

SECRET

RELEASED IN FULL

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 002449

NODIS **DECAPTIONED**

E.O. 12356: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RS  
SUBJECT: YEL'TSIN-BUSH LETTER

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. REQUEST DEPARTMENT TRANSMIT TO WHITE HOUSE THE FOLLOWING UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE YEL'TSIN-BUSH LETTER, HANDED TO US ON JANUARY 27 AT 3:30 P.M. ORIGINAL WILL BE POUCHED TO S/S.

BEGIN TEXT.

JANUARY 27, 1992

NO. PR-217

DEAR GEORGE|

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I WANT TO EXPRESS TO YOU MY APPRECIATION FOR YOUR WARM AND SUBSTANTIVE MESSAGE OF JANUARY 22, 1992, WHICH I IMMEDIATELY EVALUATED MOST HIGHLY. I SHARE THE APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS OUTLINED IN IT.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT OF YOUR MESSAGE, THE ASPIRATION IT EXPRESSES TO FREE OURSELVES ONCE AND FOR ALL FROM ELEMENTS OF THE HERITAGE OF CONFRONTATION FROM THE RECENT PAST, THE CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON QUESTIONS OF FURTHER RADICAL CUTS IN OUR MILITARY STRUCTURES, ABOVE ALL NUCLEAR STRUCTURES, CREATE A SOLID BASIS FOR NEW MUTUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE U.S.

READING YOUR MESSAGE, I REACHED A FIRM CONCLUSION:  
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE EVERYTHING IT TAKES FROM

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Geoffrey Chapman, Senior Reviewer

THE VERY BEGINNING TO BECOME RELATIONS OF DEEP MUTUAL TRUST AND ALLIANCE.

THIS CONCLUSION IS BASED ON THE SOLID FOUNDATION OF THE MOST PROFOUND TRANSFORMATIONS THAT ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED IN OUR SOCIETY. IT IS PAINFULLY FREEING ITSELF FROM THE FETTERS OF TOTALITARIANISM AND MILITARIZED IDEOLOGY. OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS BEING INFUSED WITH IDEALS OF HUMANISM AND COMMON HUMAN VALUES. IT IS PERVADED BY RUSSIA'S ASPIRATION TO OCCUPY A WORTHY PLACE AMONG CIVILIZED PEOPLES.

WE, THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA AND AMERICA, ARE JOINTLY SHAPING THE SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL POLICIES OF OUR COUNTRIES FROM A WHOLE NEW BEGINNING. I FULLY SHARE YOUR  
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RELUCTANCE TO BECOME INVOLVED IN FRUITLESS DEBATES OR TO RETURN TO "OLD THINKING" WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. OUR THOUGHTS AND MOTIVATIONS COINCIDE. I REJECT THE CONCEPT OF A "POTENTIAL ADVERSARY" WITH RESPECT TO THE U.S. YOU, IN TURN, WRITE OF THE ABSENCE OF ANY THREAT TO RUSSIA FROM THE WEST.

ALL THIS CONSTITUTES THE MOST IMPORTANT INGREDIENTS OF A COMPLETELY NEW POLITICAL REALITY -- A WORLD ORDER DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH CAME BEFORE. BASED ON THIS NEW REALITY, WE ARE ABLE TO IMPLEMENT BASIC POSITIVE TRANSFORMATIONS IN OUR MUTUAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS AT A PACE WHICH COULD NOT HAVE BEEN DREAMED OF PREVIOUSLY.

IT IS FROM THIS POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW THAT I SO OPTIMISTICALLY CONTEMPLATE THE POSSIBILITIES OPENED UP BY YOUR MESSAGE.  
GEORGE, I VALUE HIGHLY THE APPROACH WHICH HAS TAKEN SHAPE IN OUR RELATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH, IN THE COURSE OF A FEW MONTHS, RUSSIA AND THE U.S. ARE ALREADY IMPLEMENTING FAR-REACHING PARALLEL STEPS TOWARD AN ACCELERATED REDUCTION OF THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS. I WELCOME THE RELEVANT NEW U.S. INITIATIVES WHICH YOU INTEND TO ANNOUNCE ON JANUARY 28.

I WANT TO INFORM YOU THAT WE ALSO HAVE DECIDED ON ADDITIONAL MEASURES, WHICH WE INTEND TO IMPLEMENT WITHOUT ANY CONDITIONS OR LINKAGES. THEY CONCERN THE FOLLOWING:

- THE PRODUCTION OF THE TU-160 AND TU-95MS HEAVY BOMBERS IS BEING DISCONTINUED.

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- THE PRODUCTION OF EXISTING TYPES OF LONG-RANGE ALCMS IS BEING DISCONTINUED.
- THE PRODUCTION OF EXISTING TYPES OF LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR SLCMS IS BEING DISCONTINUED AND NEW TYPES OF SUCH MISSILES WILL NOT BE CREATED.
- WE ARE FOREGOING MILITARY EXERCISES INVOLVING THE PARTICIPATION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF HEAVY BOMBERS. THIS MEANS THAT THERE WILL NOT BE MORE THAN 30 HEAVY BOMBERS IN ANY ONE EXERCISE.
- THE NUMBER OF SSBNS ON COMBAT PATROL HAS BEEN CUT IN HALF AND WILL BE FURTHER REDUCED.
- THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS FOR LAND-BASED

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 MOSCOW 002449

NODIS

E.O. 12356: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RS  
SUBJECT: YEL'TSIN-BUSH LETTER

TACTICAL MISSILES, NUCLEAR ARTILLERY SHELLS, AND NUCLEAR MINES HAS BEEN DISCONTINUED. THE STOCKS OF SUCH NUCLEAR WARHEADS, AS WE HAVE ALREADY SAID, WILL

BE ELIMINATED.

- WE HAVE BEGUN IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES TO ELIMINATE ONE THIRD OF OUR SEA-BASED TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND HALF OF THE NUCLEAR WARHEADS FOR ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES.
- STOCKS OF AIR-DELIVERED TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL BE REDUCED BY ONE-HALF.

LET ME MENTION ONE MORE IMPORTANT MEASURE THAT WE ARE CARRYING OUT UNILATERALLY. DURING A THREE-YEAR PERIOD  
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RUSSIA WILL REDUCE THE QUANTITY OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ON ALERT STATUS, DOWN TO THE MAXIMUM AGGREGATE LEVELS OF TREATY-LIMITED WEAPONS AGREED TO IN START.

THIS STEP OF OURS MEANS THAT THE QUANTITY OF RUSSIAN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO REDUCTIONS DURING THE SEVEN-YEAR PERIOD AFTER THE START TREATY ENTERED INTO FORCE WOULD, OVER THE COURSE OF THREE YEARS, BE TAKEN OUT OF A CONDITION ALLOWING THEM TO BE QUICKLY USED FOR COMBAT PURPOSES. WE ARE COUNTING ON RECIPROCITY IN THIS FROM THE U.S. SIDE. MOREOVER, BY ACTING JOINTLY, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ACCELERATE THIS PROCESS.

RUSSIA FAVORS NOT HAVING OUR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS WHICH WILL REMAIN AFTER REDUCTIONS TARGETED ON RUSSIAN OR U.S. TARGETS.

GEORGE, THIS WOULD REPRESENT PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW MILITARY-STRATEGIC POLICY IN OUR RELATIONS. I SEE IN THIS A REAL GUARANTEE OF MUTUAL SECURITY, PREDICTABILITY AND STABILITY.

IN ADDITION, WE HAVE PREPARED A SET OF MEASURES WHICH WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO PUT INTO PRACTICE, SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. WE ARE PREPARED ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS TO RENOUNCE ALTOGETHER THE PRACTICE OF MILITARY PATROLS BY NUCLEAR-POWERED BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES (SSBNS), TO ELIMINATE ALL LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR SLCMS, AND TO RENOUNCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR ALCMS. ALSO ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS WE ARE  
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PREPARED TO REMOVE REMAINING NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM FRONT-LINE (TACTICAL) AVIATION UNITS AND LOCATE THEM AT

CENTRALIZED STORAGE BASES.

I ATTENTIVELY FAMILIARIZED MYSELF WITH YOUR PROPOSALS FOR A FURTHER REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS. THE APPROACH WHICH YOU HAVE SUGGESTED OPENS A PROMISING POSSIBILITY FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. THE IDEA OF PROHIBITING MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLES (MIRVS) ON BALLISTIC MISSILES IS VERY ATTRACTIVE. IT APPEARS THAT THE ROOT OF EVIL - FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THREATS TO STABILITY - LIES PRECISELY IN SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES, WHICH GIVE ONE MIRVED ICBM OR SLBM THE MEANS TO DESTROY SEVERAL TARGETS. THIS CIRCUMSTANCE CAN ALSO SERVE AS A STIMULUS FOR A PREEMPTIVE STRIKE. WE MUST COMPLETELY ELIMINATE SUCH A STIMULUS.

IN CONNECTION WITH THIS, SHOULD WE NOT CONSIDER PROCEEDING TO ELIMINATE MIRVS ON GROUND-LAUNCHED AS WELL AS SEA-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES. RUSSIA SUGGESTS JUST SUCH AN APPROACH. WE COULD JOINTLY PUSH AHEAD TOWARD BALLISTIC MISSILE ARSENALS FOR BOTH SIDES WHICH WOULD CONSIST OF ONLY SINGLE-WARHEAD MISSILES. THIS WOULD CREATE A STABLE STRATEGIC SITUATION, EXCLUDING THE VERY POSSIBILITY OF A PREEMPTIVE STRIKE.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SCALE OF REDUCTIONS, THIS PROPOSAL IS UNPRECEDENTED. IN RUSSIA'S CASE, THE REDUCTIONS WOULD TOTAL BETWEEN SEVEN AND EIGHT THOUSAND NUCLEAR WARHEADS, THE U.S. WOULD REDUCE ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARSENAL IN THE RANGE OF FROM SIX AND ONE-HALF TO SEVEN AND ONE-HALF THOUSAND WARHEADS. AND THIS IS ONLY  
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FOR ICBMS AND SLBMS.

IN THE PROCESS OF RADICAL REDUCTIONS WE OUGHT ALSO TO INCLUDE STRATEGIC AVIATION, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS WITH WHICH HEAVY BOMBERS ARE ACTUALLY ARMED.

AFTER SUCH REDUCTIONS EACH SIDE WOULD RETAIN ON THE ORDER OF 2000-2500 STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WARHEADS. IN OTHER WORDS, OUR CURRENT STRATEGIC ARSENALS WOULD BE REDUCED MANY TIMES OVER.

GEORGE, THE PROCESSES OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, WHICH YOU AND I ARE CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTING, WOULD BE INCOMPLETE AND INSUFFICIENT IF THEY WERE CARRIED OUT ONLY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE USA. OTHER NUCLEAR STATE  
S -- CHINA, GREAT BRITAIN, AND FRANCE --

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 002449

NODIS

E.O. 12356: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PARM, RS  
SUBJECT: YEL'TSIN-BUSH LETTER

SHOULD NOT REMAIN ON THE SIDELINES AND INCREASE THEIR  
OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARSENALS WITHOUT ANY CONTROL. THIS  
COULD SERIOUSLY DESTABILIZE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION  
EVEN IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. IT IS TIME TO GET THEM  
INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

THESE ARE MY COMMENTS AND PROPOSALS IN CONNECTION WITH  
YOUR EXCEPTIONALLY USEFUL AND BOLD INITIATIVES. I INTEND  
TO SHARE THESE THOUGHTS WITH THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA IN THE  
NEXT FEW DAYS. I AM COUNTING ON A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF  
OPINIONS ON THESE QUESTIONS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT YOUR AND  
MY LETTERS, DURING OUR UPCOMING MEETING AT CAMP DAVID ON  
FEBRU/RY 1. DURING WORKING CONSULTATIONS OUR EXPERTS  
COULD WORK OUT PRACTICAL ASPECTS, CONNECTED WITH THE

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ACCOMPLISHMENT OF SO MASSIVE A REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC  
OFFENSIVE ARMS.

I APPRECIATE YOUR CONFIRMATION OF WILLINGNESS ON THE U.S.  
SIDE TO RENDER US EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE IN THE ELIMINATION  
OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS. THE RECENT MOSCOW EXCHANGE OF

OPINIONS ON THIS QUESTION AT THE EXPERT LEVEL, AS IT WAS REPORTED TO ME, ALREADY IDENTIFIED POSSIBLE AREAS FOR COOPERATION.

GEORGE, I INTEND ALSO TO LAY OUT IN A LETTER TO U.N. GENERAL SECRETARY BUTROS GHALI THE MEASURES I LISTED IN THIS LETTER ON THE REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AS WELL AS OUR APPROACH ON OTHER IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF DISARMAMENT.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE WORLD WILL BE FREED FROM THE BURDEN OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY OUR COMMON EFFORTS. THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRIES AND OF THE WHOLE WORLD DESERVE A BETTER LIFE.

AND IN CONCLUSION I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT WE ARE DEEPLY SATISFIED WITH THE CONFERENCE HELD IN WASHINGTON ON QUESTIONS OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO OUR PEOPLES, AND WE EXPRESS OUR THANKS TO YOU PERSONALLY AND TO YOUR ADMINISTRATION FOR PLAYING THE ROLE OF INITIATOR IN CONVENING THIS INTERNATIONAL FORUM. OUR ECONOMY AND OUR ENTIRE SOCIETY ARE LIVING THROUGH A PERIOD OF RADICAL REFORM. THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE U.S.A. AND THE ENTIRE WORLD COMMUNITY IS NOW ESPECIALLY VALUABLE. THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN.

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UNTIL OUR MEETING IN THE NEAREST FUTURE.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED)

B. YEL'TSIN.

END TEXT. STRAUSS

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