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11 September 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence

VIA: Director of Soviet Analysis *Ref for*

FROM: [redacted] Chief, Domestic Policy Division/SOVA/NIG

25X1

[redacted] Deputy Chief, Strategic Issues Group/SOVA

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SUBJECT: Feedback from Senators' Visit to Moscow

1. Ref our memo to you yesterday, attached is the State reporting cable from Moscow on Gorbachev's 3 September meeting with the senators. It was not dissemed to CIA although there is no NODIS or other limitation indicated and EUR/SOV knows of no reason why we should not have gotten it. (C)

2. [redacted]

points:

The following tics highlight additional

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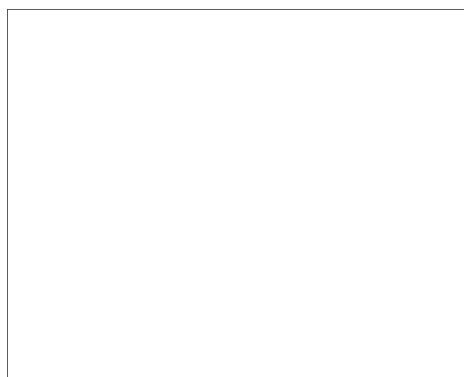
- Gorbachev: "We must act to quiet the hawks who would spoil the prospects for our November meeting."
- Gorbachev was ambiguous on whether discussing or banning weapons in space was the precondition for Soviet presentation of the "most radical" proposals.
- The promised radical proposals will cover "both strategic and medium-range weapons."
- Gorbachev's remarks on verification of R&D come through a bit more specifically in the cable: "It is possible to verify the research stage. We therefore emphasize the need for a ban on the design stage of research."

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- Gorbachev: "We regard the US position at the Geneva negotiations as unacceptable."
- Gorbachev on policy changes needed to bring about better US-Soviet relations: "I do not deny that we (i.e. the USSR as well as the US) could take some steps."
- Zagladin, not Zamyatin, sat in on the Soviet side. (C)



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Attachment:  
As stated

- cc: D/OSWR
- NIO/USSR
- NIO/SP
- C/ACIS
- OSWR/STD/PPC
- OCR/USSR-EE (Economy)
- OLL

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SUBJECT: Feedback from Senators' Visit to Moscow

SOVA/SIG/ [redacted] /NIG/DPD [redacted]

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Distribution:

Orig - Addressee

- 1 - D/OSWR
- 1 - NIO/USSR
- 1 - NIO/SP
- 1 - C/ACIS
- 1 - OSWR/STD/PPC [redacted]
- 1 - OCR/USSR-EE (Economy)
- 1 - OLL [redacted]
- 1 - D/SOVA
- 1 - NIG/DPD
- 1 - SIG File
- 1 - SIG Chrono

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4523

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 08 MOSCOW 12225

F.O. 12356: DECI:OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH

GORBACHEV

REF: MOSCOW 12145

1. (U) INTRODUCTION: FOLLOWING REPRESENTS OUR BEST EFFORT TO RECONSTRUCT GORBACHEV'S REMARKS DURING HIS THREE-AND-ONE-HALF-HOUR MEETING WITH CODEL BYRD-THURMOND SEPTEMBER 3. MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY CODEL STAFFERS PUNARO AND D'AMATO, U.S. INTERPRETER ZARF-CENAK, AND CHARGE. WE HAVE COMBINED OUR RESPECTIVE NOTES OF THE MEETING, ALTHOUGH THE CODEL HAS NOT SPEN THE RESULT GIVEN BELOW.

2. (U) THE SOVIET SIDE CONSISTED OF GORBACHEV, CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES VOSS, FIRST DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE INTER-NATIONAL DEPARTMENT ZAGLADIN, FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR ALEKSANDER AGENTOV, AND CHIEF OF THE MFA USA DIVISION BFSSMERTNYKH. THEY SAID NOTHING DURING THE LENGTHY MEETING. END INTRODUCTION.

GORBACHEV'S OPENING REMARKS

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3. (C) GORBACHEV OPENED THE MEETING BY ASKING SENATOR BYRD HOW HE LIKED MOSCOW. BYRD REPLIED THAT HE LIKED THE CITY AND THAT HE ALSO LIKED KIEV. GORBACHEV ASKED IF THE DELEGATION HAD HAD A CHANCE TO SEE KIEV, AND BYRD ANSWERED THAT THE DELEGATION HAD SEEN SOME

OF IT AND LIKED WHAT THEY SAW -- THE GREENERY, THE CLEAN STREETS, AND THE HOSPITALITY OF THE PFOLE. GORBACHEV SAID THAT HE ALSO LIKED KIEV AND THAT THERE WERE MANY INTERESTING CITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS A VAST LAND, A DIVERSE LAND, MUCH LIKE THE UNITED STATES. THE NORTH WAS VERY BEAUTIFUL. THE UKRAINE IS A COUNTRY IN AND OF ITSELF. THE CAUCAUSES ARE OLD, COLOREFUL, AND FULL OF CULTURE. CENTRAL ASIA PRESENTS A DIFFERENT PICTURE, AS DOES THE FAR EAST. THERE ARE PLACES I HAVE NEVER SEEN. THIS VASTNESS IS A COMMON FEATURE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES. VASTNESS LEAVES AN

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IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL CHARACTER AND THE BROAD OUTLOOK OF OUR TWO NATIONS. I GUESS IT IS THEREFORE TRUE TO SAY THAT IN GENERAL WE HAVE MUCH IN COMMON. THE SOVIET UNION MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION IS ABLE TO UNDERSTAND YOUR NATION AND TO BUILD A BRIDGE TO IT. SIMILARLY, THE U.S. SHOULD BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND US BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE.

4. (C) LET ME GREET YOU ALL. IT IS A PLEASURE TO MEET AND TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH YOU. I WISH TO SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS MUST BE VIABLE IN ALL FIELDS OF CONTACT. FRANKLY SPEAKING, FOR THE PAST FIVE OR SIX YEARS IT HAS NOT PROVED POSSIBLE TO MOVE FORWARD, AND IN MANY AREAS THE SITUATION HAS WORSENER. RELATIONS ARE AT AN ALL-TIME LOW. THERE HAS BEEN A LITTLE HEADWAY IN THE LAST ONE OR TWO YEARS, BUT TOO LITTLE. IN THIS

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SITUATION, PARLIAMENTS CAN PROVIDE THE MOST ACTIVE TIES. THIS PROVES THAT THEY ARE ALL THE MORE IMPOR-

TANT. IT IS ENTIRELY WRONG TO CUT ALL TIES; INDEED THIS WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE, AS I TRIED TO EXPLAIN IN MY LONG INTERVIEW WITH TIME MAGAZINE -- AND I DON'T KNOW IF YOU HAD THE PATIENCE TO READ ALL OF IT.

5. (C) SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, I MET WITH A DELEGATION HEADED BY SPEAKER O'NEILL. I TOLD THE DELEGATION THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS THE POLITICAL WILL TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS. WE ARE INDEED PREPARED TO ACT IN THAT DIRECTION. WE MUST MOVE OUR RELATIONS OFF DEAD CENTER. BUT NOTHING, I REPEAT, NOTHING HAS CHANGED SINCE THAT MEETING. CARDINAL DIFFERENCES EXIST IN OUR SOCIETIES, HISTORIES, WAYS OF LIFE, WORLD OUTLOOKS, IN OUR RESPECTIVE TREATMENT OF INTERNAL AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS CONVINCED THAT WE MUST NOT ALLOW THESE DIFFERENCES TO REACH THE STAGE OF CONFRONTATION. HISTORY HAS ACTED TO MAKE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES THE WORLD'S TWO MAJOR NATIONS, WITH IMMENSE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POTENTIAL. I CANNOT IMAGINE A FUTURE FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES WITHOUT A FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION. ANY OTHER APPROACH WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE AND DANGEROUS. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE DEVELOPING WITH SUCH SPEED THAT WE MUST ACT MORE ENERGETICALLY. OTHERWISE WE MIGHT LOSE OUR PRESENT OPPORTUNITY. IT IS HARD ENOUGH TO COME TO TERMS TODAY. WE NEED TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS. WE CAN SIT DOWN AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, REACH AGREEMENT, AND REVERSE THE ARMS RACE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4524

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 09 MOSCOW 12225

F.O. 12356: DFCL:OADR

TAGS: PRL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH  
6. (C) CURRENT METHODS OF POLITICAL PRESSURE UPON THE  
SOVIET UNION WILL YIELD NO BENEFIT TO THE UNITED STATES.  
THE SOVIET UNION WILL NOT BE INTIMIDATED, WILL NOT BE  
BROUGHT TO ITS KNEES. WE WILL FIND A RESPONSE TO ANY  
CHALLENGE. BUT THIS IS NOT THE HIGH ROAD. WE MUST  
FIND A WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT PREDICAMENT, LEADING TO  
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. IN MY TIME MAGAZINE INTER-  
VIEW, I TRIED NOT TO DELVE INTO THE PAST, TO PRESENT  
A LIST OF CLAIMS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. WE LOOK  
TO THE FUTURE, AND CALL UPON THE AMERICAN SIDE -- IN-  
CLUDING THE U.S. CONGRESS -- TO DO THE SAME, WHILE OF  
COURSE WE BOTH CAN DRAW ON THE LESSONS OF THE PAST.  
PERHAPS I WILL STOP AT THIS POINT AND LISTEN TO WHAT  
YOU HAVE TO SAY.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF PRESIDENT'S LETTER

7. (U) SENATOR BYRD SAID THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD ASKED  
HIM TO PRESENT A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE  
GENERAL SECRETARY, ALONG WITH THE PRESIDENT'S GOOD  
WISHES (NOTE: SENATOR BYRD THEN HANDED THE LETTER  
TO GORBACHEV). GORBACHEV THANKED THE SENATOR AND ASKED

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HIM TO CONVEY GORBACHEV'S BEST WISHES TO THE PRESIDENT.  
GORBACHEV ADDED THAT WHILE HE DIDN'T KNOW THE CONTENT  
HE APPRECIATED THE GESTURE. BYRD SUGGESTED THAT  
GORBACHEV TAKE A MOMENT TO READ THE LETTER, WHICH WAS  
BRIEF. GORBACHEV AGREED TO DO SO (NOTE: SOVIET INTER-  
PRETER SUKHODREV THEN TRANSLATED THE LETTER INTO  
RUSSIAN).

8. (C) GORBACHEV SAID THAT THIS WAS A GOOD LETTER. MY  
FIRST IMPRESSION (GORBACHEV CONTINUED) IS THAT IT  
MERITS A POSITIVE EVALUATION. IN PREPARING FOR THE  
SUMMIT WE BOTH NEED TO DEEPEN OUR DIALOGUE. IF THAT'S  
WHAT THE PRESIDENT IS SAYING, I WELCOME HIS STATEMENT.  
WE ALSO NEED DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR RESPECTIVE  
VIEWPOINTS, AS I HAVE ALREADY NOTED. I ALSO AGREE THAT  
YOUR VISIT CAN CONTRIBUTE TO OUR POLITICAL DIALOGUE.

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BUT PRACTICAL STEPS ARE NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT A CORRECT POLITICAL LINE, AND HERE IS WHERE DIFFICULTIES TEND TO ARISE. WE MUST LEARN TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS. FINALLY, I AM PLEASED TO DISCOVER THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS A HIGH OPINION OF THIS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION.

9. (U) SENATOR BYRD COMMENTED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS SINCERE AND SERIOUS IN HIS LETTER AND WOULD HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO HEAR GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT THAT WE NEED A DIALOGUE. THE PRESIDENT ASKED BYRD TO EXPRESS ORALLY THE PRESIDENT'S HIGH REGARD FOR GORBACHEV AND TO SAY HOW MUCH THE PRESIDENT LOOKED FORWARD TO MEETING HIM. THE PRESIDENT ASKED THE DELEGATION TO REPORT BACK TO HIM, AND WE WILL DO THAT.

10. (C) GORBACHEV SAID HE WAS DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT WE MUST USE THE OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED BY THE UPCOMING

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SUMMIT TO TAKE SERIOUS, SIGNIFICANT STEPS FORWARD IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, FOR THE BENEFIT OF OUR TWO PEOPLES AS WELL AS FOR ALL PEOPLE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A GROUP AROUND THE PRESIDENT THAT IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO UNDERMINE ANY AGREEMENT BETWEEN US. THIS IS WHY I SPOKE OUT IN MY TIME MAGAZINE INTERVIEW ABOUT CERTAIN GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES. NOW THAT THE NOVEMBER MEETING HAS BEEN SCHEDULED, THIS GROUP IS ATTEMPTING TO MAKE THE MEETING DEVOID OF SUBSTANCE. THIS IS WRONG; IT IS IRRESPONSIBLE, PARTICULARLY SINCE SOME OF THESE ADVOCATES HOLD HIGH POSITIONS. THERE IS A MARKED DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS APPROACH AND THE MOOD OF THE U.S. PUBLIC, THE U.S. CONGRESS, THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND SUPREME SOVIET. THE CURRENT STATE OF OUR RELATIONS IS UNACCEPTABLE. WE MUST ACT TO QUIET THE HAWKS WHO WOULD SPOIL THE PROSPECTS FOR OUR NOVEMBER MEETING. THEY THINK ONLY OF THEIR NARROW INTERESTS. WE SHALL DO OUR BEST TO PREPARE SERIOUSLY AND IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS. WE RELY ON THE WISDOM OF THE PRESIDENT TO DO LIKEWISE.

SENATOR BYRD'S STATEMENT

11. (U) SENATOR BYRD SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO READ A STATEMENT. THEN EACH MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO MAKE AN INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION. GORBACHEV SAID THAT WHILE NOT EVERYONE BELIEVED THAT DEMOCRACY EXISTED IN THE SOVIET UNION, ALAS, IT DOES, EVEN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 29 MOSCOW 12225  
F.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PRPL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)  
SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH  
THOUGH IT MAY BE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY SO HE WOULD AGREE  
TO SENATOR BYRD'S PROPOSAL (NOTE: SENATOR BYRD THEN  
READ THE STATEMENT AS TRANSMITTED REFTEL).  
GORBACHEV'S REJOINDER

(C) (NOTE: AS SENATOR BYRD MENTIONED THE IMPORTANCE  
OF ENDING BLOODSHED IN AFGHANISTAN, GORBACHEV COMMENTED  
THAT THIS WAS PARTICULARLY SERIOUS SINCE CONGRESS WAS  
APPROPRIATING MONEY TO CONTINUE THE FIGHTING. INDEED,  
GORBACHEV SAID, THE MONEY SACKS ARE ALL OPEN AND YOU  
SPEND NO TIME UNTYING THEM. SENATOR BYRD RESPONDED  
THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MONEY SACKS IF THE SOVIET UNION  
WOULD LEAVE AFGHANISTAN. BYRD ADDED THAT HIS COMMENT  
SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO CONFIRM WHAT THE GENERAL SECRE-  
TARY HAD SAID ABOUT MONEY BEING PROVIDED BY CONGRESS.)  
12. (C) GORBACHEV SAID HE HAD CONTRADICTIONARY IMPRES-  
SIONS OF THE SENATOR'S STATEMENT. I LISTENED VERY  
CAREFULLY. GORBACHEV CONTINUED, AND I UNDERSTAND THAT  
YOU HAVE TO REPORT BACK TO YOUR COLLEAGUES THAT YOU  
COVERED ALL THE USUAL GROUNDS AND HAVE PULLED OUT ALL

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OF THE OLD CLAIMS. YOUR COLLEAGUES WILL BE PLEASED  
WITH THE WAY YOU HAVE DONE THIS. YOU HAVE MY VOTE

AS A WITNESS THAT YOU COVERED ALL THE GROUNDS IN A VERY  
BROAD MANNER. IN THAT SENSE, YOU DID WELL.

13. (C) FRANKLY SPEAKING, I HEARD NOTHING NEW. I  
THEREFORE SEE NO NEW OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THINGS.  
I SPOKE VERY BROADLY IN TIME MAGAZINE ABOUT OUR  
RELATIONS. ON THE ONE HAND, IT SEEMS CONGRESS IS IN  
FAVOR OF IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES,  
AND OF DIALOGUE REGARDING THIS. THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN  
AS THE STARTING POINT, AND WE SHOULD THEN THINK ABOUT  
HOW TO DO IT. WE SHOULD SPEAK NOT ONLY ABOUT WHAT THE  
SOVIETS CAN DO, BUT ALSO ABOUT WHAT THE UNITED STATES  
SHOULD DO. THE PROCESS SHOULD BE NEUTRAL. THIS IS  
WHAT RECIPROCITY IS ALL ABOUT. YET IT APPEARS FROM

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YOUR STATEMENT THAT ALL CONCERNING THE SOVIET UNION IS BLACK, WHILE ALL CONCERNING THE UNITED STATES IS WHITE. SURELY THIS MEANS BLACKENING THE SOVIET UNION'S POLICIES AND ACTIONS, WHILE WHITEWASHING THE UNITED STATES' POLICIES AND ACTIONS.

14. (C) WHAT CONCLUSION CAN ONE DRAW FROM THIS? IT IS THE SAME THAT ONE DRAWS FROM THE SPEECH BY PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT MCFARLAND ON HOW TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION MUST CHANGE ITS POLICIES AND EVEN ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM. THIS WOULD BE CAPITULATION. I HAVE MADE THIS POINT IN TIME MAGAZINE. WHAT IS THIS? IS THIS THE WAY TO SEARCH FOR A BETTER DIALOGUE ON ALL THE ISSUES YOU HAVE RAISED? TO ASSERT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS RIGHT AND THE SOVIET UNION WRONG?

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15. (C) REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS, THIS MATTER CANNOT BE

DISCUSSED PRODUCTIVELY UNTIL THE UNITED STATES SIGNS AND THE U.S. CONGRESS RATIFIES SOME SIX INTERNATIONAL PACTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WHEN YOU HAVE DONE THIS, WE CAN TALK ABOUT POLITICAL RIGHTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND OTHER ISSUES. ON THE EVE OF THE RECENT U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, PRESIDENT REAGAN SUGGESTED THAT THE UNITED STATES SIGN ONE OF THESE PACTS. BUT AFTER THE ELECTIONS THIS WAS DROPPED. HIS SUGGESTION MUST HAVE BEEN MADE TO ATTRACT THE SUPPORT OF ONE OR MORE POLITICAL GROUPS. GIVEN THIS APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS, HOW CAN YOU DISCUSS THIS TOPIC WITH US?

16. (C) WE ARE NOT AT ALL SURE THE UNITED STATES HOLDS THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IF INDEED YOU BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER NATION. THEN YOU ARE NOT OBSERVING THE HELSINKI ACCORDS WHICH GIVE NO SUCH RIGHTS. WHAT MORAL AUTHORITY DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE TO TEACH OTHERS? MUCH IS WRONG IN THE UNITED STATES AND IF THE UNITED STATES IS SO CONCERNED, WHY IS IT SO SELECTIVE IN CLAIMING THAT ALL THAT HAPPENS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS BAD, WHILE SAYING NOTHING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA, THE POLICY OF CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT, THE THOUSANDS OF BLACKS KILLED. YOU SAY NOTHING ABOUT CHILE WHICH APPARENTLY CAUSES YOU NO CONCERN. THIS IS A QUITE REMARKABLE APPROACH.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4526

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 08 MOSCOW 12225

F.O. 12358: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH

17. (C) YOU HAVE ORGANIZED A PARLIAMENTARY GROUP TO EXAMINE HUMAN RIGHTS AND SPECIFIC ASPECTS CAN BE EXAMINED THERE. WE WELCOME THIS. BUT YOU WANT TO EXPLOIT THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE TO DEAL A PROPAGANDA BLOW TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND THIS IS A FUTILE EXERCISE. ACCORDING TO YOU, THE SOVIET UNION IS TO BLAME FOR ALL SINS IN THE WORLD, AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS TO CHANGE TO BRING ABOUT ANY IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. SURELY THAT IS THE CONCLUSION THAT ONE CAN DRAW FROM YOUR STATEMENT. THIS IS NOT A PROPER APPROACH TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION. PERHAPS THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS FORGET WHO THEY ARE DEALING WITH. YOU ARE DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THAT IS THE FIRST GENERAL COMMENT I WANT TO MAKE.

18. (C) NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS YOU HAVE RAISED. THE FIRST POINT IS THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A DIALOGUE. A POLITICAL DIALOGUE IS ESSENTIAL BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I LIKED WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT THE PROPER ATMOSPHERE IN OUR RELATIONS. YOU MENTIONED THAT WE NEED TO PROCEED IN A PROPER ATMOSPHERE. THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT AND I EMPHASIZED MYSELF THAT THIS IS THE WAY TO PROCEED.

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19. (C) IN THIS CONNECTION, WE HAVE NOT FAILED TO REACT TO ATTEMPTS MADE IN RECENT WEEKS TO INJECT A SERIOUS AGGRAVATION IN OUR RELATIONS. SOME OBSERVERS HAVE ASKED WHY ONE SHOULD PAY ATTENTION TO SUCH THINGS IN THE UNITED STATES, SINCE IT IS NORMAL IN THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC PROCESS FOR ANYONE TO SAY WHAT HE WANTS. BUT AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, DEMOCRACY DOES NOT MEAN FREEDOM FROM RESPONSIBILITY ESPECIALLY WHEN IT COMES TO THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS, WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DESTINY OF THEIR NATION. TRULY, SOMETIMES WHEN I LOOK AT INFORMATION FROM WASHINGTON REGARDING SOME POLITICAL FIGURE WHO IS ACTING IRRESPONSIBLY, IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE THAT SUCH THINGS ARE POSSIBLE. IT IS ONE THING WHEN THE MEDIA ENGAGE IN ASSESSMENTS

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AND CONTRADICTIONS. IT IS ANOTHER WHEN YOUR LEADERS THEMSELVES -- THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, AND OTHER HIGHLY PLACED PERSONS -- ENGAGE IN SUCH EXCESSES. SURELY STATESMANSHIP SHOULD PREVAIL. THERE SHOULD BE GOVERNMENTAL WISDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF PRACTICAL STEPS. IN THIS COUNTRY WE DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MEDIA DEBATE AND STATEMENTS BY PUBLIC LEADERS. I MAY BE WRONG, AND I HOPE THAT I AM, BUT I SENSE OVERT ANTI-SOVIETISM RUNNING RAMPANT IN WASHINGTON TODAY.

20. (C) YOU ARE QUITE RIGHT TO POINT OUT THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY AT HAND. WE MUST SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY, STARTING FROM TODAY, SO THAT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AND THE SUMMIT CULMINATE IN SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS. WE FAVOR BUSINESSLIKE AND SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

WE OPPOSE YOUR USING THEM AS A SCREEN FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF YOUR MILITARY PROGRAMS. IF THE UNITED STATES

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IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF PREVENTING THE MILITARIZATION OF SPACE, IT WOULD HEAR FROM THE SOVIET SIDE THE MOST RADICAL PROPOSALS COVERING BOTH STRATEGIC ARMS AND MEDIUM RANGE WEAPONS.

21. (C) INSTEAD, THE UNITED STATES SAYS IT IS ONLY PREPARED TO DISCUSS WHAT TYPES OF WEAPONS ARE TO BE DEPLOYED IN SPACE. THIS APPROACH DIFFERS FROM WHAT WAS AGREED UPON IN GENEVA LAST JANUARY. WE ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE BANNING OF MILITARY WEAPONS IN SPACE, AND WE HAVE PROPOSALS ON THIS SCORE. WE THEN WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE THE MOST RADICAL STEPS IN THE TWO OTHER AREAS: STRATEGIC AND MEDIUM RANGE WEAPONS. WE HAVE PROPOSALS TO PUT FORWARD AND YOU WILL HEAR THEM ON THE VERY NEXT DAY AFTER YOU AGREE TO PROHIBIT THE MILITARIZATION OF SPACE.

22. (C) YOU DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO QUESTIONS OF VERIFICATION. WE ARE ALSO INTERESTED IN EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION AND CONTROL, BUT TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF VERIFICATION WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON WHAT SHOULD BE VERIFIED IS LIKE PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE. SO BOTH SIDES ARE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN SERIOUS ACCORDS BRINGING AN END TO THE ARMS RACE AND IN A SERIOUS SYSTEM OF VERIFICATION. BUT WE SOMETIMES THINK THE UNITED STATES RAISES VERIFICATION SIMPLY TO BYPASS THE SUBSTANCE OF ISSUES AT HAND. WE ARE FOR EFFECTIVE, SERIOUS VERIFICATION.

23. (C) LET ME NOW RETURN TO OUTER SPACE. MY  
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TO SFCSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4527

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 25 OF 08 MOSCOW 12225

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: CODFL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH  
IMPRESSION OF THE U.S. POSITION IS THAT SOMEBODY IS  
TRYING TO CONVINCING THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS THAT  
THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DELUDE THE RUSSIANS. THERE  
HAVE BEEN MANY ATTEMPTS TO DO THIS IN THE PAST, AND  
EVERYONE KNOWS HOW THEY ENDED. THERE ARE SOME WHO  
SAY "SEE HOW FRIGHTENED THE RUSSIANS ARE, HOW DEEPLY  
CONCERNED THEY ARE ABOUT STAR WARS AND THE MILITARIZA-  
TION OF OUTER SPACE". SOME SAY THIS MUST BE A SOVIET  
WEAK POINT AND SO LET US BRING MAXIMUM PRESSURE TO GAIN  
MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT WOULD BE  
VERY DANGEROUS INDEED IF SUCH ILLUSIONS WERE ALLOWED  
TO PREVAIL AND IF THEY WERE ACCEPTED AS THE LINCHPIN  
FOR SPECIFIC POLICIES AND APPROACHES IN THE GENEVA  
TALKS.

24. (C) IN MY TIME MAGAZINE INTERVIEW, I DESCRIBED  
HOW WE VIEWED SDI RESEARCH. THIS THEME, AND PARTI-  
CULARLY THE VERIFICATION ASPECT, HAS BEEN EXPLOITED  
BY THE WHITE HOUSE, CONGRESS, AND THE U.S. PRESS.  
YOU SAY THAT ONE CANNOT VERIFY WHAT IS INSIDE A SCIEN-  
TIST'S BRAIN WHEN HE FIDDLES WITH EQUATIONS OR STUDIES  
PROBLEMS IN SPACE. THIS IS ONE SIDE OF THE QUESTION.  
I AM TOLD THERE MAY BE A TERMINOLOGICAL PROBLEM HERE.

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WE CALL THIS "FUNDAMENTAL" OR "BASIC" RESEARCH. BUT  
AS SOON AS THIS KIND OF WORK GOES BEYOND THE WALLS OF  
THE LABORATORY AND INVOLVES THE FASHIONING OF SCALE  
MODELS AND MOCKUPS AND THE HANDING OUT OF MILITARY  
CONTRACTS, VERIFICATION IS POSSIBLE. SO IT IS POSSIBLE  
TO VERIFY THE RESEARCH STAGE. WE THEREFORE EMPHASIZE  
THE NEED FOR A BAN ON THE DESIGN STAGE OF RESEARCH.  
IF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ARE SPENT ON RESEARCH, SURFLY  
IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO STOP PRIOR TO THE DESIGN AND  
MANUFACTURE STAGES. SURELY THIS IS A LESSON TO BE  
LEARNED FROM PAST EXPERIENCE.

25. (C) AND HOW DOES ONE VERIFY ONCE THE ARMS RACE  
IS ALREADY IN SPACE? HOW DO YOU VERIFY THIS? THIS  
IS WHAT BOTHERS US AND CONCERNS US MOST OF ALL. WE

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REGARD THE U.S. POSITION AT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AS UNACCEPTABLE. THE UNITED STATES SAYS THAT WE MUST AGREE IN GENEVA ON WHAT TYPES OF WEAPONS SHOULD AND SHOULD NOT BE DEPLOYED IN SPACE. BUT WHO COULD VERIFY THIS? WE THEREFORE SHOULD BAN SPACE WEAPONS, COMMENCING WITH THE RESEARCH STAGE. IF THE U.S. IS INTERESTED IN PREVENTING A NEW SPIRAL IN THE ARMS RACE, THEN PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN GENEVA.

26. (C) YOU RAISED QUESTIONS OF COMPLIANCE WITH SALT II AND THE ARM TREATIES. I WOULD LIKE TO CONFIRM OUR POSITION OF PRINCIPLE IN FAVOR OF STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THESE TWO ACCORDS. THESE ARE THE LAST BARRIERS THAT CAN RESTRAIN THE ARMS RACE: IT WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS INDEED IF ONE WERE TO ASSAULT THESE ACCORDS. IF THERE IS ANY LACK OF CLARITY OR ANY DOUBT ABOUT COMPLIANCE,

WE HAVE A STANDING MECHANISM (NOTE: AT THIS POINT GORBACHEV TURNED TO HIS COLLEAGUES FOR THE NAME OF

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THE MECHANISM) TO IRON OUT DOUBTS, THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. IF DOUBTS ARISE, WE CAN CLARIFY THEM AND REMOVE THEM IN THAT MECHANISM. IN SHORT, WE ADVOCATE COMPLIANCE WITH THESE ACCORDS. BOTH SIDES KNOW THAT THEY ARE BEING COMPLIED WITH. ANY DOUBTS SHOULD BE CLARIFIED AND REMOVED IN A TIMELY WAY.

27. (C) I HEARD YOUR ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE U.S. POSITION REGARDING THE MORATORIUM ON NUCLEAR TESTING. IT CERTAINLY IS MY POSITION THAT YOU HAVE NO ARGUMENTS TO BOLSTER YOUR STAND. NOW PERHAPS WHEN YOU SAY TO OTHERS THAT THE U.S. HAS FALLEN BEHIND IN NUCLEAR TESTING IT MAY BE CREDIBLE, BUT THIS IS NOT A VIABLE ARGUMENT WITH US. THIS IS NOT A SERIOUS ARGUMENT. THE U.S. HAS CONDUCTED ONE THIRD MORE NUCLEAR TESTS THAN THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE U.S. HAS CONDUCTED ONE TEST MORE THAN THE SOVIET UNION THIS YEAR. YOU SEEM TO THINK YOU KNOW BETTER THAN I THAT WE COMPLETED OUR TESTING PROGRAM BEFORE DECLARING A MORATORIUM. YOU ARE TAKING TOO MUCH UPON YOURSELF. WE SUSPENDED AN UNCOMPLETED TESTING SERIES. OUR MILITARY HAD SOME OBJECTIONS TO THIS. WE TOOK A POLITICAL DECISION TO SUSPEND TESTING. I DO NOT NEED TO BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE U.S. CONGRESS TO TELL YOU WHAT TESTS WE DID NOT COMPLETE. IF WE WANT TO BREAK THE VICIOUS CIRCLE, AGREEING TO A MORATORIUM WOULD BE A SUBSTANTIAL AND MAJOR STEP FORWARD. YOUR SIDE IS AT A LOSS FOR CONVINCING ARGUMENTS AND THEREFORE YELLS THAT OUR PROPOSAL IS ONLY PROPAGANDA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 09 MOSCOW 12225

I.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PRL, UR, US, OVIF (BYRD, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: CODEL PYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH  
29. (C) IF THE U.S. WERE TO JOIN US IN A MORATORIUM  
AND WERE TO DECLARE PUBLICLY THAT THIS WAS THE POSITION  
OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD  
HAVE TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE. WE COULD RESUME WORK  
WITH THE SAME THREE POWERS -- THE SOVIET UNION, THE  
UNITED STATES, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM -- WHEN WE WERE  
VERY CLOSE TO AN AGREEMENT FOR A COMPREHENSIVE TEST  
BAN. VERIFICATION QUESTIONS COULD BE SOLVED. A JOINT  
MORATORIUM WOULD PERMIT A RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING  
TABLE, AND WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WERE ONGOING PUT PRIOR TO  
AGREEMENT, WE COULD MAKE PROGRESS ON THE MAJOR ISSUES --  
PROHIBITION OF QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS OF NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS. SECOND, SINCE QUALITY CONTROL IS IMPORTANT  
TO TEST EXISTING STOCKPILES, OVER TIME THESE STOCKPILES  
WOULD SHRINK. SO, ON THE ONE HAND WE COULD CREATE  
NO NEW WEAPONS WITHOUT TESTING, AND AT THE SAME TIME  
THE PROCESS OF REDUCING EXISTING STOCKS WOULD BE UNDER  
WAY.

29. (C) THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. AND THE USSR ON THIS  
ISSUE WOULD BE A TRUE TEST OF WHICH SIDE IS TRULY  
INTERESTED IN THE PROCESS OF ARMS REDUCTION. THIS IS  
WHY WE MADE A POLITICAL DECISION AND NOTIFIED THE

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PRESIDENT ON THE EVE OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT, GIVING THE  
UNITED STATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN OUR MORATORIUM.  
AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL IN THE SOVIET UNION THERE IS  
PROFOUND AWARENESS THAT WERE WE EVER TO SUBMIT A PRO-  
POSAL THAT WAS NOT IN THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF BOTH  
COUNTRIES, SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE UNREALISTIC AND  
UNVIABLE. WE NEED TO HAVE A SIMILAR AWARENESS IN THE  
WHITE HOUSE AND THE CONGRESS. IF A PROPOSAL ADVANCED  
THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES BUT NOT  
THE SOVIET UNION SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE UNVIABLE.

30. (C) IF WE SEE THAT THE UNITED STATES OPPOSES A  
MORATORIUM AND FAVORS CONTINUED TESTING OUR CONCLUSION  
WILL BE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE DEVELOPING  
A NEW GENERATION OF MISSILES AND NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS,

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INCLUDING LASERS AND X-RAY WEAPONS, WHICH NEED NUCLEAR TRIGGER DEVICES. THUS, WE PROCEED FROM THE ASSUMPTION AND THE HOPE THAT ALL THE U.S. HAS SAID REGARDING THIS MORATORIUM IS NOT THE LAST WORD. WE HAVE PATIENCE, AND WE WANT THE UNITED STATES TO ACT WITH ALL RESPONSIBILITY IN RESPONDING TO OUR PROPOSAL.

31. (C) LET ME CONCLUDE MY REACTION AND SAY, PERHAPS IN DIFFERENT WORDS, WHAT I EMPHASIZED AT THE OUTSET IN COMMENTING UPON THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF SWITCHING OUR RELATIONS ON TO CONSTRUCTIVE TRACKS. IF WE BOTH FAVOR THIS, LET US BOTH TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS TO IMPLEMENT IT. THE UNITED STATES IS NEITHER A PROSECUTOR NOR A JUDGE WHO CAN PASS JUDGMENT ON THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE OPPOSITE IS ALSO TRUE. THE PROCESS OF SHAPING RELATIONS REQUIRES AN

AWARENESS OF THAT FACT. THIS HAS NOT BEEN THE APPROACH THAT HAS PREVAILED TO DATE. SURELY YOU MUST  
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UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION THAT HAS TO CHANGE. I DO NOT DENY THAT WE COULD TAKE SOME STEPS. THE UNITED STATES ALSO SHOULD TAKE SOME STEPS, NO LESS THAN THE SOVIET UNION AND PERHAPS GREATER.

32. (C) GORBACHEV THEN SAID THAT ALL AT THE TABLE WERE WELL STEELED IN THE ART OF SITTING AT LONG MEETINGS. PUT OUR TIME WAS DRAWING SHORT. THE CONGRESSMEN COULD CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SUPREME SOVIET AND AT THE FOREIGN TRADE MINISTRY. I WANT TO EXPRESS THE HOPE, GORBACHEV CONTINUED, THAT NOT THE WORST PROSPECTS WERE AHEAD. THERE ARE NUMEROUS POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES -- COOPERATION IN THE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL FIELDS. EACH SIDE MUST KEEP IN MIND ONE OVERRIDING FACT: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE AND THEIR OWN VIEWS. SURELY THE SOVIET PEOPLE ENJOYED THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE, ONE OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. AS THE PROVERB GOES, YOU SHOULD NOT GO INTO ANOTHER'S MONASTERY WITH YOUR OWN CHARTER. IT IS UP TO THE U.S. PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, BUT THE U.S. SHOULD RESPECT THE SOVIET RIGHT TO DECIDE ITS DOMESTIC MATTERS. OUR COUNTRY AND PEOPLE HAVE A HISTORY WHICH IS SURELY NOT SHORTER BUT IN FACT IS LONGER THAN YOUR OWN.  
SENATOR BYRD'S COMMENTS

33. (U) SENATOR BYRD SAID HE WAS SORRY TO HEAR THAT  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4529  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 25 MOSCOW 12225  
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)  
SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH  
THE GENERAL SECRETARY FOUND NOTHING NEW IN THE SENATOR'S  
OPENING STATEMENT. I HAVE SEEN A GREAT DEAL OF THE  
SAME INVECTIVE AND REJECTION OUT OF HAND OF THE PRO-  
POSALS WE WERE TRYING TO MAKE, THE SENATOR SAID. YOU  
DID HEAR SOMETHING NEW, SOMETHING WE CONSIDER TO BE A  
FAIR AND SOUND STATEMENT REPRESENTING THE FEELINGS OF  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THROUGH THEM THE FEELINGS OF  
THE U.S. SENATE. AFTER ALL, UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION,  
WHILE THE PRESIDENT NEGOTIATES AND WE DO NOT, NO TREATY  
CAN GO INTO EFFECT UNLESS TWO-THIRDS OF THE SENATE --  
NOT THE HOUSE, NOT THE WHITE HOUSE, NOT MCFARLAND -- VOTES  
TO APPROVE THE RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION. THE SENATE  
IS NO RUBBER STAMP FOR ANYONE IN THE UNITED STATES.  
SO WE THINK YOU DID HEAR SOMETHING NEW. I AM GLAD YOU  
WENT ON TO ADDRESS THE POINTS I MADE. WE HAVE HEARD  
FROM THE NEW LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION. WE WOULD HAVE  
TRAVELED TWICE, THREE TIMES AS FAR, TO SEE YOU. I  
HOPE AND EXPECT THAT EACH OF MY COLLEAGUES WILL HAVE THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO SAY SOMETHING. WITH YOUR PERMISSION  
I WOULD NOW LIKE TO TURN TO SENATOR THURMOND.  
34. (C) GORBACHEV SAID HE COULD AGREE TO THIS ON THE  
UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MEETING MUST CONCLUDE AT 2:32

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P.M. (NOTE: IT WAS THEN 2:00 P.M.) GORBACHEV EXPLAINED  
THAT HE HAD TO ATTEND A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING AT  
3:00 P.M., AND HE WAS SURE THE SENATORS WOULD UNDER-  
STAND THAT.  
SENATOR THURMOND'S STATEMENT

35. (U) SENATOR THURMOND SAID HE FULLY ENDORSED SENATOR  
BYRD'S STATEMENT. WE WERE FROM DIFFERENT POLITICAL  
PARTIES. WE RESPECT YOU AS THE LEADER OF A GREAT  
NATION. WE THINK YOU ARE THE MOST ABLE SOVIET LEADER  
SINCE WORLD WAR II. YOU HAVE NEW ASPIRATIONS REGARDING  
RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES (NOTE: GORBACHEV  
INTERERRUPTED TO SAY, YES I DESIRE BETTER RELATIONS).  
THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, AND THERE WILL BE

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DIFFERENCES IN THE FUTURE. THESE CAN BE RECONCILED. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE SOVIET UNION GOT OUT OF AFGHANISTAN, ANGOLA, AND ETHIOPIA. WE FOUGHT TOGETHER IN WORLD WAR II ALTHOUGH YOU WERE TOO YOUNG TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WAR. (NOTE: GORBACHEV SAID AT THIS POINT THAT HIS FATHER WAS WOUNDED IN CARPATHIA, A REGION BETWEEN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE SOVIET UNION. I TAKE THAT YOU FAVOR BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND THE UNITED STATES. I DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE WAR BUT I DID LIVE THROUGH NAZI OCCUPATION. THE OCCUPATION FIRST ROLLED ONE WAY AND THEN ROLLED BACK ACROSS THE PLACE WHERE I LIVED. I WAS THIRTEEN OR FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND STILL HAVE VERY VIVID MEMORIES OF THAT TIME.)

36. (U) THE SUMMIT OFFERS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY, SENATOR THURMOND CONTINUED. YOU ARE A GREAT LEADER, AND RONALD  
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REAGAN IS A GREAT LEADER. WE DON'T WANT TO CHANGE YOUR SYSTEM. WE DON'T SEEK NEW TERRITORY. OUR TWO COUNTRIES CAN GET TOGETHER. REDUCTION OF WEAPONS WOULD BE A USEFUL FIRST STEP. I WOULD FAVOR YEARLY MEETINGS BETWEEN YOU AND RONALD REAGAN. HE IS FIRM AND FAIR. HE KEEPS THE UNITED STATES STRONG, NOT FOR AGGRESSIVE PURPOSES BUT TO DEFEND OUR PEOPLE. I PREDICT THAT YOU WILL LIKE HIM AND THAT PROGRESS IS MADE. I VISIT THE WHITE HOUSE TWO TIMES EACH WEEK. THE PRESIDENT IS A MAN OF PEACE, AND I BELIEVE YOU AND HE WILL FIND COMMON GROUND.

37. (C) GORBACHEV COMMENTED THAT ON THE WHOLE, WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, HE LIKED WHAT SENATOR THURMOND HAD SAID. STATEMENT BY SENATOR PELL

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38. (U) SENATOR PELL NOTED THAT TO DATE ONE HALF OF THE U.S. SENATE HAD VISITED THE SOVIET UNION, AS HAD ONE QUARTER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. WE WOULD LIKE THE SOVIET PARLIAMENT TO DO AS WELL. NO SENSIBLE MAN BELIEVES, SENATOR PELL CONTINUED, THAT EITHER THE UNITED STATES OR THE SOVIET UNION WOULD INTENTIONALLY START A NUCLEAR WAR. I MET WITH KOSYGIN IN 1968, WHEN HE NOTED THAT WE NEEDED SUFFICIENCY RATHER THAN SUPERIORITY. THAT IS WHAT EACH SIDE NOW HAS. WE SHOULD COMPETE WITH IDEAS, NOT WEAPONS. WE COULD UNDERTAKE A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ACTIVITIES. WE COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, COOPERATE ON AN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRON-  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4530

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 12225

F.O. 12356: DFCL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, UR, US, OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT)

SUBJECT: CODEL BYRD/THURMOND: RECORD OF MEETING WITH MENTAL TREATY. WE COULD TAKE LEND-LEASE PAYMENTS TO FUND AN EXCHANGE OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE. WE COULD DEVELOP A JOINT PROGRAM TO IMMUNIZE ALL CHILDREN OF THE WORLD AGAINST THE SIX DEADLY KILLERS -- AND THIS COULD BE DONE WITHIN FIVE YEARS. WE SHOULD BRING THE BOLSHOI BALLET TO THE UNITED STATES, PURSUANT TO THE EXCHANGE AGREEMENT PRESENTLY UNDER NEGOTIATION.

39. (C) GORBACHEV SAID HE BASICALLY SHARED SENATOR PELL'S VIEWS. IF WE ARE RESPONSIBLE WE CANNOT CONTEMPLATE COMMENCING A NUCLEAR WAR; THIS WOULD BE UTTER MADNESS. WHEN I HEAR A STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT SOMETHING IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN PEACE, I WONDER IF THE AUTHOR CAN BE NORMAL. WITHOUT PEACE THERE IS NO LIFE AT ALL. I WILL REPEAT AGAIN WHAT I SAID IN MY TIME INTERVIEW: THE USSR WILL NOT COMMENCE A WAR. I SAY THIS TO YOU IN MY DUAL CAPACITY AS GENERAL SECRETARY AND AS CHAIRMAN OF THE DEFENSE COUNCIL. I SAY THIS WITH THE UTMOST SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

STATEMENTS BY SENATORS NUNN AND WARNER

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40. (U) SENATOR NUNN THANKED GORBACHEV FOR HIS HOSPITALITY AND SAID THAT HE FOUND THE GENERAL SECRE-

TARY'S INTERVIEW WITH TIME MAGAZINE TO BE EXCELLENT IN IMPROVING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S VIEWS. THERE WERE SOME SITUATIONS IN WHICH BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES WOULD LOSE; BUT THERE WERE SOME SITUATIONS IN WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES COULD BENEFIT. HE AND SENATOR WARNER HAVE PROPOSED TO REDUCE THE RISK OF A NUCLEAR ACCIDENT OR OTHER NUCLEAR PROBLEM THROUGH JOINT EFFORTS BY THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION. THIS PROPOSAL HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH JUST BEFORE THE DELEGATION LEFT WASHINGTON, AGREED TO THE INITIAL PHASE. SENATOR NUNN HOPED THIS WOULD BE A KEY ITEM OF DISCUSSION AT GENEVA. THIS PROPOSAL WOULD NOT SUPPERCEDE THE FUNCTIONING OF CURRENT INSTITUTIONS. THE SENATE HAD

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VOTED 82 - 0 IN FAVOR OF IT. ON BEHALF OF SENATOR WARNER, MYSELF, AND OTHER COLLEAGUES, I HOPE YOU WILL REVIEW IT CAREFULLY IN THE SPIRIT OF YOUR TIME INTERVIEW. (NOTE: SENATOR NUNN THEN HANDED GORBACHEV A COPY OF THE PROPOSAL.)

41. (C) GORBACHEV COMMENTED THAT THE MAIN WAY TO REDUCE THE RISKS OF CONFLICT WAS TO STOP THE ARMS RACE AND TO REDUCE OUR ARSENALS. BUT IDEAS ON HOW TO ACT TOGETHER TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF CONFLICT DEMAND ATTENTION.

42. (U) SENATOR WARNER SAID HE ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH SENATOR NUNN'S REMARKS. THE NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTION PROPOSAL HAD BEEN WORKED UPON FOR THREE YEARS BY SOME OF THE BEST MINDS IN THE UNITED STATES. FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, SENATOR WARNER SAID, I NEGOTIATED THE

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INCIDENTS AT SEA AGREEMENT. IN 1972 I SIGNED THIS

AGREEMENT TOGETHER WITH PRESIDENT NIXON. THAT AGREEMENT HAS WORKED WELL BECAUSE ADMIRAL GORSHKOV AND I AGREED THAT IT SHOULD PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, AND ON THE BASIS OF ANNUAL REVIEW, WHICH TAKE PLACE WITHOUT A GREAT DEAL OF RHETORIC. IN THAT CONNECTION, I TOO WOULD FAVOR ANNUAL SUMMIT MEETINGS. I RECENTLY APPROACHED PRESIDENT REAGAN TO URGE THAT THE INCIDENTS AT SEA TALKS, WHICH WERE TO BE HELD IN THE UNITED STATES IN JUNE, BE RESCHEDULED. I HOPE THIS WILL BE DONE.

43. (C) GORBACHEV THANKED THE SENATORS, NOTING THAT THE DISCUSSION HAD BEEN USEFUL. (NOTE: IT WAS THEN 3:35 P.M.) COMBS  
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