



Washington, D.C. 20520

SYSTEM II  
91139SECRET/SENSITIVE

November 9, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: The President's Letter to Chernenko

The Department of State has reviewed the NSC's revised version of our draft Presidential letter to Chernenko. While we concur in most of the proposed changes, we believe that the following points should be reinstated:

1) The two paragraphs reiterating our proposal for an interim agreement on offensive arms and ASAT. The President himself broached this suggestion to Gromyko on September 28. Secretary Shultz reiterated it on instructions to Ambassador Dobrynin, as he reported to the President on October 26; and Assistant Secretary Burt responded to questions on the proposal from Soviet Embassy DCM Sokolov on November 8. For the President's letter to fail to reiterate this proposal, and to focus exclusively on procedural aspects of arms control talks, would be a major step backward: it would send a signal to Moscow that there was no substance to previous U.S. statements that we have specific ideas that we are interested in exploring with the Soviets; this would, in turn, discourage the Soviets from responding favorably to the proposal for "umbrella" talks.

2) The sentence in the discussion of the umbrella concept referring to an increasingly active role to be played by Foreign Ministers. Secretary Shultz has previously made this point to both Gromyko and Dobrynin in describing what the President meant by "umbrella" talks. To fail to mention the central role of the Foreign Ministers would at best confuse the Soviets, and at worst undercut our efforts to engage the Soviets in high-level exchanges on ways to resume a serious arms control dialogue. In addition, by failing to mention the central role of Foreign Ministers, we risk Gromyko perceiving the entire proposal as a means of trying to cut him out of the arms control dialogue. This will almost certainly lead him to veto the idea.

3) The sentence on Foreign Minister Gromyko having welcomed Secretary Shultz's statement on faithfully implementing agreements flowing out of World War II. This statement, a reiteration of our traditional policy, was characterized by

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Gromyko as a "very important" statement, and it probably had a positive impact on his Politburo colleagues as well. Reiterating the statement in the letter to Chernenko is a cost-free way of emphasizing the President's determination to negotiate seriously and stand by any commitments he undertakes.

In addition, we believe that the phrase "special negotiators," used in discussing the broader umbrella over our arms control efforts, should be changed to "special representatives." In discussing the umbrella talks, we should avoid any reference which could lead the Soviets to think that we are trying to finesse them back into formal negotiations. We maximize our chances of getting umbrella talks started by using a more neutral formulation.

Attached is a revised version of the letter with the changes recommended above.

*Brackinley*  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As Stated

National Security Council  
The White House

System # II

Package # 91139

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
Bob Kimmitt	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
John Poindexter	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
Tom Shull	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
Wilma Hall	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
Bud McFarlane	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
NSC Secretariat	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	
Situation Room	<u>2</u>	<u>W/C</u>	<u>DACOM</u>

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

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

*Bud,*  
 This is Jack Matlock's latest version that I also gave Mike yesterday with caveat not to do anything with it if it would cause problems.  
*John*