniel*  
Rodney B. McDaniel  
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
Declassify: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F06-114/6 #9024

~~SECRET~~

BY LOI NARA, DATE 12/13/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 10, 1986

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. McDANIEL

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*  
SUBJECT: Dubinin-Armacost Meeting

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for Nick Platt regarding the Dubinin-Armacost meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve *JM* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I McDaniell/Platt Memo

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
Declassify: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/6# 9025  
BY L05, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 0010 45  
Date 10 SEP 1986

Subject: ARMACOST MTG

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION:  TOP SECRET  ~~SECRET~~  CONFIDENTIAL  UNCLASSIFIED

## INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION

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<input type="checkbox"/> Adm. Poindexter	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Donley	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Lucas	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/> Ms. Tillman
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Pearson	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Dornan	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mahley	<input type="checkbox"/> Col. Rye	<input type="checkbox"/> Cmdr. Thompson
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Burghardt	<input type="checkbox"/> Col. Douglass	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Martin	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Sable	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wigg
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Cannistraro	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Fortier	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Matlock	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Sestanovich	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wood
<input type="checkbox"/> Ltc. Childress	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Grimes	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Menges	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Sigur	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wright
<input type="checkbox"/> Col. Cobb	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Kraemer	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. McMinn	<input type="checkbox"/> Ms. Small	<input type="checkbox"/> NSC Secretariat
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Covey	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Laux	<input type="checkbox"/> Ltc. North	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Sommer	<input type="checkbox"/> Sit. Room
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Cox	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. C. Lehman	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Raymond	<input type="checkbox"/> Cmdr. Stark	<input type="checkbox"/> NSC Admin.
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. De Graffenreid	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. R. Lehman	<input type="checkbox"/> Ms. Reger	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Steiner	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Levine	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Ringdahl	<input type="checkbox"/> Ms. Tahir-Kheli	

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White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By SMJ NARA, Date 6/11/02

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

WORK RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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MESSAGE NO. 145 CLASSIFICATION \_\_\_\_\_ PAGES 001

FROM ROONEY S. HERGENROTTER 04 456-2226

(NAME)

(EXTENSION)

(ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION SECRETARY HERGENROTTER

MSG LOGG 6510

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	REF/DATE	EXTENSION
STATE	SECRETARY'S OFFICE	SECRET	

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MESSAGE NO. \_\_\_\_\_ CLASSIFICATION \_\_\_\_\_ PAGES one  
 FROM RODNEY B. MCDANIEL OM 456-2224  
 (NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION DUBININ ARMACOST MTG  
 NSC LOG# 6518

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION</u>
<u>STATE</u>	<u>NICHOLAS PLATT</u>	<u>EXEC SEC</u>	_____
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Authority F97-024#14 MTD 5/16/00

BY LOS NARA DATE 1/30/07

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DRAFTED BY: EUR/SOV:MRPARRIS

APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY

EUR:TWSIMONS, JR.

EUR:RRIDGWAY

S/S: BLPASCOE

S/S-O: RABOUCHER

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SPECIAL ENCRYPTION-TREAT AS SPECIAL CAPTION

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US

SUBJECT: 9/10 SECRETARY-DUBININ MEETING

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: SOVIET AMBASSADOR DUBININ CONVEYED TO SECRETARY SHULTZ SEPTEMBER 10 SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR "FIRST STEP" IN RESOLVING DANILOFF/ZAKHAROV CASES. WITHOUT SAYING SO DIRECTLY, DUBININ SOUGHT TO SUGGEST THAT PROPOSAL RESPONDED TO SEPTEMBER 9 DEMARCHE BY ASST. SEC. RIDGWAY ON SAME SUBJECT. SECRETARY MADE CLEAR HE DID NOT CONSIDER DUBININ'S PROPOSAL A RESPONSE TO RIDGWAY INITIATIVE AND THAT USG AWAITED MORE CONSIDERED SOVIET VIEWS. SEE ACTION REQUESTED PARA 14 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

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3. DUBININ HAD SOUGHT A MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY THROUGHOUT THE PREVIOUS DAY. HE ULTIMATELY AGREED TO SEE UNDERSECRETARY ARMACOST LATE THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 9, HANDING OVER A FORMAL NOTICE OF DANILOFF'S INDICTMENT AND INFORMATION ON WHICH THE INDICTMENT WAS ALLEGEDLY BASED (SEPTTEL). DUBININ'S OFFICE SOUGHT MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 10 TO RENEW HIS REQUEST FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE SECRETARY, CLAIMING TO HAVE NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW. DURING HIS FIFTEEN MINUTE MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY, DUBININ WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EMBASSY COUNSELOR KUZNETSOV; THE SECRETARY BY ASST. SEC. RIDGWAY AND EUR/SOV DIRECTOR PARRIS.

4. DUBININ OPENED BY INDICATING HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY TO THE SECRETARY A PROPOSAL ON THE DANILOFF AND ZAKHAROV CASES. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO READ (IN ENGLISH) AND HAND OVER NON-PAPER, TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT.

- AS WE UNDERSTAND, BOTH SIDES PROCEED FROM THE NECESSITY TO TAKE MEASURES WHICH WOULD FACILITATE A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION REGARDING G.F. ZAKHAROV AND N. DANILOFF.

-- SPECIFICALLY, AS A FIRST STEP, WE PROPOSE THAT THE ABOVE PERSONS BE RELEASED INTO THE CUSTODY OF THE RESPECTIVE AMBASSADORS ON A PARALLEL BASIS.

-- IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES THAT THE MEASURES WE PROPOSE SHOULD BE EFFECTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

END TEXT.

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5. THE SECRETARY NOTED IN RESPONSE THAT WE HAD MADE A PROPOSAL TO THE SOVIETS THE DAY BEFORE ON THE TWO CASES COVERED IN THE SOVIET PAPER. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO PROPOSALS WAS THAT THE SOVIET APPROACH DID NOT RESOLVE THE PROBLEM; IT ONLY POSTPONED IT. WE HOPED THAT WE WOULD SOON HAVE A REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL WE HAD MADE. WE FELT THAT THIS COULD BEST BE DONE AT THE STAFF LEVEL.

6. DUBININ ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HIS EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED A PROPOSAL FROM THE U.S. THE DAY BEFORE. IT HAD BEEN TRANSMITTED THE SAME DAY. DUBININ WAS ALSO AWARE THAT WE HAD DOUBLE-TRACKED OUR APPROACH IN MOSCOW. THE MESSAGE HE HAD JUST CONVEYED HAD BEEN RECEIVED "TODAY" (WEDNESDAY). DUBININ "CONSIDERED THAT SIGNIFICANT." HE HAD HAD DIFFERENT INSTRUCTIONS YESTERDAY; HE HAD NEW INSTRUCTIONS TODAY.

7. DUBININ EMPHASIZED THAT THE PROPOSAL HE HAD JUST MADE SHOULD BE SEEN AS A "FIRST STEP." MOSCOW BELIEVED THAT IT SHOULD BE TAKEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, BOTH FROM A HUMANITARIAN STANDPOINT AND AS A MEANS OF CALMING PUBLIC OPINION IN BOTH COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS WANTED A FINAL SOLUTION TO BOTH CASES AND WERE LOOKING FOR ONE, BUT THAT SHOULD NOT KEEP US FROM TAKING A FIRST STEP.

8. THE SECRETARY ASKED DUBININ TO REPORT TO MOSCOW THAT WE HAD RECEIVED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AND THAT IT WOULD BE CONVEYED TO THE PRESIDENT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WANTED TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM, NOT SIMPLY PUT IT OFF. THUS, WHILE THE SECRETARY WOULD NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO THE PROPOSAL DUBININ HAD JUST MADE, THE AMBASSADOR COULD ADVISE MOSCOW THAT WE LOOKED FORWARD TO A RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSAL THAT ASST. SEC. RIDGWAY HAD PRESENTED TO

SOKOLOV. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT HE WOULD PREFER THAT ASST. SEC. RIDGWAY WORK DIRECTLY WITH THE SOVIETS

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AS THE SECRETARY'S OWN SCHEDULE WAS EXTREMELY FULL. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ANY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CASES AT HAND BE DEALT WITH PROMPTLY.

9. DUBININ EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT HE HAD UNDERSTOOD FROM THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS THAT HIS WAS NOT A FINAL REACTION TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. WHAT THE SECRETARY HAD SAID WOULD BE REPORTED TO MOSCOW. DUBININ SPECULATED THAT MOSCOW HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO DELIVER HIS PROPOSAL DIRECTLY TO THE SECRETARY AS AN INDICATION OF THE IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHED TO CALMING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE U.S. AND U.S.S.R.. THE EMBASSY HAD NOTHING, DUBININ ASSURED THE SECRETARY, AGAINST WORKING WITH ASST. SEC. RIDGWAY.

10. THE SECRETARY AGAIN ASKED DUBININ TO INFORM MOSCOW THAT WE LOOKED FORWARD TO A RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSAL. WE DID NOT CONSIDER THE MESSAGE DUBININ HAD JUST DELIVERED TO BE SUCH A RESPONSE. WE CONSIDERED IT AN ADDITIONAL POINT WHICH DOES NOT INTERRUPT DISCUSSION OF A MORE GENERAL CONCLUSION.

11. DUBININ ASKED THAT THE SECRETARY NONETHELESS CONSIDER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, TAKING ESPECIALLY INTO ACCOUNT THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM. DUBININ HAD, HE STRESSED, RECEIVED HIS INSTRUCTIONS THAT MORNING. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL ENVISIONED ONLY A FIRST -- BUT AN IMPORTANT -- STEP. IT NEED NOT INTERFERE WITH OTHER NEGOTIATIONS; BOTH SIDES COULD MAINTAIN THEIR POSITIONS IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIETS WERE PREPARED TO LOOK FOR FINAL SETTLEMENTS. BUT

IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR PROPOSAL WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP.

12. THE SECRETARY THANKED DUBININ FOR HIS PRESENTATION, AND THE MEETING ENDED.

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13. ACTION REQUESTED: DUBININ STUDIOUSLY AVOIDED CHARACTERIZING HIS PROPOSAL AS A "RESPONSE" TO THE SEPTEMBER 9 RIDGWAY PROPOSAL. ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF BESSMERTNYKH'S INDICATION TO CHARGE THAT DUBININ WOULD NOT, IN FACT, HAVE SUCH A RESPONSE (MOSCOW 15633), WE STRONGLY SUSPECT DUBININ IS EXAGGERATING THE CURRENCY OF THE PITCH HE MADE TODAY. (WE ALSO NOTE THAT HE APPEARS TO HAVE ADVISED MOSCOW HE HAD A FIRM SEPTEMBER 10 APPOINTMENT WITH THE SECRETARY WHEN NONE WAS IN FACT SCHEDULED UNTIL WELL AFTER COMBS-BESSMERTNYKH DISCUSSION).

14. GIVEN DUBININ'S HANDLING OF THIS CASE SO FAR, CHARGE SHOULD SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH BESSMERTNYKH FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS SEPTEMBER 11 TO REITERATE POINTS MADE BY SECRETARY TO DUBININ. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT:

- WE DO NOT CONSIDER DUBININ'S APPROACH OF SEPTEMBER 10 TO BE A REPLY TO ASST. SEC. RIDGWAY'S PROPOSAL TO SOKOLOV OF SEPTEMBER 9;

- WE STRONGLY BELIEVE IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES THAT THERE BE AN EARLY, DEFINITIVE RESOLUTION OF THE DANILOFF/ZAKHAROV CASES;

-- THE PROPOSAL OUTLINED BY DUBININ WOULD SIMPLY PROLONG THE PROBLEM, AND ENSURE THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO ADVERSELY AFFECT OUR RELATIONSHIP DURING A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT PERIOD;

-- WE URGE THE SOVIET SIDE TO ACCEPT OUR SEPTEMBER 9 PROPOSAL, WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO PUT THIS ISSUE DEFINITELY BEHIND US AND CREATE A POSITIVE CLIMATE FOR WORK IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. SHULTZ

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*Pearson for Poindexter*  
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DRAFTED BY: TEXT RECEIVED FROM WHITE HOUSE

APPROVED BY: EUR:RRIDGWAY

S/S: BLPASCOE

EUR/SOV: MPARRIS

S: CHILL

S/S-O: RABOUCHER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US

SUBJECT: RESPONSE ON DEMARCHE TO ARMACOST

1. ENTIRE TEXT - ~~SECRET~~

2. DURING MEETING TOMORROW WITH BESSMERTNYKH, CHARGE SHOULD DELIVER THE FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE AND LEAVE TEXT AS NON-PAPER.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF STATEMENT:

IN REGARD TO THE STATEMENT PROVIDED BY AMBASSADOR DUBININ TO UNDER SECRETARY ARMACOST ON SEPTEMBER 9, I AM AUTHORIZED TO STATE THE FOLLOWING: NICHOLAS DANILOFF HAS NEVER HAD ANY CONNECTION OF EMPLOYMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT NOR HAS HE UNDERTAKEN TASKS ON THE INSTRUCTIONS

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OF ANY U. S. GOVERNMENT AGENCY. HE HAS NEVER PARTICIPATED IN ARRANGING ANY ESPIONAGE CONNECTIONS. HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS NOR KNOWINGLY PARTICIPATED IN ANY. END OF STATEMENT AND NONPAPER

4. ADDITIONALLY, CHARGE COMBS CAN INFORM BESSMERTYNKH ORALLY THE FOLLOWING:

A. DANILOFF FOUND A SEALED LETTER IN HIS MAILBOX ADDRESSED TO THE U. S. AMBASSADOR AND DELIVERED IT UNOPENED TO THE EMBASSY.

B. DANILOFF WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY SUBSEQUENT MESSAGE WHICH OTHERS MAY HAVE SENT, INCLUDING THOSE TO PERSONS HE KNEW.  
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