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Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

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KDB

File Folder

USSR (11/19/82-11/29/82)

FOIA

F03-002/5 SKINNER

201

Box Number

23

DOX IVE						281	
ID	Doc Type	Docur	ment Description		No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
171036	CABLE	19173	6Z NOV 82		1	11/19/1982	B1
171037	MESSAGE	TEXT	OF CABLE IN DC	OC #171036	1	ND	B1
171038	MESSAGE		ED DRAFT OF DO ABLE IN DOC #17	•	1	ND	B1
171039	CABLE	MOSC	COW 14027		1	11/19/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-7	48-23-	18-1-2	
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171041	МЕМО		R THROUGH R. B K RE SOVIET TH		2	11/22/1982	B1
171042	мемо		MBS TO W. CLAR		4	11/12/1982	2 B1

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

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

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

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ID	Doc Type	Doc	ument Description		No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
171043	CABLE	MO	SCOW 14110		1	11/22/1982	B1
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171044	CABLE	MO	SCOW 14204		1	11/23/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-74	48-23-	18-6-7	
171045	MEMO		CLARK TO PRESIDE NCHEON WITH AME		1	11/27/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-74	48-23-	18-7-6	
171046	MEMO		JLTZ TO REAGAN R NCHEON WITH DOB		2	11/24/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-74	48-23-	18-8-5	
171047	MEMO		IPES TO W. CLARK ALYSIS	RE ATTACHED	1	11/24/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-74	48-23-	18-9-4	
171048	МЕМО	PIPI	TIALED COPY OF DO ES TO W. CLARK RE ALYSIS)	The state of the s	1	11/24/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-7	48-23	18-9-4	
171049	MEMO		AUL BREMER TO W DROPOV'S PLENUM		2	11/23/1982	B1
		R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-7	48-23-	18-10-2	

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Box Number	23	SKINNER
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Туре		Pages
171050 MEMO	R. PIPES TO W. CLARK RE ANDROPOV'S SPEECH	1 11/23/1982 B1
	R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-74	<i>48-23-18-11-1</i>
171051 MEMO	ORIGINAL OF DOC #171050 (R. PIPES TO W. CLARK RE ANDROPOV'S SPEECH)	1 11/23/1982 B1
	R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-74	48-23-18-11-1
171052 CABLE	MOSCOW 4293	1 11/26/1982 B1
	R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-74	<i>48-23-18-12-0</i>
171053 MEMO	W. CLARK TO G. SHULTZ RE U.S. POLICY TOWARD USSR DURING	1 11/29/1982 B1
	TRANSITION PERIOD R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-74	/O_22_10120
171054 MEMO	R. 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-74 R. PIPES TO W. CLARK RE REQUEST FROM STATE RE U.SSOVIET RELATIONS	
171056 NOTE	JOHN TO PIPES RE REQUEST FOR MEMO	1 11/22/1982 B1
171055 MEMO	COPY OF MEMO IN DOC #171054 (R. PIPES TO W. CLARK RE REQUEST FROM STATE RE U.SSOVIET RELATIONS)	1 11/24/1982 B1

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Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE Withdrawer **KDB** 12/7/2015 File Folder USSR (11/19/82-11/29/82) **FOIA** F03-002/5 **SKINNER Box Number** 23 **Doc Date Restrictions** ID Doc **Document Description** No of **Type Pages** 171058 MEMO SAME MEMO TEXT AS DOC #171057 (W. 1 11/29/1982 B1 CLARK TO W. BROCK RE POSSIBILITY OF GRAIN AGREEMENT) 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-23-18-16-6 R 171059 MEMO COPY OF DOC #171053 (W. CLARK TO G. 1 ND **B**1 SHULTZ RE U.S. POLICY TOWARD USSR **DURING TRANSITION PERIOD)** 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-23-18-17-5 R 171057 MEMO W. CLARK TO W. BROCK RE 1 ND **B1** POSSIBILITY OF GRAIN AGREEMENT

CREST NLR-748-23-18-16-6

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171036 CABLE

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171037 MESSAGE	1	ND	B1

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

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TEXT OF CABLE IN DOC #171036

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National Sec_rity Council The White House

2-A

Package # _____

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John Poindexter	/	TING SEEN	ACTION
Bud McFarlane	2	W	
Jacque Hill	3		/
Judge Clark	4	0//	A
John Poindexter			
Staff Secretary			
Sit Room			
I-Information A-Ac	tion R-Retain	D-Dispatch N	I-No further Action
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	COMMENTS	3	
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 18, 1982

TO: ADMIRAL POINDEXTER

Attached for your use is a proposed cable dictated by Richard Pipes, as requested.

Francesca Lapinski

Ronald Reagan Library

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1710	38 MESSAGE	1	ND	B1	

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

IN DOC #171036)

EDITED DRAFT OF DOC #171037 (TEXT OF CABLE

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CANFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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MESSAGE .

IMMEDIATE DE RUEHMO #4027 3231232 0 191731Z NOV 82 FM AMEMBASSY HOSCOW

NLRR 148-23-18-1-2 BY 1608 NARA DATE 2/-1/17

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0581

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 9397 USMISSION USNATO 2685 AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 5518 AMEMEASSY PARIS 2673 AMEMBASSY BONN 3782 MEMERISY ISLAMABAD 1622 # TMP SSY NE # DELNT 7432 UCMISS ON TENEVA 6378 AT .. BASSY BUENOS AIRES 0529

CONBIDENTIAL MOSCOW 14827 I SHITSE ON GENEVA FOR ME AND START DELS E O. 11356: DECL: DADR TAGS: PEPR, UR, UK SUBJECT: PYM - GROMYNO BILATERAL

1. LE ENTERE TEXT.

2. BRITISH HAVE GIVEN US READ-DUT ON FOREIGN SECRETARY PIM'S NOVEMBER 15 BILATERAL WITH GROMYHO. THE MEETING, WHICH LASTED 38 MINUTES, WAS ATTENDED BY DEPUTY FORNMIN RIZHOV AND FIRST EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT CHIEF ADAMISHIN FROM THE SOVIET SIDE. GROMYKO, WHO APPEARED TIRED AND USED NO NOTES, WAS THE ONLY SOVIET TO SPEAK. HIGH-

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

LIGHTS AS CONVEYED TO US FOLLOW.

3. CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP: IN RELPONSE TO FYM'S QUERY ON CONCLUSIONS GROMYNO MAY HAVE DRAWN ON SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP, GROMYKO STRESSED THAT THERE WOULD BE CONTINUITY IN SOVIET EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL POLICIES, DRAWING PYM'S ATTENTION IN PARTICULAR TO A' DROPOV'S REFERENCES TO PEACE AD DETENTE IN HIS 1 . LIBER 15 EULOGY. GROMYKO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS SINCEPELY DESIRED IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH FEAT PRITAIN IN ALL FIELDS, AND OBSERVED THAT THE UK SHOULD 'HAVE A ORE POSITIVE INFLIENCE" ON DEVF OFMENTS IN EUROPE.

CONTITUING EFFORTS TO HALT THE ARMS RACE, GROMYKO NCTED THAT THUS FAR THERE HAD BEEN "NO" PROGRESS IN GENEVA. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO A LACK OF WILL ON THE U.S. SIDE. GRONYNO NOTED THAT COMPETITION IN ARMS WAS WASTEFUL NOT JUST IN TERMS OF MATERIAL RESOURCES. BUT OF THE "INTELLECTUAL WEALTH" OF THE NATIONS INVOLVED

5. AFGHANISTAN: RESPONDING TO A QUESTION BY PYM AS TO WHETHER THERE WAS ANY CHANGE IN SOVIET VIEWS OF THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM, GROMYKO NOTED (AS HAVE OTHER SOVIET SPOKESMEN WITH WHOM WE HAVE HAD CONTACTS IN RECENT MONTHS) THAT WHAT WAS CHANGING -- AND FOR THE BETTER -- WAS THE SITUATION WITHIN AFGHANISTAN ITSELF. THINGS WERE MORE STABLE, THERE WAS INCREASING SUPPORT FOR THE DRA GOVERNMENT, THE INSURGENCY WAS ON THE DEFENSIVE. GROMYKO SPOKE FAVORABLY OF WHAT HE REFERRED TO AS "UNOFFICIAL" TALKS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHARISTAN, NOTING THAT THEY WERE TALKING PEACE IN THE "RIGHT FORUM," AND SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY ALL THOSE INTERESTED IN A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. HE SPECIFIED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE TALKS, IMPLYING THEY DID NOT INTEND TO BECOME SO. GROMYKO SAID ANDROPOV HAD MADE SOVIET VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT KNOWN TO ZIA IN HIS NOVEMBER 15 MEETING.

M " 'GE CN" 'NUED):

- 6. OTHER ISSUES: IN RESPONSE TO PYM S QUERY ON POLAND, GROMYNO RESTATED THE STANDARD SOVIET POSITION THAT THE SITUATION THERE WAS AN INTERNAL POLISH MATTER. EMPHASIZ NG THE IMPORTANCE OF AN END TO OUTSIDE ATERFERENCE. GROMYKO REFUSED TO BE DRAWN OUT ON WHEN MARTIAL LAW MIGHT END. ON THE IRAN, RAG CONFLICT, GROMYNO ATTR BUTED THE CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES TO TRANTAN "STUEBORNWESS," AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ENDING THE CONFLICT.
- 7. A FOOTNOTE: BRITISH JOURNALIST HAS ALSO PASSED ON AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT MUST BE THE SHORTEST BILATERAL ON RECORD FOR HER HAJESTLY'S OR ANY OTHER FOREIGN SERVICE. DURING THE POST-FUNERAL KREMLIN RECEPT ON FOR HEADS OF DELEGATION, PYM FOUND HIMSELF IN THE RECEIVING LINE SURROUNDED BY UNFAMILIAR FACES. IN AN EFFORT TO PASS THE TIME WITH A BIT OF SMALL TALK, HE TURNED TO THE GENTLEMAN IMMEDIATELY BEHIND HIM, EXTENDED HIS HAND, AND ANNOUNCED: "FRANCIS PYM, BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY." HIS INTERLOCUTOR, WITHOUT MISSING A BEAT, REPLIED. "MARTINEZ, ARGENTINE DEFENSE MINISTER," AT WHICH POINT BOTH MEN DID AN ABOUT-FACE, AND THE CONVERSATION ENDED. HARTMAN

HOSCOW 4827

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171039 CABLE

1 11/19/1982 B1

MOSCOW 14027

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 66841 DTG: 202334Z NOV 82 PSN: Ø16999 TOR: 325/0220Z SIT895 DATE 02/20/83

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE DE RUEHC #6684 3242338 O 202334Z NOV 82 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE ØØØØ

DECLASSIFIED BY GOS NARA TE 12/7/15

S E R E T STATE 326684

NODIS

E. O. 12356 DECL: OADR

TAGS: PPDC, PARM, UR, US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO DEPUTY CHAIRMAN KUZNETSOV ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

- ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THE PRESIDENT WILL BE DELIVERING A TELEVISED ADDRESS ON DEFENSE AND ARMS CONTROL AT 8:00 P.M. EST ON MONDAY, NOVEMØER 22. THE AMBASSADOR SHOULD DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO VASILIY V. KU, NETSOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET, AT AN APPROPRIATELY SENIOR LEVEL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ON MONDAY MORNING, MOSCOW TIME.

BEGIN TEXT:

I AM WRITING TO INFORM YOU OF THE SUBSTANCE OF A STATEMENT I INTEND TO MAKE IN THE NEAR FUTURE CONCERNING OUR RELATIONS IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL FIELD. AS I MENTIONED IN MY PUBLIC REMARKS ON LEARNING OF THE DEATH OF FORMER PRESIDENT BREZHNEV, I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

AND AMERICAN PEOPLES, FOR ALL OUR DIFFERENCES, SHARE A DESIRE AND A DEDICATION TO PEACE. THERE IS NO GREATER TASK FACING OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS THAN TO PRESERVE THAT

PEACE.

. TOWARD THAT END, I ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS IN THE START AND INF NEGOTIATIONS ; OW UNDERWAY IN GENEVA TO REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY THE EXISTING HIGH LEVELS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THERE ARE OF COURSE MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR POSITIONS IN THESE TALKS. AND WE HAVE MANY DIFFICULTIES AND COMPLEXITIES TO DEAL WITH IF WE ARE TO REACH AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, I AM HOPEFUL THAT THROUGH THE BEST EFFORTS OF BOTH SIDES S'CH AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED. I CAN ASSURE YOU OF THE SINCERITY AND FULL COMMITMENT OF MY GOVERNMENT AND OF

-SFP.RFT

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 66841 DTG: 202334Z NOV 82 PSN: 016999

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CONCRETE MEASURES THAT CAN MAKE A GENUINE AND MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION TO EASING THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WAR.

THOSE DANGERS GO BEYOND THE MERE NUMBERS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EXIST NCE. THERE ARE IN ADDITION STEPS WHICH CAN BE TAKEN TO INCREASE STABILITY AND COMMUNICATION IN TIMES OF CALM AND TIMES OF CRISIS ALIKE, AND TO REDUCE THE RISKS OF ACCIDENT, MISCALCULATION AND MISUNDERSTANDING LEADING TO CONFLICT.

. IN PAST YEARS OUR TWO NATIONS HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH THESE PROBLEMS, BEGINNING WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OUR SPECIAL DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS LINK OR "HOTLINE" IN 1963. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT MUCH MORE CAN BE DONE TO IMPROVE COMMUNICATIONS, DIMINISH THE ELEMENTS OF SURPRISE, AND ENHANCE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

. I SEE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THIS IMPORTANT AREA NOW. SPECIFICALLY, I WOULD PROPOSE THAT WE CONSIDER NOT ONLY TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN OUR MEANS OF COMMUNICATION ØUT ALSO AN EXPANSION IN THE COVERAGE AND DETAIL OF OUR MUTUAL NOTIFICATIONS OF BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHES AND MAJOR MILITARY EXERCISES. I BELIEVE THAT A GREATER EXCHANGE OF DATA AS PROPOSED IN OUR START AND INF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD ALSO BE MOST USEFUL.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

TOWARD THAT END I AM INSTRUCTING AMBASSADORS ROWNY AND NITZE TO PURSUE THESE QUESTIONS IN GREATER DETAIL IN GENEVA IN THE WEEKS TO COME. I WOULD HOPE THAT IN THE ENSUING DISCUSSIONS, OUR PROPOSALS COULD BE DEALT WITH IN A POSITIVE AND FORTHCOMING MANNER.

I BELIEVE THAT DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR

TWO COUNTRIES ON MANY MATTERS, IT IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE WE ENGAGE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE ON THESE ISSUES. THIS IS A POINT I ASKED BOTH VICE PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ TO REITERATE DURING THEIR VISIT TO MOSCOW ON THE OCCASION OF FORMER PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL. I WOULD HOPE THE SOVIET SIDE MIGHT ALSO SHARE THIS APPROACH TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

. IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT I AM SUGGESTING INTENSIFIED DISCUSSIONS ON PRACTICAL WAYS OF REDUCING THE RISK OF ACCIDENT AND MISCALCULATION IN THE STRATEGIC FIELD. TANGIBLE STEPS TOWARD REDUCING THE DANGERS OF THIS NUCLEAR AGE WOULD DEMONSTRATE CLEARLY THAT BOTH COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND CAN MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER TO MEET THEM.

. SINCERELY, . RONALD REAGAN

END TEXT.

SHULTZ

SECSTATE WASHDC 66844 DTG: 202334Z NOV 82- PSN: 016999

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171041 MEMO 2 11/22/1982 B1

P. DUR THROUGH R. BOVERIE TO W. CLARK RE SOVIET THREAT

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]

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171042 MEMO 4 11/12/1982 B1

L. TAMBS TO W. CLARK: WEEKLY REPORT (INCL. ATTACHMENTS)

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

Document Description

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]

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

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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]

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National Security Council 435 The White House

D Package # 8033

82 NOV 23 P8: 38

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John Poindexter		<u> </u>	
Bud McFarlane	2	m	
Jacque Hill	3	4	
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John Poindexter			
Staff Secretary			-
Sit Room			***************************************
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CLARK

FROM DUR

DOCDATE 22 NOV 82 14

KEYWORDS: USSR

MILITARY POSTURE

SUBJECT:	SOVIET THREAT TO	AMERICAN SLOCS & AERIAL LINES	OF RESUPPLY
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MOSCOW 11/22 4118

DTG: 221445Z NOV 82 PSN: 018534

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WHSE COMMENT: NODIS/REDTAG

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

NLRR 148-23-/8-5- 8
BY COD NARA DATE 12-14/15

MESSAGE:

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DE RUEHHO #4118 3261445
O 2214457 NOV 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE LASHDO IMMEDIATE 8651

S E C R PT MOSCOW 14118

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PNUC, PARM

" B ECT: RESID NTIAL MESSAGE TO HITHETSOV ON CEMS

REF: STATE 16684

1. S- ENT RE TEXT.

- C. ON NOVEMBER 22 DCP DELIVERED THE FRES DENT S LETTER TO HEA USA DEPARTMENT CHIEF KOPPLENTOV, WHO FROMISED TO FORWARD IT TO KUZMETSOV. AFTER READING THE LETTER, KOMPLEKTOV ASKED: A) WHAT TYPES OF MAJOR MILITARY EXERCISES WOULD THE U.S. PROPOSE TO NOTIFY, AND B) WHAT EXCHANGE OF DATA IS PROPOSED? REGARDING THE LATTER POINT, HE ASKED WHETHER THE PRESIDENT WAS PROPOSING AN EXCHANGE OF DATA BEYOND WHAT AMBASSADOR NITZE HAD PROPOSED. DCM REPLIED THAT THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS THIS EVENING AND THE FOLLOW-UP AT GENEVA.
- 3. FOMPLEKTOV ASKED WHETHER DCM HAD ANY INFCRMATION ON CHANGES IN THE U.S. POSITION ON ARMS LIMITATIONS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

AND REDUCTIONS IN GENEVA, AS DISTINCT FROM THE CBM'S
NOTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. DCM EXPRESSED SURPRISE
THAT KOMPLEKTOV THOUGHT SUCH CHANGES WERE FORTHCOMING.
TM OLD KOMPLEKTOV THAT HE HAD NOT COME TO DISCUSS
THE U.S. POSITIONS AS ALREADY CUTLINED IN GENEVA, BUT
TATHER TO PASS ON THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS FOR CONFIDENCEEUILDING, WHICH WERE COMPLEMENTARY TO THEM. DCM ASKED
OMPLEKTOV IN RETURN WHETHER THERE YOULD BE ANY CHANGES
IN THE LOVIET PUSITION ON MF OR START. KOMPLEKTOV
LESPONDED MON-COMMITTALLY. HITTHAN

CONFIDENTIAL

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE Ø1 SIT98Ø

MOSCOW 42Ø4 DATE 11/29/82

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WHSR COMMENT: REDTAG

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

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BY /CDB NARA DATE 12/2/14

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C O N F L D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14204 TAGS: MNUC, PARM SUBJECT: TASS REACTION TO MX DECISION

(U) TASS NOVEMBER 23 PREDICTABLY CHARACTERIZED THE PRESIDENT'S MX DECISION AS A "NEW DANGEROUS STEP ON THE PATH OF STEPPING UP THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE (AND) OF PREPARING FOR NUCLEAR WAR." TASS CLAIMED THE PRESIDENT PREPARING FOR NUCLEAR WAR." TASS CLAIMED THE PRESIDENT PREPARING FOR NUCLEAR WAR." TASS CLAIMED THE PRESIDENT

MESSAGE (CONTINUED).

"DELIBERATELY FALSIFIED DATA" ABOUT THE U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR FORCES BALANCE. TASS ASSERTED THAT THE MX'S IMPROVEMENT IN ACCURACY AND YIELD MAKES IT A FIRST-STRIKE WEAPON. COMMENT

TASS INCORRECTLY CLAIMED THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED A DECISION TO DEPLOY 100 MX MISSILES; RATHER HE DECIDED ON THE BASING MODE. TASS FAILED TO MENTION THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH OR HIS PROPOSALS FOR NUCLEAR CBMS. WE CAN EXPECT MORE AUTHORITATIVE AND DETAILED SOVIET REACTION TO THE MX DECISION AND CBM PROPOSALS OVER THE NEXT WEEK. HARTMAN

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TO

PRESIDENT

FROM SHULTZ, G

DOCDATE 24 NOV 82

PIPES

24 NOV 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

DOBRYNIN, ANATOLIY F

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF SHULTZ - DOBRYNIN MTG ON 23 NOV

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR INFO

DUE:

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The President has seen

NLRR 748-23-18-7WASHINGTON

NARA DATE (2) November 27, 1982

171045

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT:

George Shultz's Luncheon Meeting with Soviet

Ambassador Dobrynin on November 23, 1982

In his first meeting with George Shultz since Andropov had been named General Secretary, Dobrynin cautiously explored the ground without making any fresh promises or commitments. His instructions seem to have been to learn at first hand how far the United States was prepared to translate its friendly gestures toward the post-Brezhnev leadership into specific concessions. His main points were:

- That it might be desirable for you to meet with Andropov. George's response to this suggestion was cool.
- That no progress was being made in the Geneva arms talks and that the negotiations might better be moved to "higher levels" (summit?). George replied that we had excellent negotiators in Geneva.
- That we were violating SALT II with your MX decision and "planning something 'deceptive' regarding the ABM Treaty", which George firmly refuted.

As had been their practice in the past, the Soviet side insists on excluding from discussion all regional areas of conflict between us (Poland, Afghanistan, Central America, Angola, etc.), in order to confine negotiations with us exclusively to bilateral issues, essentially arms control and summit conferences. In this respect, Andropov's accession to power has made no perceptive difference as yet.

Attachment:

Memorandum from Secretary Shultz to the President, Tab A dated November 24, 1982

> Prepared by: Richard Pipes

Declassify on: QADR



-





THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

SENSITIVE

November 24, 1982

11046

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

George P. Shultz 48

SUBJECT:

My Luncheon with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin

November 23

As we agreed Tuesday morning, I told Ambassador Dobrynin that you are totally committed to maintaining US strength, but are no less serious in your willingness to work for a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. Ambassador Dobrynin replied that the Soviets also wanted a more constructive relationship and the question was how to bring this about.

This led to a discussion of the issues, places and people involved. The issues, I said, were on the agenda which Foreign Minister Gromyko and I identified in New York--arms control, regional issues (Afghanistan, Kampuchea, etc.) and what I called "Madrid" issues (CSCE and human rights). We reviewed the various settings for US-Soviet discussions: INF and START in Geneva, MBFR in Vienna, CSCE in Madrid and the experts' talks on non-proliferation and Southern Africa currently being arranged. I noted that if we are serious about the effort to improve relations, he and I should meet more often. Equally, as it is important for the Soviet Government that Dobrynin get a "feel" for us in high level meetings, it is also important for the United States that Ambassador Hartman have the opportunity to get a "feel" for the Soviet leadership through regular access and exchanges. Dobrynin acknowledged this point. We discussed the possibility of my meeting with Gromyko this spring, but agreed that such a meeting would depend on the progress in our relations over the next several months.

Dobrynin raised the question of whether or not "our bosses" should meet. He explained that in his last years Brezhnev could give speeches and sign documents, but not negotiate. This, however, was not the case with Andropov. He asked if there were any point to a get-acquainted meeting with you. I replied that there is no point to a meeting for the sake of a meeting. What is needed is the prospect of forward movement on problems between us. I agreed to explore the issue but basically, adhered to our previous position on the summit question.

I raised with Dobrynin the misrepresentation of what the Vice President told Andropov in Andropov's account to the West Germans. Dobrynin said he was puzzled and could not understand what had happened, but I am sure he got the point.

There was a good deal of discussion about how to negotiate. In that context, Ambassador Dobrynin noted that the Soviets felt there had been no progress in Geneva. He said frankly that the



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Soviet negotiators there were totally bound by their instructions and without flexibility. He suggested that any progress on arms control would require a political impulse from higher levels. He seemed to imply that we might need another forum for the "real" negotiations. I replied that we have competent personnel in Geneva who are prepared to negotiate. It was agreed, however, that as the current round of negotiations was coming to an end, each side should review the bidding with its negotiators when they returned to their respective capitals.

Dobrynin complained that your M-X basing decision was a violation of the SALT II Treaty and also suggested that we were planning something "deceptive" regarding the ABM Treaty. I refuted Dobrynin's allegations about SALT II and have instructed that we clarify and correct any misperceptions on the ABM issue. Dobrynin also asked where we planned to discuss the CBMs which you proposed. I noted that we considered Geneva the appropriate forum. He agreed that Geneva was appropriate for some of the measures but not for all, for example the hot line. We agreed to discuss the issue further at a later date.

We concluded that each of us would discuss the broader subject of improved relations within our governments in preparation for our next meeting. Ambassador Dobrynin conveyed the feeling that if there is some prospective movement, he was willing to do his best in support of it. On balance, I think the discussion reinforced the central message I gave on your behalf at the outset: we will remain strong, but are willing to work for more constructive relations.

DECL: OADR



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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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November 24, 1982

DECLASCIFIED

White House Ci., August 23, 1807

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES

SUBJECT:

Shultz-Dobrynin Meeting on November: 23, 1982

Attached (Tab A) is George Shultz's report on his luncheon meeting with Ambassador Dobrynin on November 23, and your memorandum (Tab I) to the President summarizing its highlights.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Approve	1/ .	Disapprove
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Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Secretary Shultz's memorandum to the President of November 24, 1982

SECRET Declassify on: OADR

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET

November 24, 1982

ACTION

White House Gu 3, August 23, 1307,
NARA, Date

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES

SUBJECT:

Shultz-Dobrynin Meeting on November 23, 1982

Attached (Tab A) is George Shultz's report on his luncheon meeting with Ambassador Dobrynin on November 23, and your memorandum (Tab I) to the President summarizing its highlights.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Approve	Disapprove

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Secretary Shultz's memorandum to the President of November 24, 1982

SECRET Declassify on: OADR

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONEZDENTIAL

November 24, 1982

171047

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

WPC HAS SEEN

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES M

SUBJECT:

Analysis of Andropov's Speech of November 22, 1982

The Department of State has sent the attached analysis (Tab I) of Andropov's address of November 22. The turgid document concludes that "the speech does not reveal any shift in specific Soviet policies or in Moscow's overall approach to East-West relations". This is true as far as it goes except that there are in the speech some interesting nuances which deserve notice:

- -- The emphasis is on the need for economic reform, with strong hints it should follow the Hungarian model.
- -- The emphasis on Soviet relations with Asian countries (China and India, above all) which suggests a possible drive to attain detente in Asia in order to be better able to face the American "threat".

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NLRR 748-23-18-9-9
BY GOD HARA DATE 12/-2/18

Attachment:

Tab I State's memorandum of November 23, 1982.

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on OADR

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

November 24, 1982 :

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES H

SUBJECT:

Analysis of Andropov's Speech of November 22, 1982

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- -- The emphasis on Soviet relations with Asian countries (China and India, above all) which suggests a possible drive to attain detente in Asia in order to be better able to face the American "threat".

NLRR 748-23-18-9-4

BY COOD NARA DATE 12/-1/15

Attachment:

Tab I State's memorandum of November 23, 1982.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

7/049

November 23, 1982

DECLASSIFIED

BY GOB NARA DATE 17/7/15

NLRR 748-23-18-10-2 MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE S

SUBJECT: Andropov's Plenum Speech - Foreign Policy Aspects

Andropov's speech at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee November 22 is a shrewd effort to capitalize on the positive atmosphere and rising international expectations surrounding the succession. The speech also provided him an opportunity to put his own personal stamp on the tone, if not yet the substance, of post-Brezhnev Soviet foreign policy.

The essence of this new tone is to convey a greater sense of Soviet flexibility and reasonableness through verbal moderation, without making any concessions on substantive issues. so doing, Andropov intends to reassure his domestic constituencies of the continuity of Soviet foreign policy; provide further momentum to an improvement in Moscow's relations with the Third World, China and Western Europe; and place the U.S. on the defensive, thus maneuvering Washington closer to an arms control-centered relationship similar to detente.

Andropov begins his speech by reassuring the CPSU, the Soviet military, and the USSR's allies and friends that Soviet foreign policy will continue to pursue the line set out by his predecessor; that the Soviet armed forces will continue to receive "everything necessary;" and that Moscow will vigorously pursue development of relations with like-minded Socialist nations. Following up on the fence-mending begun during the Brezhnev funeral, Andropov then makes a direct appeal for improvement of Soviet relations with "our great neighbor" China, the Third World (with special mention of India), and Western Europe.

The most striking element of the speech, however, is an explicit call for return to the detente relationship of the 1970s, centering on arms control negotiations with the United States and Western Europe. Declaring that "the future belongs to this policy, "Andropov calls for a relationship based on "reciprocity and equality," explicitly rejecting linkage between normal U.S.-Soviet bilateral relations and "some sort of preliminary concessions in different fields." By avoiding direct criticism of the U.S. by name or direct mention of regional issues such as Afghanistan, Poland and Kampuchea, Andropov conveys moderation to West European ears and relegates Soviet international behavior to a category beyond serious mention.

> COMPIDENTIAL DECL: 11/23/88

In this way, he sets the stage to emphasize the issue which he wishes to be the litmus test of East-West relations: arms control. On this issue, he takes care to strike a measured and moderate tone, asserting that the Soviets want neither "the dispute of ideas to grow into a confrontation of states" nor "arms. . . to become a gauge of the potentials of social systems." He stresses a desire for both nuclear and conventional arms negotiations and implicitly criticizes the U.S. position by condemning "talks for the sake of talks and mere restatements of existing differences. He refrains, however, from the sort of explicit criticism of U.S. motives and proposals that other Soviet spokesmen have advanced in recent weeks. Several times he says that any agreement must reflect "the interests of both sides," but quickly qualifies this with the warning that no one should expect unilateral disarmament from the USSR. He concludes by repeating Brezhnev's call for a freeze on strategic arsenals as a first step to a START agreement.

The speech does not reveal any shift in specific Soviet policies or in Moscow's overall approach to East-West relations. It does, however, represent a tactical refinement in the way the new leadership intends to pursue familiar objectives. Many of these tactical adjustments were evident during the last year of the Brezhnev period -- and may indeed have been inspired by the Andropov ascendancy then taking place -- but we can expect them to be accelerated now that Andropov has taken over in his own right. Thus, the playing up of potential U.S.-European differences on East-West relations and the encouragement of the Western nuclear freeze movement may now be reinforced by a more direct appeal to the nostalgia for detente. This may be supported by an attempt to subordinate regional issues, and thus linkage, by muting the rhetorical battle over these issues. The Soviets also may hope to dissipate international resistance to their goals in Afghanistan, Poland and Kampuchea by talking compromise and openly courting the nations (China, Pakistan, the West Europeans) whose support we need to maintain pressure for Soviet concessions. The new leadership probably hopes, in turn, that all these developments will increase pressures on Washington to reduce its demands for an overall bilateral improvement and to acquiesce in Moscow's desire to place arms control at the center of U.S.-Soviet relations.

> L. Paul Bremer, III Executive Secretary

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONETDENTIAL

November 23, 1982

171050

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

DECLASSIFIED

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES

NLRR 748.23-18-11

SUBJECT:

Andropov's Speech

BY KOB NARA DATE 12/2/cr

I have no desire to blow my own trumpet, but Andropov's speech yesterday seems to confirm my long-held conviction that the post-Brezhnev Soviet leadership will have no choice but to undertake serious economic reforms. Especially noteworthy is his reference to "extending the independence" of Soviet economic institutions and "taking into account the experience of fraternal countries". These are code words for adopting the Hungarian model of economic decentralization and business-like management of enterprises. The fact that, according to Andropov, the Politburo has ordered the Council of Ministers and Gosplan (State Planning Commission) to take effective steps in this direction indicates that he is in earnest. Such moves, if implemented, could have the most momentous consequences for Soviet foreign and military policies.

cc: Norman Bailey William Martin Roger Robinson

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National Security Council The White House

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Package # 8099

82 NOV 23 PI: 07

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

171051

CONFLOENTIAL

November 23, 1982

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES N

SUBJECT:

Andropov's Speech

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Norman Bailey William Martin Roger Robinson

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National Security Council The White House

Package # _ 807

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62 NOV 24 P6: 44

ACTION SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN John Poindexter . **Bud McFarlane** Jacque Hill Judge Clark John Poindexter **Staff Secretary** Sit Room A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further I-Information Action DISTRIBUTION Other_ Meese Baker Deaver cc:

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CONFIDENTIAL

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RECEIVED 23 NOV 82 14

TO CLARK

DOCDATE 23 NOV 82

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23 NOV 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

ECONOMICS

ANDROPOV, YURIY

SPEECHES

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF ANDROPOV NOV 22 SPEECH

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

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NLRR 748-23-18-12-0
BY (COL) NARA DATE 12/7/15

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE Ø784

5 E C R E T MOSCOW 14293

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PEPR, US, UR, X.I

SUBJECT: MOSCOW CONSULTATIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

REFS: A) STATE 321817, B) MOSCOW 13895

1. _ ENTIRE TEXT).

2. FOREIGN MINISTRY USA DIVISION DEPUTY DIRECTOR TARASENKO INFORMED POL COUNSELOR NOVEMBER 26 THAT U.S. PROPOSAL FOR DATE OF NEXT ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS AGREEABLE. SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO HOLD THE CONSULTATIONS ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7 RPT DECEMBER 7. SOVIET PRINCIPAL WOULD BE VICE-MINISTER IL'ICHEV. TARASENKO ASKED WHETHER THIS COULD BE CONSIDERED AGREED; POL COUNSELOR SAID IT COULD, GIVEN FACT THAT SOVIETS HAD ACCEPTED OUR PREFERRED DATE. DETAILS SUCH AS STARTING TIME AND COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION ON EACH SIDE WERE LEFT FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK. HARTMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRE

November 29, 1982

DECLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

The Secretary of State

NLRR 748-23-18-13-9

208 NARA DATE / 24

SUBJECT:

U.S. Policy Toward the USSR During the

Transition Period (U)

With the accession in the USSR of the new leadership, we are beginning to receive from various sides proposals of fresh initiatives toward the Andropov administration. Rather than deal with such proposals on an individual basis, it would be helpful to secure from the Department a memorandum for the President outlining the desirable course of our Soviet policy in the weeks and months immediately ahead. would be appreciated if such a document could be drafted and forwarded to me at the earliest possible time. (8)

William P. Clark

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NATIONAL SECURITY Council DISTRIBUTION RECORD



Log Number 8013

Date 29 NOV 1982

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Subject: POSSIE	BILITY OF N	EW LONG-	TERM GRA	IN AGREE	MENT W/ USSR	(U)
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171054 MEMO

1 11/24/1982 **B**1

R. PIPES TO W. CLARK RE REQUEST FROM STATE RE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

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

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

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THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

WASHINGTON

61 MIV 10 P4; 24

November 18, 1982

MEMORANDUM TO:

George P. Shultz

John R. Block William P. Clark

FROM:

William E. Broc

SUBJECT:

A New Long-Term Grains Agreement (LTA)

with the USSR

The last few days have witnessed a convergence of several events — the death of Brezhnev, the lifting of the pipeline sanctions, the release of Lech Walesa — which leads me to suggest that the time is appropriate for renewed interagency consideration of a new LTA with the USSR. You know well the difficulties facing our farm community and the huge grain surpluses now weighing down our markets. It also appears evident that under the current circumstances, the Soviets are going to purchase U.S. grain only in the last resort — after other suppliers have been utilized to the fullest extent possible.

At the October 28 grains consultations with the Soviets, the USSR spokesman made clear that the Soviets intend to buy preferentially from those countries with which they have long-term arrangements (since the embargo, Argentina, Canada, and just recently, France have concluded such arrangements); once again, he threw a barb at us for our failure to respond to their inquiries about a new LTA.

The negotiation of a new LTA with the Soviet Union could change this situation and open up new market opportunities for farmers — not only in the future years covered by a new agreement, but also perhaps in the current year as well. Therefore, if you have no objections, I intend to ask my staff to begin the process of interagency review of the rationale for, objectives, and potential mechanisms of a new agreement. I might add that it would be very desirable if the Administration were seen as acting on its own initiative in this matter rather than in response to pressure from Congress and the farm community. Consequently, if we decide that a new LTA is a proper course, we should move well before the new Congress opens up.

National Security Council The White House

439

Package # 80/3 " 4 Ph: 44 **SEQUENCE TO** HAS SEEN **ACTION** John Poindexter . **Bud McFarlane** Jacque Hill Judge Clark John Poindexter **Staff Secretary** Sit Room I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action DISTRIBUTION cc: Meese Baker Deaver Other_ COMMENTS

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National Security Council 433 The White House 8013

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 19, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

HENRY NAU AN

SUBJECT:

New Long-Term Grains Agreement with the USSR

Bill Brock proposes renewed interagency consideration of a new LTA with the USSR.

Two foreign policy questions have to be raised:

- 1. Is the President ready to lift the sanctions on Poland? Negotiation of a new LTA is currently prohibited by the December sanctions. The Administration's position, as I understand it, is that the oil and gas sanctions were lifted only in place of something equally or more effective against the Soviet Union. What would this substitute be in the case of lifting the ban on a new LTA?
- 2. Should we rush from what some critics characterized as "trade warfare" measures against the Soviet Union to the other extreme which some will characterize as a new era of detente? Is it not better to pause and measure out our willingness to open new areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union as they make small, reciprocal steps in our direction? There is no need to be obstinate but we should be cool-headed and not appear to be rushing.

On the other side, Brock has made clear the domestic political advantages of a new LTA.

You should focus on this recommendation quickly, since Brock's note will certainly unleash new forays by USDA in this area.

RECOMMENDATION

That you discuss this issue immediately with Shultz and discourage premature efforts.

Approve

Disapprove

Attachment

Tab I Brock Memo dated 11/18/82

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National Security Council The White House

Package # 8013

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171055 MEMO 1 11/24/1982 B1

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

46 171058

November 29, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE WILLIAM E. BROCK The United States Trade Representative

SUBJECT:

The Possibility of a New Long-Term Grain Agreement with the USSR (U)

Your memorandum of November 18, suggesting that we consider negotiating a new Long-Term Agreement with the Soviet Union, raises a number of questions which transcend the immediate issue of grain trade. As you will recall, the December 1981 sanctions prohibited a renewal of the Long-Term Agreement until and unless the situation in Poland had improved appreciably. This condition has not yet been met. In the case of the oil and gas sanctions, these were lifted because we were satisfied that we had received in exchange something at least as effective. It is not clear what we would be able to substitute for lifting the prohibition on the Long-Term Agreement. (S)

Because your memorandum raises such quintessential questions, I have requested George Shultz to have the State Department draft a paper on our policy toward the USSR during the transition period. Once it is in hand, we will be in a position to deal with the important issue which your memorandum has raised in the context of an overall policy. (C)

William P. Clark

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

The Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

U.S. Policy Toward the USSR During the

Transition Period

With the accession in the USSR of the new leadership, we are beginning to receive from various sides proposals of fresh initiatives toward the Andropov administration. Rather than deal with such proposals on an individual basis, it would be helpful to secure from the Department a memorandum for the President outlining the desirable course of our Soviet policy in the weeks and months immediately ahead. It would be appreciated if such a document could be drafted and forwarded to me at the earliest possible time.

William P. Clark

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE WILLIAM E. BROCK
The United States Trade Representative

SUBJECT:

The Possibility of a New Long-Term Grain Agreement with the USSR

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