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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

XVII. 9a

October 16, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR AMBASSADOR REGINALD BARTHOLOMEW  
MR. J. D. CROUCH  
MR. VICTOR ALESSI  
MR. DOUGLAS MACEACHIN  
LTG JOHN SHALIKASHVILI  
AMBASSADOR READ HANMER

FROM: JOHN GORDON *Gordon*  
SUBJECT: Nuclear Initiatives -- Proposed Announcement

Attached is the latest revision of the proposed press statement on the President's nuclear initiative. It reflects comments received by 7:00 pm today.

Current plans are for release early next week.

Please hold this closely.

Attachment  
Proposed Announcement

Office of the Secretary of Defense *5456952*  
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS *and*  
Date: *29 AUG 2013* Authority: EO 13526  
Declassify: *X* Deny in Full: \_\_\_\_\_  
Declassify in Part: \_\_\_\_\_  
Reason: \_\_\_\_\_  
MDR: *13-M-3514*

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October 16, 1991  
1900 hrs

DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT

On September 27, President Bush announced a far-reaching initiative to eliminate all U.S. ground-launched tactical nuclear weapons world-wide, to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from U.S. ships and submarines and land-based naval aircraft, to take immediate steps to strengthen strategic stability, to cancel certain modernization programs, to join in immediate concrete steps to permit the limited deployment of non-nuclear defenses, and to begin discussions with the Soviet government on the safe and environmentally sound destruction of nuclear warheads, on the safety and security of nuclear weapons and on nuclear command and control.

Shortly after his speech, the President sent a high-level team to Moscow, headed by Under Secretary Reginald Bartholomew, to explain in detail the U.S. initiative and facilitate a positive Soviet response. While this team was in Moscow, President Gorbachev gave his response in a speech outlining a number of unilateral steps to be taken by the Soviet Union and suggesting some steps that would require joint actions.

We have now had the opportunity to study President Gorbachev's response and to consider the discussions held by the U.S. team

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while in Moscow. We have also had an extensive exchange of views with our allies on the Soviet response.

President Gorbachev has responded positively and boldly to President Bush's initiative. His decision to take comparable unilateral steps to eliminate the vast majority of the Soviet Union's ground-launched tactical nuclear weapons and to remove all tactical nuclear weapons from naval vessels and land-based naval aircraft is a major step forward. His decision to stand down from alert a number of strategic systems and confine rail-mobile ICBMs to their garrisons is consistent with our own approach. The cancellation of a number of strategic modernization programs is welcome and we look forward to a Soviet announcement to limit their ICBM modernization program to one type of single warhead ICBM, as the United States.

As a result of the steps that President Bush has announced and are already being implemented, and the steps that President Gorbachev has announced, thousands of nuclear weapons will be eliminated on both sides. As U.S. plans are finalized, we will be providing the Soviets information on the status of the withdrawals and eliminations, and look forward to receiving similar information from them.

We will soon be in contact with the Soviets to arrange the initial meetings to discuss methods for the safe storage,

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transportation and dismantlement of nuclear warheads, safety and security of nuclear warheads and nuclear command and control.

We are pleased with President Gorbachev's agreement to consider the U.S. proposal to permit limited non-nuclear defenses against limited ballistic missile threats. Those discussions have already begun with positive and constructive exchanges with our team in Moscow and at the Defense and Space Talks in Geneva. President Gorbachev's proposal that the two countries pursue joint early warning systems reflects a common concern about being able to protect against limited missile attacks. We will be continuing discussions with the Soviets in these areas.

Some ideas raised in President Gorbachev's response, in particular the proposed central storage of air-delivered tactical nuclear weapons, will require both more analysis and detailed consultations with our allies. I would point out that the announcement made by NATO today [last week], drastically scaling back the number of air delivered weapons in Europe is in full concert with the President's initiative -- as is the renewed commitment of our allies to retain a credible nuclear deterrent in Europe.

We are also encouraged that both sides have now called for further cuts in strategic arms, beyond those in START. President Gorbachev's approach is based primarily on reducing numbers of

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strategic weapons. President Bush's proposed reductions focus on eliminating the single greatest threat to stability, ICBMs with multiple warheads. We think this focus on the most destabilizing systems is a more productive way of moving beyond START and we will continue to pursue this issue with the Soviets.

The President has decided, and I am announcing today, that in response to President Gorbachev's initiative it is U.S. policy that the United States will not produce any new fissionable material for nuclear weapons purposes. We do not believe that a agreement between the U.S. and the USSR is necessary to implement this policy. To improve openness and transparency, however, the United States will share information concerning the status of U.S. facilities with such capabilities.

[It should come as no surprise that despite the broad areas of agreement and the sharing of certain common goals, we are not in agreement on every point. For example, nuclear weapons will remain a key component of US and NATO deterrent strategy for the foreseeable future. We also do not believe that a nuclear test ban is in our national interest; it would prevent us from maintaining a safe and effective deterrent. We conduct only the bare minimum of tests, in an environmentally safe manner, to meet these objectives -- this year we will conduct the smallest number of tests in thirty years. Further, we believe that the policy of the United States and our NATO allies that we will use military

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force only defensively is superior to one focused only on the "no first use" of nuclear weapons.]

OR

[It should come as no surprise despite the broad areas of agreement and the sharing of certain common goals that we are not in agreement with the Soviets on every point. The positions of both countries in these areas are well known and will require further discussion. These should not stand in the way of making progress in other areas.]

The President is extremely encouraged by President Gorbachev's speech and the report of the discussions held in Moscow. Both sides must now implement the steps ahead of us. The United States is proceeding with those the President announced and looks forward to continuing discussions with the Soviets on a wide range of outstanding issues related to the President's initiative.

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