

~~Matlock~~

9146

File

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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Jack  
I had  
sent  
already  
to forward  
Marty  
thank  
Zed

ACTION

November 13, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Art Hartman's Comments on Geneva

In case it has not already come to your attention, I want to be sure you see Art Hartman's cable on Gorbachev and his likely approach to the Geneva meeting. It is an excellent assessment of the man and his style. I think it is well worth sharing with the President.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I forwarding Art Hartman's assessment of Gorbachev.

Approve *M*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Cable from Art Hartman

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Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
WITH EXEMPTIONS  
BY *US* 7/2/02

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Art Hartman's Comments on Geneva

Issue

To review the attached cable from Art Hartman.

Facts

Art Hartman has sent in a personal assessment of Gorbachev and his likely approach to your Geneva meeting.

Discussion

Art has had extensive direct contact with Gorbachev. His assessment of the man and his style is excellent and well worth reviewing.

Recommendation

OK

No

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

That you review the cable from Art Hartman at Tab A.

Attachment:

Tab A Cable from Art Hartman

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Declassify on: OADR

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
CIS 7/2/02



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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7014

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NLRR FOI-116/3 #7997

BY CIV NARA DATE 10/31/07

SPECIAL ENCRYPTION

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, UR, US  
SUBJECT: GORBACHEV AND THE GENEVA MEETING

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SINCE YOU AND I HAVE SEEN MORE OF GORBACHEV THAN ANYONE ELSE ON OUR SIDE, I WANTED TO GIVE YOU MY THOUGHTS ON HIS PERSONALITY, HIS LIKELY BEHAVIOR WITH THE PRESIDENT IN GENEVA, AND THE TACTICS THE PRESIDENT MIGHT FOLLOW IN DEALING WITH THIS MAN.

GORBACHEV'S PERSONALITY  
-----

3. TO USE A FAMILIAR IDIOM, THE NEW GENERAL SECRETARY COULD BE PLAYED CONVINCINGLY BY GEORGE C. SCOTT BUT NOT BY JIMMY STEWART. HE IS INTENSE, SELF-ASSURED AND ASSERTIVE. IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE WHY:

-- HIS RISE IN THIS TOUGH, DEMANDING BUREAUCRACY HAS BEEN METEORIC, AND HE DIDN'T MAKE IT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT AT THE TENDER (FOR THIS PLACE)

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AGE OF 47 BY BEING A MARSHMALLOW.

-- IN ADDITION TO HIS INNATE QUALITIES, HE KNOWS HE PERSONIFIES THE SOVIET UNION, AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S IMAGE SUFFERED BADLY UNDER HIS DECREPIT PREDECESSORS.

-- WITH ONLY NINE MONTHS AS GENERAL SECRETARY, HE STILL FEELS UNDER PRESSURE TO PROVE HE IS UP TO THE AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES HE HAS INHERITED.

-- IN PARTICULAR, HE WANTS HIS BEHAVIOR TO REFLECT HIS CONCEPT OF WHAT THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE: DYNAMIC, PROUD, CLEAR-EYED ABOUT TODAY'S PROBLEMS AND COMPETENT TO OVERCOME TOMORROW'S CHALLENGES.

--  
4. I THINK WE HAVE SEEN ENOUGH OF HIM TO CONCLUDE THAT HE HAS A RIGID CAST OF MIND AND CAN APPROACH ARROGANCE IN REJECTING IDEAS THAT CLASH WITH HIS PRECONCEPTIONS. HE HAS DONE THIS REPEATEDLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. HE DID IT IN OUR MOST RECENT MEETING WHEN YOU LINKED AFGHANISTAN TO THE DEMISE OF SALT II. IN SHORT, THIS IS A MAN WHO REFUSES TO BE CONFUSED OR EVEN CONFRONTED WITH UNPLEASANT FACTS. INSTEAD, HE IS MORE THE DEFENSIVE LAWYER WAITING (BUT NOT NECESSARILY LISTENING) FOR THE CHANCE TO GET HIS PUNCH IN.

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GORBACHEV'S LIKELY DEMEANOR AT GENEVA  
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5. HIS MEETING WITH YOU LAST TUESDAY, PLUS HIS EARLIER SESSIONS WITH THE O'NEILL AND BYRD GROUPS,

SHOW THAT GORBACHEV HAS ABSORBED A VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

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THAT IMPEDES AND SOMETIMES TOTALLY FRUSTRATES SERIOUS  
DISCUSSION. IN HIS MIND, WE REPRESENT THE "REAL"  
EVIL EMPIRE, HINDERING AS BEST WE CAN THE USSR'S  
EFFORTS TO LEAD MANKIND TO ITS "BRIGHT FUTURE."

--  
6. HE IS NOT AN IDEOLOGUE, CONCERNED ABOUT  
DOCTRINAL SUBTLETIES (ALTHOUGH HIS WIFE, WHO HAS  
A DOCTORATE IN "PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES," MAY BE).  
GORBACHEV NONETHELESS IS A TRUE BELIEVER IN HIS  
SYSTEM AND HIS PARTY'S CAUSE. HE IS ZEALOUS,  
AS WELL AS TOUGH AND ABLE, AND THIS IS ANOTHER KEY  
TO HIS SUCCESS.

--  
7. DOBRYNIN MAY BE RIGHT IN TELLING YOU THAT  
GORBACHEV WILL NOT BE AS VITUPERATIVE WITH THE  
PRESIDENT AS HE WAS WITH US ON NOVEMBER 5. BUT  
THE GENERAL SECRETARY IS UNLIKELY TO CONCEDE  
ANY SOVIET RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DETERIORATION  
OF OUR RELATIONS OVER THE PAST DECADE. ACCORDING  
TO HIS DISTORTED VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, "SHAPED  
BY THE LIKES OF DOBRYNIN AND ARBATOV:

-- A SMALL CIRCLE OF ANTI-SOVIET HAWKS AROUND THE  
PRESIDENT IS DETERMINED TO FORCE THE USSR TO ITS  
KNEES.

-- THEY DELUDE THEMSELVES INTO BELIEVING THE  
SOVIET ECONOMY IS ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE AND  
THUS MOSCOW WILL IN THE END SWALLOW UNEQUAL ARMS  
CONTROL AGREEMENTS.

-- THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S WARPED VIEW OF THE  
SOVIET UNION IMPEDES IF NOT TOTALLY FRUSTRATES SERIOUS  
DISCUSSION (THE MIRROR IMAGE OF OUR ASSESSMENT OF  
HIS VIEW OF US).

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8. GORBACHEV HAS RESORTED TO A NUMBER OF TACTICAL DEVICES TO ENSURE THAT HIS VIEW OF REALITY IS NOT CHALLENGED. THESE INCLUDE:

-- A COMBATIVE INSISTENCE THAT THE USSR MUST, IN WORD AND DEED, BE ACCORDED EQUAL STATUS WITH THE UNITED STATES. AS GENERAL SECRETARY, GORBACHEV SEEMS DISINCLINED TO DEFER TO AMERICAN INTERLOCUTORS, IN CONTRAST TO THE ATTITUDE OF HIS AMIABLE FOREIGN MINISTER.

-- IN PARTICULAR, GORBACHEV IS INTOLERANT OF EFFORTS TO LAY OUT GENERAL PROPOSITIONS ABOUT THE U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONSHIP AND THEN APPLY THEM TO THE CURRENT SITUATION. ON SUCH OCCASIONS, HE WILL INTERRUPT (AT TIMES IN MID-TRANSLATION) TO CHALLENGE WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE A FALSE PREMISE.

-- HE IS ALSO ADEPT AT BRINGING AN ISOLATED FACT FROM LEFT FIELD TO THROW HIS INTERLOCUTOR ON THE DEFENSIVE (E.G., THAT YOU AND CAP WERE BUSINESS COLLEAGUES, THAT WE CHOSE A NEW YORK CRIMINAL LAWYER TO ANALYZE THE ABM TREATY, THE PRESIDENT'S MISQUOTATION OF LENIN).

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IMPLICATIONS FOR GENEVA  
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9. THIS VIEW OF GORBACHEV HAS SEVERAL IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR APPROACH TO GENEVA. FIRST, WE NEED TO BE COLDLY REALISTIC BOTH WITH OURSELVES AND WITH

THE PUBLIC ABOUT WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED AT AN INITIAL REAGAN-GORBACHEV MEETING. THE SOBER TONE OF YOUR MOSCOW PRESS CONFERENCE WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. I AM HAPPY THAT THE VARIOUS VOICES IN WASHINGTON CONTINUE IN A SIMILARLY REALISTIC

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DIRECTION.

10. SECOND, WE ARE NOW ON THE RIGHT TRACK TO TAKE EVERYONE'S EYE OFF A POSSIBLE IMPRECISE COMMUNIQUE OR VAGUELY-WORDED PSEUDO-AGREEMENT. THIS MEETING HAS TO CONCENTRATE ON HOW WE GET A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP STARTED. NOT MUCH MEAT FOR A JOINT STATEMENT THERE.

11. THIRD, ON A TACTICAL LEVEL THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR CONTENTIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH GORBACHEV. IT WILL BE A TALL ORDER TO CHALLENGE HIS INTELLECTUAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PRECONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES AND U. S. - SOVIET RELATIONS. WHILE THE GENERAL SECRETARY WILL ATTEMPT TO GIVE AS GOOD AS HE GETS, SEVERAL TECHNIQUES SHOULD BE HELPFUL TO BLUNT HIS ASSERTIVENESS:

-- A FRANK, STRAIGHTFORWARD APPROACH IS ADVISABLE. HE IS A MAN WHO COMES DIRECTLY TO THE POINT. HE WILL BE LESS COMBATIVE IF HE SENSES THAT THE PRESIDENT IS SIMILARLY DIRECT.

-- GORBACHEV WILL NOT ADMIT BASIC MISTAKES ON THE SOVIET UNION'S PART. HE SHOULD BE QUIETLY REMINDED THAT THIS PRETENSE OF INFALLIBILITY IS NOT CREDIBLE, THAT ALL LEADERS ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO MISCALCULATIONS AND WE FRANKLY REGARD THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AS PARTICULARLY SO BECAUSE IT OPERATES ON THE BASIS OF AN UNREALISTIC CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS.

-- WE SHOULD THROW HIS RIGIDITY INTO CONTRAST BY BEING CANDID ABOUT OUR OWN MISTAKES (E. G., THE FAULTY LENIN QUOTATION, THE MISSTATEMENT ABOUT THE

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RUSSIAN WORD FOR FREEDOM).

-- HE CAN BE MERCURIAL IN HIS MOOD CHANGES. PERIODIC  
INJECTIONS OF HUMOR WILL BE USEFUL IN DEFUSING HIS  
AGGRESSIVENESS.

-- IF HE TALKS TOO LONG OR TOO ASSERTIVELY, THE  
PRESIDENT SHOULD CALMLY HOLD UP HIS HAND AND WITH A  
SMILE SAY: "DON'T OUR PEOPLE EXPECT MORE OF US.  
WON'T WE GET FURTHER IF WE HAVE A SIMPLE CONVERSATION  
AND NOT A DEBATE." IN SUM, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD  
NOT HESITATE TO USE HIS SENIOR (IN AGE AND POSITION)  
PLACE TO CALM HIS INTERLOCUTOR AND GET HIM BACK  
ON THE TRACK.

--  
12. THE LAST IS THE MOST IMPORTANT BECAUSE  
THE IMPRESSION WE WANT TO LEAVE WITH MR. GORBACHEV  
IS THAT WE ARE LED BY A STRONG, CALM, SURE-FOOTED,  
UNCOMPLICATED AND HUMANE MAN WHO WITH PATIENCE SEEKS  
WAYS TOWARD MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS. THIS IS  
THE PRESIDENT. NO ACTING REQUIRED.  
HARTMAN

SECRET

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