

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Executive Secretariat, National
Security Council: Country File

Folder Title:

USSR (12/29/1981-12/30/1981)

Box: RAC Box 22

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KDB 11/3/2015

File Folder USSR (12/29/81-12/30/81)

FOIA

F03-002/5

Box Number 22

SKINNER

227

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170249	CABLE	STATE 341690 R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-9-1-3	4	12/29/1981	B1
170481	CABLE	MOSCOW 17528 R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-9-2-2	4	12/29/1981	B1
170482	MEMO	N. BAILEY TO J. NANCE RE TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT WITH USSR R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-9-3-1	1	12/29/1981	B1
170483	MEMO	N. BAILEY TO J. POINDEXTER RE PRELIMINARY TREASURY PAPER (INCL. ATTACHMENTS)	14	12/30/1981	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

170249

PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 1690
SIT459 DATE 12/30/81

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011143
TOR: 363/0316Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: RVA NAN COL JP VP SIT EOB
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHC #1690/01 3630315
O O 290307Z DEC 81 ZFF 6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT IMMEDIATE 9607

INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 2209
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7023
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 341690
NODIS
E.O. 12065: RDS-1 12/28/01 (HAIG, ALEXANDER M, JR)

TAGS: PEPR, ETRD, UR, US, PL
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM SECRETARY HAIG TO FOREIGN
- MINISTER GROMYKO ON POLAND

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT
2. AMBASSADOR SHOULD DELIVER FOLLOWING LETTEP FROM SECRETARY HAIG TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, OR MOST SENIOR MFA OFFICIAL AVAILABLE, BEFORE COB DECEMBER 29, MOSCOW TIME. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ARE IN PARAGRAPH 4.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. MINISTER:

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

I AM WRITING TO YOU TO REITERATE ONCE AGAIN THE DEEP CONCERN OF MY GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE SITUATION IN POLAND. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN STATED IN HIS RECENT LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV, THE SOVIET UNION'S HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT REPRESSION IN THAT COUNTRY CONTRAVENES YOUR COUNTRY'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THREATENS TO UNDERMINE OUR HOPES FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. IN LIGHT OF PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER, WE CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THUS FAR YOUR GOVERNMENT IS UNWILLING TO HELP BRING ABOUT THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THAT IS ESSENTIAL TO POLAND'S LONG-TERM STABILITY. FOR THIS REASON, THE PRESIDENT FEELS COMPELLED TO TAKE A NUMBER OF STEPS AFFECTING THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP:

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-9-1-3

BY COB NARA DATE 11/3/15

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 1690

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011143

- 1) THE PRESIDENT WILL ORDER THE CLOSURE OF THE SOVIET PURCHASING COMMISSION, AND RETURN TO THE USSR OF ALL ITS SOVIET PERSONNEL.
- 2) SETTING OF DATES OF NEW MEETINGS ON A NEW LONG-TERM GRAINS AGREEMENT WILL BE POSTPONED.
- 3) NEGOTIATIONS ON A NEW US-SOVIET MARITIME AGREEMENT WILL BE SUSPENDED, AND A NEW REGIME OF PORT-ACCESS CONTROLS WILL BE PUT INTO EFFECT FOR ALL SOVIET SHIPS WHEN THE CURRENT AGREEMENT EXPIRES ON DECEMBER 31.
- 4) ALL AEROFLOT SERVICE TO THE UNITED STATES WILL BE SUSPENDED.
- 5) STRICTER LICENSING REQUIREMENTS WILL BE INTRODUCED FOR THE EXPORT TO THE USSR OF EQUIPMENT FOR THE OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY.
- 6) THE ISSUANCE OR RENEWAL OF LICENSES FOR THE EXPORT TO THE USSR OF ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT, COMPUTERS AND OTHER HIGH-TECHNOLOGY MATERIALS WILL BE SUSPENDED.
- 7) A LICENSE FOR THE EXPORT OF CATERPILLAR PIPELAYERS TO THE USSR WILL NOT BE ISSUED.
- 8) THE PRESIDENT WILL ANNOUNCE OUR INTENTION NOT TO RENEW US-SOVIET EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS COMING UP FOR

SECSTATE WASHDC 1690

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011143

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

RENEWAL IN THE NEAR FUTURE, INCLUDING THE AGREEMENTS ON ENERGY AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THE PRESIDENT HAS ALSO ORDERED A COMPLETE REVIEW OF ALL OTHER US-SOVIET EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS.

WE TAKE NO PLEASURE IN THESE STEPS, BUT SOVIET ACTIONS HAVE LEFT US NO RECOURSE. WE URGE YOUR COUNTRY TO USE ITS INFLUENCE IN POLAND TO PROMOTE AN END TO THE PRESENT REPRESSION, AND A REESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIALOGUE AMONG ALL ELEMENTS OF POLISH SOCIETY. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PATH OF PROGRESS ON THE CRITICAL REGIONAL AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES ON THE US-SOVIET AGENDA, ISSUES AFFECTING ALL MANKIND. THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS AN OBSTACLE TO SUCH PROGRESS; IT IS THEREFORE OUR HOPE THAT THESE WILL BE THE ONLY STEPS WE WILL BE REQUIRED TO TAKE.

SINCERELY,

ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR.

END TEXT.

4. TALKING POINTS:

--AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN AND ASSESSMENT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, WE HAVE DECIDED TO TAKE A NUMBER OF STEPS, AS INDICATED IN THE SECRETARY'S LETTER. THE WHITE HOUSE WILL PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE OUR ACTIONS LATER TODAY.

--THESE STEPS ARE A MEASURED RESPONSE TO SOVIET ACTIONS

SECSTATE WASHDC 1690

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011143

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

3

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 1690
SIT458 DATE 12/30/81

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011144
TOR: 363/0316Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: RVA NAN COL JP VP SIT EOB
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHC #1690/02 3630315
O O 290307Z DEC 81 ZFF 6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT IMMEDIATE 9608

INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 2210
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7024
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 STATE 341690
NODIS

ALREADY TAKEN TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN
POLAND. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
UNDERSTAND THAT OUR HANDLING OF THESE STEPS, AND OUR
APPROACH TO THE FULL RANGE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS, WILL
DEPEND IMPORTANTLY ON FUTURE SOVIET POLICY TOWARD
POLAND.

--WE TOTALLY REJECT THE ALLEGATIONS IN PRESIDENT
BREZHNEV'S LETTER THAT THE UNITED STATES IS INTERFERING
IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE
OUR CONSISTENT POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE.

--SOVIET ALLEGATIONS OF U.S. INTERFERENCE, SUCH AS THE
BASELESS CHARGES REGARDING THE USE OF U.S. CONSULATES
IN POZNAN AND KRAKOW FOR ILLEGAL RADIO BROADCASTING,
AND SIMILARLY GROUNDLESS ALLEGATIONS THAT VOA
BROADCASTS HAVE TRANSMITTED CODED INSTRUCTIONS TO
SO-CALLED "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS" IN POLAND,
CAN ONLY EXACERBATE AN ALREADY TENSE SITUATION.

--IF THE SOVIET UNION IS TRULY INTERESTED IN PROMOTING

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

A SOLUTION OF THE POLISH CRISIS, IT WILL CEASE THE
INFLAMMATORY CHARGES AND TAKE STEPS OF ITS OWN TO
PERMIT THE RESUMPTION OF A PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION IN
POLAND.

END TALKING POINTS.
HAIG

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

4

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 1690

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011144

SECSTATE WASHDC 1690

DTG: 290307Z DEC 81 PSN: 011144

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

170481

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 7528
SIT381 DATE 12/30/81

DTG: 291210Z DEC 81 PSN: 011619
TOR: 363/1326Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: RVA NAN JP VP SIT EOB
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT: REDTAG PIPES

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHMO #7528/01 3631214
O 291210Z DEC 81 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-9-2-2

BY LCOB NARA DATE 4/8/3

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0325

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 17528
NODIS

E. O. 12065: RDS-1 12/29/01 (HARTMAN, ARTHUR A.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, ETRD, UR, US, PL
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM SECRETARY HAIG TO FOREIGN MINISTER
- GROMYKO ON POLAND
REF: STATE 341690

1. ~~5~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AMBASSADOR WAS RECEIVED BY GROMYKO AT 1130 MOSCOW TIME DECEMBER 29 AND GAVE HIM THE SECRETARY'S LETTER. AFTER THE LETTER WAS READ IN RUSSIAN, THE AMBASSADOR SAID THE SECRETARY HAD ASKED HIM TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS MESSAGE WAS SENT AFTER CAREFUL STUDY OF BREZHNEV'S RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. THE STEPS SET OUT IN THE LETTER ARE A MEASURED RESPONSE TO SOVIET ACTIONS ALREADY TAKEN TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN POLAND, AND ALL AREAS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP ARE GOING TO BE AFFECTED BY THE EVOLUTION OF POLISH EVENTS. THE SECRETARY HAD ALSO ASKED THE AMBASSADOR TO EMPHASIZE THAT OUR POLICY IS NOT TO INTERFERE IN POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND THAT WE REJECT CHARGES THAT WE ARE INTERFERING. ALLEGATIONS OF INTERFERENCE, SUCH AS CHARGES OF ILLEGAL RADIO BROADCASTS FROM OUR CONSULATES IN POLAND AND ON VOA ARE NOT TRUE AND CAN ONLY EXACERBATE THE SITUATION. POLAND SHOULD RETAIN THE FREEDOM TO DEVELOP THE EVOLUTION WHICH WE BELIEVE HAD

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

BEEN ATTAINED THERE, AN EVOLUTION WHICH TOOK INTO ACCOUNT A DESIRE FOR REFORM. WE HAD THOUGHT IT WOULD CONTINUE. ITS BRUTAL SUPPRESSION HAS HAD A STRONG EFFECT ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WHAT IS HAPPENING IN POLAND HAS PRODUCED A SEVERE REACTION.

3. GROMYKO, AFTER MUSING ALOUD, "WHAT DO I WANT TO SAY?" SAID HE WOULD GIVE AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE BUT RESERVED THE RIGHT TO GIVE A DETAILED RESPONSE TO THE LETTER AT A LATER TIME, IF THIS WAS CONSIDERED NECESSARY--AND HE THOUGHT IT HIGHLY LIKELY THAT THIS WOULD BE THE CASE. EVIDENTLY, GROMYKO SAID, WASHINGTON PROCEEDS AS THOUGH POLAND IS SOMETHING LIKE A STATE WHERE THINGS CAN BE DONE ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON'S CANON. THINGS WERE BEING SAID AND DONE AS IF POLAND WERE AN AMERICAN PROVINCE. HE RESOLUTELY REJECTED ANY SUCH CLAIM BY THE U. S. POLAND WAS INDEPEN-

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

6

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 7528

DTG: 291210Z DEC 81 PSN: 011619

DENT, SOVEREIGN AND SOCIALIST, AND NO ONE HAD ANY RIGHT TO INTERFERE. THE POLES ALONE HAD THE RIGHT TO RESOLVE ALL QUESTIONS OF THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, INCLUDING THE NATURE OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEM; WHAT SHOULD BE DONE AT PRESENT; AND WHAT MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN TO END THE SERIOUS SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY WHICH HAD BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY ANTI-SOCIALIST AND HOSTILE FORCES INSPIRED BY THE UNITED STATES.

4. THE U. S., GROMYKO SAID, HAD UNENDINGLY INTERFERED IN POLAND BY WORD AND ACTION. THE U. S. HAD NO RIGHT WHATSOEVER, BUT FOR A LONG TIME IT HAD USED ALL POSSIBLE STRATAGEMS AND MEANS FOR CRUDE INTERFERENCE IN POLISH AFFAIRS. THE U. S. TRIED TO DENY CERTAIN STATEMENTS MADE UNDER WASHINGTON'S DICTATION, AND OTHER CRUDE INTERFERENCE, BUT ALL ATTEMPTS TO DENY IT WERE TOTALLY LACKING CONVICTION. THIS IS NOT JUST SOVIET OPINION, BUT UNIVERSAL--ALMOST UNIVERSAL--WORLD OPINION ABOUT U. S. INTERFERENCE.

5. THE U. S. ACTS, GROMYKO WENT ON, AS IF THE SOVIET UNION WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MEASURES TAKEN IN POLAND, FOR MARTIAL LAW AND THE LATEST MEASURES THERE. THIS IS ABSURD. THE USSR HAD DONE NOTHING. THESE ARE POLISH DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE POLISH NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. HOWEVER MUCH WASHINGTON ASSERTS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED, THERE WILL BE NO SUCH INVOLVEMENT; NONE WILL APPEAR. GROMYKO SAID HE WOULD TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY CATEGORICALLY TO REJECT ALL ALLEGATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN MARTIAL LAW AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN POLAND.

6. WASHINGTON'S POSITION IN RESPECT TO EVENTS IN POLAND, AND THE STEPS PROCLAIMED IN THE SECRETARY'S LETTER, INDICATED THAT WASHINGTON HAD HARBORED A CERTAIN PLAN WITH REGARD TO POLAND, A PLAN WHICH HAD FAILED AND CANNOT BE REALIZED. THIS IS WHAT INVOKED DISAPPOINTMENT IN CERTAIN U. S. QUARTERS. BUT, HE SAID, LET'S HOPE THAT A CONCLUSION WILL BE DRAWN THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. THE POLES MUST ALONE DECIDE THEIR SOCIAL ORDER AND CONDITIONS IN THEIR COUNTRY.

7. ON THE LIST OF STEPS SET OUT IN THE LETTER, GROMYKO SAID HE COULD SPEAK WITH CONFIDENCE THAT HE WAS REFLECTING THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND BREZHNEV PERSONALLY: THE U. S. SIDE BEARS ONE HUNDRED PERCENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS NEW BLOW TO U. S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. PERSONALLY, HE HAD TO SAY THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAD DONE LOTS OF WORK TO UNDERMINE THE RELATIONSHIP AND HAS DESTROYED MUCH WHICH WAS BUILT UP BY OTHER ADMINISTRATIONS. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR BETTER TO PUT THAT EFFORT INTO IMPROVING

MOSCOW 7528

DTG: 291210Z DEC 81 PSN: 011619

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 7528
SIT380 DATE 12/30/81

DTG: 291210Z DEC 81 PSN: 011626
TOR: 363/1328Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: RVA NAN JP VP SIT EOB
EOB: PIPE, STEARMAN
WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHMO #7528/02 3631216
O 291210Z DEC 81 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0326
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 17528
NODIS

RELATIONS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ROLE WHICH THE
TWO COUNTRIES HAVE TO PLAY IN WORLD POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

8. IF WASHINGTON HAS IN MIND, GROMYKO CONTINUED,
THROUGH THE STEPS LISTED IN THE LETTER, TO SOMEHOW
INFLUENCE POLAND AND SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO POLAND,
AND TO REDIRECT POLAND IN DIRECTIONS WHICH THE U. S.
SEES AS DESIRABLE, THEN THERE ARE NO GROUNDS
WHATSOEVER TO HARBOR SUCH HOPE. WASHINGTON DOES NOT
KNOW WELL OUR COUNTRY AND LEADERSHIP AND POORLY KNOWS
OUR CHARACTER. POLAND WILL ADVANCE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT
AS A SOCIALIST STATE. WE BELIEVE THEY WILL FIND
SOLUTIONS FOR THEIR DEVELOPMENT. IT WILL NOT BE SIMPLE
AND THE PROBLEMS ARE DIFFICULT. BUT WE BELIEVE THE
POLES WILL SURGE AHEAD, STRENGTHENING THEIR ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS ON A NORMAL PATH, WHETHER ANYONE
LIKES IT OR NOT.

9. ONE CONCLUSION WHICH COULD BE DRAWN FROM THE
SECRETARY'S LETTER, GROMYKO SAID, WAS THE LIGHT-
MINDEDNESS WITH WHICH SUCH STEPS ARE TAKEN TO UNDERMINE
RELATIONS. THIS IS INCOMPATIBLE--TOTALLY INCOMPATIBLE--

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

WITH THE ROLE THE TWO POWERS HAVE TO PLAY IN RESOLVING
WORLD POLITICAL PROBLEMS. SUCH LIGHT-MINDEDNESS AND LACK
OF CONCERN WAS AMAZING; IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF THINGS
STEPS SUCH AS THE U. S. IS TAKING SHOULD NOT HAPPEN. THIS,
GROMYKO SAID, WAS THE PRELIMINARY STATEMENT HE WISHED TO
MAKE TO THE LETTER.

10. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT, IN HIS OPINION, WE ARE
ONCE AGAIN AT A POSITION IN THE RELATIONSHIP WHERE, AS HE
HAD OBSERVED TO GROMYKO ON AN EARLIER OCCASION, THERE IS
A BASIC MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATIONSHIP AS IT SHOULD
BE. IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE U. S. TO CONDUCT EVEN
ARMS CONTROL TALKS AND TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS OF WAR AND
PEACE BY IGNORING WHAT WAS GOING ON ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.
ANY U. S. ADMINISTRATION NEEDS THE APPROVAL OF THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE FOR THE CONDUCT OF ITS FOREIGN AFFAIRS. A PROCESS

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 7528

DTG: 291210Z DEC 81 PSN: 011626

SUCH AS DETENTE HAD TO INCLUDE THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ALL PEOPLE HAD THE POSSIBILITY TO REFORM THEIR SYSTEMS WITHOUT OUTSIDE PRESSURE AND DICTATION. WE RECOGNIZE REALITIES, BUT WE HAD SEEN THE POLISH PEOPLE ADVANCING ON THEIR OWN WAY. GROMYKO HAD SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, AND WE AGREE. BUT SOVIET STATEMENTS, LETTERS TO THE POLES SAYING THAT THE SITUATION WAS UNACCEPTABLE, CONSTITUTED PRESSURE AND PERHAPS THERE WERE ACTIONS BEYOND THIS.

11. GROMYKO REACTED TO MENTION OF THE SOVIET CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER MUCH AS THE FRENCH TELL US HE DID WHEN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR RAISED IT DURING HIS FAREWELL CALL YESTERDAY. GROMYKO SAID HE HEARD U. S. WORDS ABOUT NON-INTERFERENCE, BUT HE COULD CITE MANY EXAMPLES OF U. S. INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHERS AND CONTRARY TO THEIR WISHES. AS FOR THE PARTY LETTER, BREZHNEV HAD ALREADY RESPONDED IN HIS REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT. PARTIES, CENTRAL COMMITTEES, HAVE CERTAIN ESTABLISHED NORMS AND INTERACTIONS ALONG PARTY CHANNELS. HE WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT IT MUST BE LEFT FOR THE PARTY TO CHOOSE THE FORM AND THE METHOD IN SUCH COMMUNICATIONS, AND IT COULD NOT BE LEFT FOR WASHINGTON TO DICTATE. THE U. S. REFERENCE TO THE PARTY LETTER WAS TOTALLY LACKING IN CONVICTION. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE TO SHOW SOVIET INTERFERENCE, NOT TO MENTION ANY THREAT, IN THE PARTY LETTER. THERE HAS NOT BEEN A SINGLE FACT TO TESTIFY TO INTERFERENCE OR A DESIRE TO INTERFERE ON THE SOVIET PART. THE WASHINGTON ADMINISTRA-

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

TION HAD FROM THE OUTSET TRIED TO COVER OVER A DEFINITE LINE AIMED AT SHAKING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE U. S. -SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, AT INCREASING TENSIONS IN THE WORLD, AT EXACERBATING THE ARMS RACE.

12. THE AMBASSADOR IN HIS CONCLUDING REMARKS SAID THAT HE WOULD HOLD HIMSELF AVAILABLE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

13. COMMENT: I HAVE REPORTED TEXTUALLY GROMYKO'S REMARKS AS OF MORE INTEREST THAN MINE, WHICH ARE SUMMARIZED. THERE WILL PROBABLY BE A PUBLIC BLAST AS SOON AS OUR MEASURES ARE ANNOUNCED. I ASSUME THAT THE RESPONSE WILL FOLLOW CLOSELY THE LINE TAKEN BY GROMYKO. WE MAY ALSO EXPECT SOME RETALIATION AFTER THEY HAVE THOUGHT THINGS OVER. THE REAL CRUNCH WILL COME WHEN THEY SEE HOW WELL OR BADLY THINGS ARE GOING IN POLAND. I THINK THAT WE CAN ALSO EXPECT A MAJOR EFFORT TO SPLIT US FROM WESTERN EUROPE USING MAJOR ECONOMIC BAIT AND RAW POLITICAL PRESSURE. GROMYKO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY KORNIYENKO, WHO IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATION AGREED TO GET TOGETHER WITH ME NEXT WEEK. HARTMAN

MOSCOW 7528

DTG: 291210Z DEC 81 PSN: 011626

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7384

9

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

At

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

December 29, 1981

170482

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. NANCE

FROM: NORMAN BAILEY *NB*

SUBJECT: Technology Agreements with the USSR (U)

There are a large number of these agreements. Several are coming up for renewal shortly. Some have been recently renewed. For these, technology-sharing clauses between private U.S. entities and their Soviet counterparts (usually clause 4 or 5) should be abrogated if we are to stem the hemorrhage of American technology to the USSR. *(2)*

DECLASSIFIED

cc: Gus Weiss
Don Gregg
Dick Pipes
Allen Lenz

NLRR 748-229-3-1
BY *KPB* NARA DATE *11/3/15*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review on
December 29, 1987

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

#7384

810

P 3, 33

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

PETER

CY TO VP

CY TO MEESE

CY TO BAKER

CY TO DEEVER

CY TO BRADY

Comments:

Handwritten signature in red ink

Handwritten initials 'Be'

Vertical line with horizontal tick marks

SHOW CC _____

SHOW CC _____

SHOW CC _____

SHOW CC _____

SHOW CC _____

11

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
OF CLASSIFIED BY 10/3/15 COB

RECEIVED 29 DEC 81 15

TO NANCE

FROM BAILEY

DOCDATE 29 DEC 81

KEYWORDS: TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS USSR

SUBJECT: TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT W/ SOVIET UNION

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION DUE: STATUS IX FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NANCE

WEISS

GREGG

PIPES

LENZ

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (D /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

C 12/30 noted by Nance & Pinderster NB

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

PA

(COB)

12

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 30, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. NANCE

FROM: MICHAEL A. BERTA *B*

SUBJECT: President's Decision on Soviet Embargo

I received a call this morning from NASA asking for clarification on the President's decision to allow Science and Technology (S&T) agreements with the Soviets to lapse. They said that space had not been explicitly mentioned, and asked if it was to be considered as part of the S&T area.

I talked to Dick Pipes. He said the issue of space was not explicitly addressed, but he assumed that space fell into the area of agreements dealing with S&T. Based upon my discussion with Dick, I told NASA that they should plan to let the space agreements with the Soviets lapse and cease negotiations forthwith.

The only potential complication would lie in the area of multilateral cooperation with the Soviets in search and rescue where we exchange satellite data. Since this is outside the scope of the S&T area and has to do with public safety, I told NASA that we should attempt to separate this from the other agreements. There is a chance that the Soviets will choose to withdraw from this area also. I told NASA if that were the case, it would be the Soviet's decision.

RECOMMENDATION

That space be specifically included in the President's embargo with the exception of the public safety area of search and rescue

Approve *Brd* Disapprove _____

cc: Dick Pipes

7450

13

RECEIVED

81 SEP 30 P 7: 08

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

PETER

CY TO VP

CY TO MEESE

CY TO BAKER

CY TO DEEVER

CY TO BRADY

SHOW CC

SHOW CC

SHOW CC

SHOW CC

SHOW CC

Comments:

[Handwritten signatures and a vertical line through the list]

RECEIVED 30 DEC 81 19

TO: NANCE

FROM BERTA

DOC DATE 30 DEC 81

KEYWORDS: USSR

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS

SPACE POLICY

SUBJECT: SOVIET EMBARGO IN RELATION TO SPACE S & T AGREEMENTS

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE:

STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NANCE

PIPES

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC IF ID

(D /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

C 115

Nance hpd recom

BERT

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

(PA)

CH

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KDB 11/3/2015

File Folder

USSR (12/29/81-12/30/81)

FOIA

F03-002/5

SKINNER

Box Number

22

227

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
170483	MEMO N. BAILEY TO J. POINDEXTER RE PRELIMINARY TREASURY PAPER (INCL. ATTACHMENTS)	14	12/30/1981	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 31 DEC 81 12

29

TO POINDEXTER

FROM BAILEY

DOC DATE 30 DEC 81

11/3/85 KOB

KEYWORDS: POLAND USSR
ECONOMICS

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY TREASURY PAPER INVOLVING FINANCIAL MEASURES AGAINST
POLISH GOVT & USSR

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION DUE: STATUS IX FILES

FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO
POINDEXTER

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (C /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

C 2/5 ONR
OBE per NSC/S

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE *PR* (C) 4.