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TALKING POINTS -- PRIVATE MEETING WITH SHEVARDNADZE - FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1985

-- THERE ARE A FEW THINGS I'D LIKE YOU TO PASS ON TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY -- INFORMALLY AND OFF THE RECORD.

-- FIRST, I'M DETERMINED TO DO ALL I CAN TO GET OUR RELATIONS ON A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE.

-- THE RESPONSIBILITY MR. GORBACHEV AND I HAVE TO ENSURE PEACE IN THE FUTURE IS AWESOME, I TAKE THAT RESPONSIBILITY SERIOUSLY AND I AM SURE MR. GORBACHEV DOES TOO.

-- THE BEST WAY TO WORK OUT OUR PROBLEMS IS THROUGH FRANK DISCUSSION. WE NEED TO TALK ABOUT EACH OTHER LESS IN PUBLIC AND TO EACH OTHER MORE IN PRIVATE.

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BY LOT, NARA, DATE 10/16/06

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-- I'M STILL NOT SATISFIED THAT WE ARE COMMUNICATING WITH EACH OTHER EFFECTIVELY. SOMEHOW I FEEL WE NEED A MORE DIRECT AND INFORMAL MEANS, SO THAT WE CAN DISCUSS ISSUES FRANKLY AND EXPLORE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS.

-- ASK THE GENERAL SECRETARY TO THINK ABOUT THIS, AND IF HE HAS ANY IDEAS ON HOW WE CAN EXCHANGE IDEAS MORE PRIVATELY, I WOULD WELCOME THEM. OF COURSE, ANY ARRANGEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE FULLY RECIPROCAL.

-- FINALLY, LET ME SAY THAT I DID NOT MENTION HUMANITARIAN ISSUES IN OUR OFFICIAL SESSION TODAY, SINCE I AM AWARE OF YOUR SENSITIVITY REGARDING DISCUSSION IN OFFICIAL CHANNELS.

-- THESE ARE, HOWEVER, VERY IMPORTANT ISSUES. THEY MUST BE RESOLVED IF WE MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS.

PRESERVATION COPY

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-- YOU ARE OF COURSE FAMILIAR WITH THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS I HAVE IN MIND, SO I DON'T NEED TO REPEAT THE DETAILS. WE ARE NOT ASKING FOR A CHANGE IN YOUR SYSTEM OR LAWS; ONLY COMPLIANCE WITH POLITICAL COMMITMENTS YOU HAVE MADE.

-- I DO WANT MR. GORBACHEV TO UNDERSTAND THAT PROGRESS IN THIS AREA COULD MAKE A LOT OF THINGS POSSIBLE WHICH WOULD BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES. AND, TO BE FRANK, OUR MEETING IN GENEVA CANNOT BE CONSIDERED SUCCESSFUL UNLESS THERE IS PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE VARIOUS HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WE HAVE CALLED TO YOUR ATTENTION.

-- SO I HOPE HE WILL DO WHAT HE CAN TO REMOVE THIS CONTENTIOUS ITEM FROM OUR AGENDA BY SOLVING THE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS.

INTRODUCTION

- THANKS FOR THE LETTER. WILL READ WITH CLOSE ATTENTION.

- APPRECIATE YOUR REMARKS. WILL COMMENT LATER, BUT FIRST WOULD LIKE TO GIVE A SUMMARY OF HOW I SEE OUR RELATIONS.

- IN PREPARING FOR THIS MEETING, I HAD A CHANCE TO LOOK AT HOW THE U.S. IS PORTRAYED IN THE SOVIET PRESS. AS YOU KNOW, THE PICTURE IS LESS THAN FLATTERING.

- I RAISE THIS NOT TO MAKE YOU UNCOMFORTABLE, BUT TO MAKE A POINT. THIS MEETING, AND THE MEETING I WILL HAVE WITH MR. GORBACHEV IN NOVEMBER, PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO GET A MORE ACCURATE VIEW OF EACH OTHER.

- I WANT YOU TO BEGIN TO GET A TRUE PICTURE OF WHO RONALD REAGAN IS, WHAT HE STANDS FOR, WHAT HE WANTS TO ACCOMPLISH.

- I WOULD LIKE TO GET THE SAME FROM YOU AND MR. GORBACHEV.

- WE NEED TO GET BEYOND STEREOTYPES, TO TALK FRANKLY ABOUT OUR DIFFERENCES, TO EXPLORE CONSTRUCTIVELY WHAT WE CAN ACHIEVE TOGETHER BETWEEN NOW AND NOVEMBER 19--AND AFTER THE GENEVA MEETING AS WELL.

- WHEN I MET LAST YEAR WITH MR. GROMYKO, I DISCUSSED MY VIEW OF THE WORLD, AND OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES' PLACE IN IT. I KNOW YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH WHAT I SAID, SO I WILL NOT REPEAT MYSELF.

- WANT TO EMPHASIZE SOMETHING I SAID THEN:

  -- OUR PHILOSOPHIES AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS ARE VERY DIFFERENT AND WILL REMAIN SO. BUT WE LIVE IN ONE WORLD AND MUST HANDLE OUR COMPETITION IN PEACE.

  -- NEITHER OF US WILL EVER ALLOW THE OTHER A MILITARY EDGE. BUT IF WE ARE EVER GOING TO CLEAR THE AIR, REDUCE SUSPICIONS, AND REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS, THERE WILL NEVER BE A BETTER TIME.

PERCEPTIONS OF SOVIET INTENTIONS

- WANT TO DISCUSS SEVERAL POINTS.

  -- WHY THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD FEEL THREATENED BY US, WHEN WE HAVE NEVER STARTED A WAR AND NEVER WILL.

  -- WANT TO EXPLAIN WHY WE SEE YOUR MILITARY BUILD-UP AND YOUR ATTEMPTS TO EXPAND YOUR INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD AS THREATENING TO US.

  -- THIS IS WHY WE ARE REBUILDING OUR OWN STRENGTH. WE MUST DEFEND OURSELVES AND MAKE SURE A WAR IS NEVER CONCEIVABLE.

- BUT NEED TO GO BEYOND A DISCUSSION OF OUR RIVALRY.

- WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV OUR HOPES AND PLANS FOR OUR PEOPLES.

- WE BOTH HAVE MUCH TO DO AT HOME, AND IF WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S PRIORITIES BETTER, THAT MIGHT HELP REDUCE SUSPICION.

REGIONAL ISSUES

- TURNING TO INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, DISPUTES IN THIRD COUNTRIES HAVE FREQUENTLY BEEN THE CAUSE OF THE MOST SERIOUS STRAINS BETWEEN US.

- EFFORTS DURING THE SEVENTIES TO DEVELOP UNDERSTANDINGS CAME APART, IN OUR VIEW, BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FAILURE TO ACT WITH RESTRAINT.

- WHEN OUR FRIENDS ARE MILITARILY THREATENED BY YOU AND YOUR ALLIES, THEY ASK US TO HELP AND WE MUST RESPOND. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

- WE WOULD LIKE TO END THIS CYCLE.

-GLAD WE HAVE STARTED DISCUSSIONS ON SEVERAL AREAS.

- WE HAVE FOUND THESE EXCHANGES USEFUL. WE WILL HAVE A FORMAL PROPOSAL TO REGULARIZE THESE DISCUSSIONS.

- WE MUST GO FURTHER, HOWEVER, IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY OUTSIDE MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN REGIONAL DISPUTES.

- WE NEED TO GIVE GREATER THOUGHT -- (CREATIVE THOUGHT) -- TO HOW WE CAN REMOVE THE MILITARY ELEMENT FROM OUR RIVALRY.

- I'LL WELCOME YOUR THOUGHTS ON THIS.

- THERE IS A LOT WE MIGHT SAY ABOUT PARTICULAR ISSUES, BUT I'LL DEFER THAT UNTIL LATER, IN ORDER TO PRESENT SOME THOUGHTS ON ARMS CONTROL.

CENTRAL ARMS CONTROL POINTS

- ARMS CONTROL IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT OF THE ISSUES BEFORE US. FRANKLY, WE DO NOT KNOW IF YOUR GOVERNMENT IS SERIOUS ABOUT MAKING PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL. WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE PROGRESS; WE ARE PREPARED TO KEEP OUR OBJECTIVES HIGH.

- OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE UNDERWAY A NUMBER OF FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS. IN ADDITION, THE U.S. HAS PROPOSED THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES GET TOGETHER SOON ON A NUMBER OF OTHER SPECIFIC ISSUES. I BELIEVE THAT WHAT IS ACTUALLY ACHIEVED AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR WHAT GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND I CAN ACCOMPLISH IN THIS AREA IN NOVEMBER.

- AS A FIRST PRIORITY, THE UNITED STATES SEEKS STABILIZING AND RADICAL REDUCTIONS IN THE LEVELS AND POWER OF OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS. THESE ARE THE WEAPONS THAT MOST THREATEN MANKIND. THIS GOAL SHOULD BE PARAMOUNT TO BOTH OF US.

- WE MUST ALSO CONSIDER THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS, WHETHER ON EARTH OR IN SPACE. YOUR COUNTRY HAS LONG HAD A MASSIVE STRATEGIC DEFENSE PROGRAM, INCLUDING MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS IN YOUR EXISTING ABM SYSTEM DEPLOYED AROUND MOSCOW AND YOUR NEW RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK WHICH IS IN VIOLATION OF THE ABM TREATY. WE ARE ALSO SEEING THE UPGRADING OF YOUR STRATEGIC AIR DEFENSES.

- WE ARE NOW CONDUCTING A RESEARCH EFFORT IN THE AREA OF STRATEGIC DEFENSE TECHNOLOGIES, AS YOU HAVE FOR YEARS. I ~~HAVE MADE NO COMMITMENT TO DEPLOY, BUT~~ WE ARE MORALLY BOUND TO SEEING WHETHER OR NOT STRATEGIC DEFENSES CAN OFFER A BETTER, SAFER WAY OF MAINTAINING THE PEACE THAN IS POSSIBLE BY THE ACCUMULATION OF OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS.

- I HAVE DIRECTED THAT OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE RESEARCH BE CONDUCTED WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE ABM TREATY.

-NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE A BOLD STEP BY AGREEING TO DEEP CUTS IN NUCLEAR FORCES IN A MANNER WHICH ENHANCES STABILITY AND NOW IS THE TIME TO ESTABLISH A SERIOUS DIALOGUE ON THE OFFENSE/DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP.

- IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL THEN WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO A PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO A MORE STABLE WORLD, WITH GREATLY REDUCED LEVELS OF NUCLEAR ARMS AND AN ENHANCED ABILITY TO DETER WAR, PERHAPS BASED ON AN INCREASING CONTRIBUTION OF NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSES AGAINST NUCLEAR OFFENSIVE ARMS.

- THIS PERIOD OF TRANSITION COULD LEAD TO THE EVENTUAL ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR ARMS, BOTH OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE. A WORLD FREE OF NUCLEAR ARMS IS AN ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE TO WHICH WE BELIEVE THE U.S., THE SOVIET UNION AND ALL OTHER NATIONS CAN AGREE.

- MR. MINISTER, I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERSCORE, IN STRONGEST PERSONAL TERMS MY COMMITMENT TO THE PURSUIT OF ARMS REDUCTIONS.

- I WAS INTERESTED TO HEAR FROM SENATORS WARNER AND NUNN THAT GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV HAD INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO LOOK AT THEIR CONCEPT OF RISK REDUCTION CENTERS.

- I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT WE ASK OUR EXPERTS TO MEET SOON TO EXPLORE SUCH APPROACHES.

- WE ALSO OUGHT TO LOOK AT OTHER WAYS OUR SENIOR DEFENSE AND MILITARY OFFICERS CAN HAVE MORE REGULAR CONTACT.

- HOWEVER, WE STILL SEEM TO HAVE A PROBLEM WITH INCIDENTS INVOLVING OUR MILITARY OFFICERS IN GERMANY. WE MUST INSIST THAT YOU TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS TO ENFORCE DISCIPLINE ON YOUR TROOPS SO THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE TREATED WITH THE RESPECT WE SHOW YOURS IN GERMANY AND LIVES ARE NOT THREATENED AND NO ONE IS ABUSED.

Murder – Maj. Nicholson

BILATERAL ISSUES

- LOOKING AT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS IN GENERAL, WOULD LIKE TO SAY I THINK THESE ARE VERY IMPORTANT.

- IF WE ARE TO MAKE REAL PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TAKE MAJOR STEPS TO IMPROVE THE CLIMATE.

- WE MUST FIND A WAY TO LIVE ON THIS PLANET IN PEACE. DOING THAT WILL BE MUCH HARDER IF OUR PEOPLE DON'T HAVE MORE CONTACT AND DON'T HAVE BETTER MEANS TO COMMUNICATE.

- FOR THIS REASON, THOSE ISSUES WE HAVE UNDER NEGOTIATION ARE VERY IMPORTANT. WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE OUR NEGOTIATORS GET ON WITH THE TALKS AND START PRODUCING SOME RESULTS. THERE HAS BEEN TOO MUCH HAGGLING OVER MINOR POINTS, AND WE HAVE TO BREAK THAT PATTERN.

- BUT, YOU KNOW, EVEN THOUGH IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONCLUDE THESE EFFORTS, THEY ARE NOT NEARLY ENOUGH. THE FACT IS THAT OUR SOCIETIES ARE DANGEROUSLY CUT OFF FROM EACH OTHER, AND WE NEED TRULY MAJOR STEPS TO IMPROVE THAT SITUATION.

- FRANKLY, I THINK OUR BUREAUCRACIES HAVE NOT BEEN IMAGINATIVE ENOUGH IN PREPARING FOR OUR MEETING IN GENEVA. I HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR PEOPLE TO GO BACK TO THE DRAWING BOARDS AND TO COME UP WITH SOME IDEAS WHICH ARE COMMENSURATE TO THE NEED FOR BETTER COMMUNICATION AND MORE COOPERATION.

- I HAVE IN MIND THINGS LIKE:

  -- GIVING OUR STUDENTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE MORE OPPORTUNITIES TO MEET AND STUDY TOGETHER;

  -- WORKING TOGETHER IN AN AREA LIKE COMPUTER EDUCATION;

  -- MORE CONTACT BETWEEN OUR MILITARY PEOPLE;

-- JOINING EFFORTS TO FIND CURES FOR CANCER AND OTHER DISEASES;

-- GETTING SOME HELP FROM YOU IN IMPROVING RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION HERE.

- I HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR PEOPLE TO DEVELOP SOME IDEAS ALONG THESE LINES, AND WE'LL BE PASSING THEM ALONG IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.

- I HOPE YOU WILL ALSO BE THINKING OF MORE AMBITIOUS WAYS TO EXPAND COMMUNICATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR SOCIETIES. TELL MR. GORBACHEV THAT I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD BE LIMITED BY OUR CAUTIOUS BUREAUCRATS. THE TWO OF US CAN LEAD OUR COUNTRIES TO SOME REAL BREAKTHROUGHS IF WE SET THAT AS OUR GOAL.

- NOW, THAT'S HOW I SEE THE OVERALL PICTURE. AS FOR YOUR COMMENTS...

[Respond as appropriate to Shevardnadze's presentation.]

Non mil. of outer space

basic —

Look to summit — stop

arms race — in nuc. area.

tests? Meet ½ way

no space Fault — arms talks.

50% reduction nuc. arms — intermediate

US has more launchers,

radical reductions to = on Nuc. Chem

Both have 6000 left

verification !! — 1st time

S.D.I.