

## THE WHITEHOUSE

WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Mikhail Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Ed A. Hewett, Notetaker

Mikhail Gorbachev, President  
Peter Afanasevko, Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: October 5, 1991, 1:30-2:00 PM EDT  
Camp David

~~The President:~~ Hello, Mikhail? (U)

~~President Gorbachev:~~ Mr. President? Is that you George? (U)

~~The President:~~ Mikhail, I didn't recognize your voice. (U)

~~President Gorbachev:~~ We generally say that if someone doesn't recognize you, you'll be a wealthy man. (U)

~~The President:~~ I hope so. (U)

~~President Gorbachev:~~ I'm glad to hear you. All these days, despite the considerable problems here, I've been looking into your initiative. I asked Pankin to send a written version of my proposal -- which I will be announcing in about an hour -- to Bartholomew. I wanted to give you a brief summary of the primary points. (U)

I emphasize again the importance of this initiative by the President of the United States. I greet the approach of the President, focused on nuclear disarmament, unilateral actions, and an appeal for action. (U)

In a concrete sense, in the area of tactical nuclear weapons, we are reacting adequately to the initiative of the President. At the same time we are developing initiatives to continue these trends. 1827

We want to fully destroy tactical nuclear weapons on sea forces, on a mutual basis to withdraw tactical armaments of sea forces, including bombs. The weapons withdrawn should be stored at bases in nuclear stockpiles. (U)

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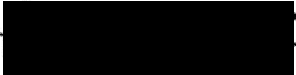
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I also suggest that the other nuclear powers join the U.S. and the Soviet Union in these far-reaching measures. (C)

I want to offer further confirmation for my past support for a speedy ratification of START. Also, in the strategic area I will announce the following initiatives: (C)

- Heavy bombers will be taken off alert. Their nuclear arms will be stockpiled. (C)
- We will cease the modernization of tactical nuclear missiles for bombers. (A)
- We will stop the modernization of mobile, small-size, ICBM's. (A)
- We will not [redacted] beyond existing numbers those [redacted] on railroads. (C)
- We will not increase the number of ICBM's with MIRVed warheads. (C)
- All ICBM's on railroads will be kept in permanent places. (C)
- We will take off of alert 3530 ICBM's, including 434 MIRVed missiles. (A)
- We intend to make deeper cuts than those called for in START, going to 5,000 warheads by the end of the period called for in START, rather than the 6,000 called for in the treaty. (A)
- We propose the U.S. begin talks right after ratification of START to radically reduce strategic nuclear armaments, cutting by 50%. (C)
- We are ready to discuss with the U.S. side their [redacted] ions for creating a non-nuclear system of strategic de [redacted]. We suggest creating a common system for advanced prevention against "eventual" nuclear strikes. (S)
- I will today announce another 1-year moratorium on nuclear testing, and invite the other powers to join us. (C)
- I will also suggest to elaborate together with the U.S. a plan to stop the production of fissionable materials. (C)
- There are other points -- I won't list them all. (U)
- We will reduce our army by 700,000 men. (C)
- If you don't mind, I will be ready to suggest a new Summit may be on the horizon to discuss the situation. (C)
- These are the main points. (U)



The President: Very bold. We'll look at the details when we receive them. I commend you on your forthcoming statement. This is very exciting. We will look carefully at every detail, and then get back to you to tell you our thoughts on all these proposals. ~~(S)~~

President Gorbachev: George, I think our experts have already started their talks. They'll be able to look at the details. ~~(S)~~

New spheres of cooperation are being opened. Some hours ago I talked to Yeltsin. He asked to transmit greetings to you. ~~(S)~~

The President: OK. (U)

President Gorbachev: Regarding general problems, we are in quite an important phase now. The twelve republics have drafted an agreement on economic union. I plan to convene on the 11th a State Council meeting to finalize the agreement. Basically the draft is the one you know -- the Yavlinsky Program. ~~(S)~~

Working with Yeltsin and the experts, we've prepared a new draft of the Union Treaty. It is now being circulated among the republics. There are many nuances here. The pressures are increasing on Yeltsin. I still get significant confirmation that Yeltsin will follow the agreement we reached together. I know of your activities, they have been conveyed. I believe there is a common understanding here. ~~(S)~~

This morning I met with Michel Camdessus, Director of the IMF, and we exchanged letters confirming the Soviet Union as an Associate member. ~~(S)~~

All this means we have a lot to do here. I appreciate the support we are receiving. ~~(S)~~

~~(S)~~. Say hello to Barbara. In a few minutes I'll be on Soviet T.V. (U)

The President: Thanks for the courtesy of this call. Barbara and I are at Camp David. Tomorrow the King of Spain will be here. I will be following the coverage of your speech with great interest. I am sure it will be received well worldwide. Both of us have a responsibility to rally something for the generations that follow us. ~~(S)~~

Barbara just walked out of the room. She sends her very best to Raisa. I'll be in touch. Thanks for the call. (U)

President Gorbachev: OK. All the best... (U)

--End of Conversation--