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Date: SEP 03 2015

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FOR THE SECRETARY
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~~E.O. 12356. DECL: OADR~~
TAGS: OVIP (BARTHOLOMEW, REGINALD), PARM, UR

SUBJECT: RESPONDING TO GORBACHEV AND PRESS

~~1. SECRET (ENTIRE TEXT)~~

2. SUMMARY: NINE HOURS OF MEETINGS OCTOBER 6 AND 7 WITH SOVIETS HEADED BY OBUKHOV HAVE PERMITTED US TO FILL IN SOME BLANKS IN THE GORBACHEV RESPONSE AND WE PROBABLY HAVE LEARNED AS MUCH MORE AS WE ARE GOING TO ON THIS VISIT. THE ISSUE FOR DECISION NOW IS WHEN AND HOW TO RESPOND TO GORBACHEV AND TO BREAK OUR RESPONSE TO THE PRESS. ON LATTER, IT'S ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO GET SOMETHING OUT SOON WHICH, WHILE ACCENTUATING THE VERY POSITIVE CHARACTER OF THE RESPONSE, ALSO HEADS OFF ANY NOTION THAT WE ARE CONTEMPLATING GOING DOWN GORBACHEV'S TRACKS ON CTB, "NO FIRST USE," AND APPROACH TO FURTHER STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. PARA 7 GIVES MAIN POINTS AND THEMES THAT COULD BE

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DRAWN ON IN INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE SOVIETS AND WITH THE PRESS. INITIAL RESPONSE TO SOVIETS MIGHT BE COMMUNICATED IN THE FORM OF A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER OR AS INSTRUCTED TALKING POINTS FOR BARTHOLOMEW'S USE TOGETHER WITH AMB STRAUSS WITH PANKIN (OR WITH GORBACHEV) TOMORROW OCT 8. PRESS STATEMENT DRAWING ON SAME POINTS COULD BE ISSUED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN WASHINGTON. ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO SLIP A FEW DAYS, BUT WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE LONGER WE GO THE HIGHER THE PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS FOR SOMETHING NEW FROM US ON THINGS LIKE CTB AND NO FIRST USE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN TWO MEETINGS BARTHOLOMEW HAS HAD WITH FM PANKIN OCTOBER 5 AND OCTOBER 7 (REPORT COMING SEPTEL) AND IN OCTOBER 6-7 MARATHON BARTHOLOMEW-OBUKHOV GROUP MEETINGS, SOVIETS HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT PRESSED HARD ON THEIR CTB, NO FIRST-USE AND STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSALS AND HAVE NOT VIGOROUSLY REBUTTED RESERVATIONS US SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY RAISED. THIS IS MOST PROBABLY BECAUSE THEY WANT TO ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE IN OUR REACTION TO GORBACHEV'S RESPONSE BUT IT MAY ALSO REFLECT FACT THAT THESE POSITIONS MAY NOT BE STRONGLY HELD BY ALL ELEMENTS ON SOVIET SIDE.

4. BARTHOLOMEW AND OTHERS WILL MEET WITH MOD GENERAL SHAPOSHNIKOV AND CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL LOBOV OCTOBER 8. BARTHOLOMEW NOW PLANS TO LEAVE MOSCOW WITH TEAM VERY EARLY OCT 9 FOR BRUSSELS WHERE HE WILL BRIEF NAC AND MEET WITH SENIOR BRITISH OFFICIALS FROM LONDON ON MARGINS. HE THEN PLANS TO JOIN TEAM IN BONN EVENING OCTOBER 9 AND PARIS OCTOBER 10 FOR CONSULTATIONS, RETURNING TO WASHINGTON OCTOBER 11.

5. POINTS IN PARA 7 DO NOT COVER SOVIET PROPOSALS ON FISSIONABLE MATERIAL OR ON AIR-DELIVERED NUCLEAR WEAPONS. VIEW FROM HERE IS THAT BOTH REQUIRE A CLOSER LOOK BEFORE ANY DECISION. CUTOFF OF FISSIONABLE MATERIALS MAY WELL PROVE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US, BUT WE SHOULD NOT COMMIT TO IT IMMEDIATELY. WITH RESPECT TO CENTRAL STORAGE OF TACTICAL AIR-DELIVERED WEAPONS, WE NEED TO GET OUR DUCKS LINED UP, ESPECIALLY WITH THE ALLIES, BUT IT MAY PROVE WORKABLE -- THE SOVIETS HAVE "LEGITIMIZED" NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE BY THEIR COMMENTS IN OUR TALKS. POINTS ALSO DO NOT COVER NUCLEAR SAFETY/SECURITY/DISMANTLING/COMMAND AND CONTROL BECAUSE SOVIET RESPONSE THUS FAR HAS BEEN INCOMPLETE AND WE HOPE TO NAIL THIS DOWN BETTER IN TODAY'S TALKS. WE ARE ALSO SEEKING CLARIFICATION OF WHAT MODERNIZATION PROGRAMS THE SOVIETS WILL TERMINATE.

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6. PLEASE ADVISE ON FOREGOING AND ON RESPONSE TO GORBACHEV AND PRESS.

7. BEGIN PROPOSED POINTS: WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S SEPTEMBER 27 INITIATIVE. WE ARE ANALYZING IT CAREFULLY. OUR MEETINGS IN MOSCOW HAVE ALLOWED US TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL BOTH THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE AND THE SOVIET RESPONSE. THE MEETINGS HAVE BEEN VERY POSITIVE, WITH GOOD DISCUSSIONS AND IMPORTANT EXCHANGES TO CLARIFY THE RESPECTIVE INITIATIVES.

BOTH SIDES NOW HAVE MADE SWEEPING PUBLIC COMMITMENTS TO:

O WITHDRAW AND ELIMINATE NUCLEAR ARTILLERY SHELLS AND NUCLEAR WARHEADS FOR SHORT-RANGE MISSILES. THE SOVIETS WILL ALSO WITHDRAW AND ELIMINATE ALL NUCLEAR LAND-MINES; THEY WILL ELIMINATE MANY OF THEIR NUCLEAR WARHEADS FOR AIR DEFENSE MISSILES AND PLACE THE REMAINDER IN CENTRAL STORAGE.

O REMOVE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPNS FROM SHIPS, ATTACK SUBMARINES, AND BASES FOR LAND-BASED NAVAL AIRCRAFT, AND TO ELIMINATE MANY OF THESE WEAPONS. THE UNITED STATES WILL RETAIN IN CENTRAL STORAGE THE REMAINDER OF THE WEAPONS REMOVED FROM SHIPS AND SUBMARINES.

O TAKE STRATEGIC BOMBERS OFF ALERT POSTURE, TERMINATE CERTAIN STRATEGIC MODERNIZATION PROGRAMS, AND TAKE CERTAIN ICBMS OFF ALERT STATUS. THE SOVIETS WILL CONFINE RAIL-MOBILE ICBMS TO THEIR GARRISONS.

O IMPORTANTLY, THE SOVIETS ARE NOW READY TO DISCUSS THE US PROPOSAL ON NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSES AGAINST LIMITED BALLISTIC MISSILE ATTACKS. THIS COULD TAKE ON GREAT SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FUTURE OF GPALS.

O WE NOTE THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO FURTHER REDUCTIONS BEYOND THOSE IN START. OUR PROPOSAL IN THIS REGARD IS TO ELIMINATE ALL MIRVED ICBMS. UNLIKE THE SOVIET APPROACH OF FURTHER REDUCTIONS BY APPROXIMATELY ONE-HALF, OUR PROPOSAL WOULD ELIMINATE THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS IN BOTH SIDE'S FORCES. WE WILL NEED TO PURSUE THIS FURTHER.

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0 THE IDEA OF A SOVIET MORATORIUM ON NUCLEAR TESTING IS NOT NEW. THE US TESTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO MAINTAIN THE SAFETY, RELIABILITY, AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR DETERRENT FORCES. THE NUMBER OF US TESTS IS NOW QUITE SMALL.

SIMILARLY, THE PROPOSAL TO FORSWEAR "FIRST USE" OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS NOT NEW. WE BELIEVE THE BEST APPROACH WOULD BE FOR THE SOVIETS TO ADOPT OUR POLICY OF NOT USING MILITARY FORCE OF ANY KIND FIRST.

WE WELCOME THE PROMPT AND CONSTRUCTIVE SOVIET RESPONSE. ON SOME ASPECTS, FURTHER WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE, AND WE ARE ENGAGED IN THAT. BUT MANY IMPORTANT STEPS ARE ALREADY BEING IMPLEMENTED BY BOTH SIDES. WE HAVE BEGUN THE PROCESS OF WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND-LAUNCHED AND NAVAL TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO DO SO SOON. STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND ICBMS ARE BEING TAKEN OFF ALERT, AND CERTAIN PROGRAMS ARE BEING TERMINATED. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY REMOVED 450 ICBMS FROM ALERT, AND THE SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE REMOVED 129 ICBMS FROM ALERT.

THE PRESIDENT'S HOPE WHEN HE ANNOUNCED HIS INITIATIVE WAS TO USE THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE SOVIET UNION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE COUP ATTEMPT, TO MAKE RAPID REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR FORCES ON BOTH SIDES THROUGH BOLD UNILATERAL STEPS AND A CALL FOR MATCHING STEPS BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. TODAY, JUST TEN DAYS LATER, SWEEPING REDUCTIONS ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED ON BOTH SIDES. WHILE THERE IS MUCH MORE TO BE DONE, PARTICULARLY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ELIMINATING ICBM MIRVS AND PERMITTING LIMITED DEFENSES, AND TO BEGIN FOLLOW-ON DISCUSSIONS ON SAFETY, SECURITY, DISMANTLEMENT AND COMMAND AND CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE ARE MOST PLEASED THAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS JOINED US TO GET THE PROCESS OFF TO SUCH A FAST START. END TEXT.
STRAUSS

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