

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1988

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George P. Shultz *GPS*
SUBJECT: Gorbachev Letter on Krasnoyarsk

Soviet Ambassador Dubinin called on me today. He delivered a Gorbachev letter responding to your August 12 message on Krasnoyarsk (an unofficial translation is attached). Gorbachev:

- writes that we should not let "mutual" complaints about ABM Treaty compliance undermine what we have achieved;
- recalls the Soviet offer to dismantle the "equipment" at Krasnoyarsk if we agree to observe the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972;
- repeats alleged Soviet concerns about U.S. radars at Thule and Fylingdales Moor (although without linking these directly to Krasnoyarsk) and the Soviet request to visit the Thule radar; and
- offers to discuss measures to convert Krasnoyarsk into an international space research center, and invites U.S. scientists to travel there to explore this.

There is no suggestion of any physical changes to the radar facility in the process of its proposed conversion to a "center for international cooperation in peaceful space activities." I put the question directly to Dubinin; he could not answer.

The Soviets appear to be seeking a fig leaf to resolve the Krasnoyarsk issue. At first glance, this seems little more than a variation of the "joint manning" idea informally floated to General Burns during the ABM Treaty review. If so, our

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response can only be negative: it neither corrects the violation nor lengthens the lead-time for ABM breakout that the Soviets have gained through construction of Krasnoyarsk to date. In fact, conversion of the radar to a "research center" would presumably entail our agreement to completion and activation of the radar.

Whether Gorbachev's letter represents the final Soviet word or an opening gambit setting the stage for Shevardnadze to offer something more substantial next week remains to be seen. I intend to press Shevardnadze hard on meeting our concern over Krasnoyarsk, and tell him that this idea does not suffice.

Attachment:
as stated