

Top Secret
Working notes
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**Session of the Politburo of the CC CPSU
22 October 1986**

Chaired by cde. Gorbachev M. S.

In attendance: Cdes. Aliev G.A., Gromyko A.A., Zaikov L N., Ligachev E.K., Ryzhkov, N.I., Solomentsev V.C., Chebrikov V.M., Shevardnadze, E.A., Dolgikh V.I., Yeltsin B.N., Talyzin N.V., Biryukova A.P., Dobrynin A.F., Zimyanin M.V., Medvedev V.A., Razumovski G.P., Yakovlev A.N., Kapitonov I.V.

1. About measures in connection with expulsion of Soviet diplomats from the USA.

GORBACHEV: We need to exchange opinions about measures in connection with a new hostile action of the U.S. administration. The development of events after Reykjavik shows that our "friends" in the USA do not have any constructive program, and are doing everything in order to heat up the atmosphere even more. At the same time, they act extremely rudely, behave like bandits.

SOLOMENTSEV: Yes, they behave like highway bandits.

GORBACHEV: One cannot expect any constructive actions or proposals from the U.S. administration. In the situation, which has developed we need to gain propaganda points and continue to conduct assertive explanatory work oriented toward the American and international public. Washington leadership is afraid of it. Their customs have been holding materials with my statements at the press conference in Reykjavik and on the Soviet television for the three days now.

YAKOVLEV: Cde. Bugaev just called me and said that those materials are still being held by the American customs.

GORBACHEV: We have to continue putting pressure on the American administration by explaining our positions to the public and by showing the responsibility of the

American side for the breakdown of an agreement on the issues of reductions and elimination of nuclear weapons.

Most recently, Reagan and his circle could not find anything better than to undertake one more hostile action—to expel 55 Soviet diplomats. Five of our officials were pronounced *persona non grata*, as they explained in Washington, in response to our expulsion of five American diplomats, and 50 more are being expelled under the pretext of establishing equal numbers of American and Soviet diplomatic representatives.

[...]

GORBACHEV: There will be no new proposals in the speech [to the Soviet people]. Therefore, I do not see any need to do a special distribution of the text. Within the framework of the position, which we identified, we should show that the U.S. administration bears full responsibility for the defeat of the agreement in Reykjavik, that it has been undertaking fraudulent maneuvers in order to distort the facts and to confuse the public. We could also say that the development of situation after Reykjavik shows that Reagan cannot keep a rein over his crowd.

GROMYKO: We can say this, but in such a form that we do not absolve Reagan himself.

GORBACHEV: Yes, Reagan acts like a liar. We need to find an appropriate wording for this.

*Source: The Volkogonov Collection, U.S. Library of Congress
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