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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

# **Ronald Reagan Library**

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

**KDB** 12/10/2015

File Folder

USSR - BREZHNEV FUNERAL (NOVEMBER 1982)

**FOIA** 

F03-002/5

**SKINNER** 

**Box Number** 23

**ID Doc Type Document Description** No of Doc Date Restrictions **Pages** 

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	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-23-31-3-5
171155 CABLE		STATE 318360	3 11/12/1982 B1
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	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-23-31-5-3

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NLRR 1-18-23-31-1-7
BY 100 NARA DATE 2/1-4-5

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SITUATION LISTING

DATE 08/10/83//222

SITUATION: PRES MSGS SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

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FM USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT

TO SECISTATE WASHDO NIACT IMMEDIATE 0000

BT

S E & R E T SECTO 15024

NODIS

E.O. 12065: NDR

TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)

SUBJECT: MOSCOW VISIT; THE MESSAGE OF THE FUNERAL

FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE SECRETARY

WHITE HOUSE SITROOM PLEASE PASS TO VICE PRESIDENTS PARTY

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I WILL BE REPORTING TO YOU SEPARATELY ON OUR MEETING WITH ANDROPOV, BUT I ALSO WANTED TO SHARE WITH YOU A FEW ON-THE-SPOT IMPRESSIONS OF THE FUNERAL, BECAUSE I THINK IT PROVIDES A SYMBOLIC BACKDROP FOR THE MORE SPECIFIC MESSAGE ANDROPOV WAS SEEKING TO GIVE GEORGE AND ME. WE WERE ONLY IN MOSCOW FOR 18 HOURS AND IT IS HAZARDOUS TO EXTRAPOLATE FROM ONE EVENT. BUT THERE WAS NO AMBIGUITY ABOUT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE

SOVIETS WANTED THE FUNERAL TO LEAVE.

3. FIRST, A FUNERAL WITH OUT GOD HAS AN EERIE FEEL TO

IT.

SECOND. THE CEREMONY ITSELF WAS SOMBER. IMPRESSIVE. BUT IN A WAY DESIGNED TO CONVEY A SENSE OF STRENGTH AND POWER. TO THE EYE, IT WAS EVEN MORE A MILITARY AFFAIR | THAN MOST STATE FUNERALS AND HAVING DEFENSE MINISTER USTINOV SPEAK SECOND, AFTER ANDROPOV, UNDERLINED THE POINT. THE SOVIET STATE WAS MUCH IN EVIDENCE, THE PARTY +- DESPITE ITS LEAD ROLE IN THE SPEECHES --SOMEWHAT LESS. BOTH THOSE OF US ON RED SQUARE AND THOSE WATCHING ON TELEVISION FELT THE NEW LEADERSHIP WAS TALKING MAINLY TO A DOMESTIC AUDIENCE, AND WAS SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH THE COUNTRY HAD LOST A LEADER. HE LEFT IT STRONG, UNITED AND DETERMINED TO STAY THAT WAY. IN THIS SENSE, CONTINUITY WAS THE THEME. 5. THIRD. THE SCENARIO SEEMED GEARED TO SHOW THAT ANDROPOV IS IN CHARGE. AFTER THE SLOW SOLEMNITY OF THE COFFIN'S PASSAGE UP INTO RED SQUARE TO THE FRONT

#0020 NNNN

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DATE 08/10/83//222

SITUATION:

PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

OF LENIN'S MAUSOLEUM, THE PACE SUDDENLY CHANGED AS HE STEPPED TO THE TRIBUNE AND BEGAN TO SPEAK IN A STRONG, RINGING VOICE. AS MASTER OF CEREMONIES INTRODUCING THE OTHER SPEAKERS, HE REMAINED BRISK, DECISIVE, AND IN CONTROL AS FOR THE SPEECHES THEMSELVES, WHILE SPRINKLED WITH TRIBUTES TO THE DEPARTED LEADER. THERE WAS SURPRISINGLY LITTLE OF BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL. 6. FINALLY, THESE TWO MESSAGES -- THAT THE COUNTRY IS STRONG, AND THAT ANDROPOV IS IN CHARGE -- GAVE THE PROCEEDINGS A DECISIVE CAST. WE ARE LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, ANDROPOV SEEMED TO BE SAYING. AND THIS MESSAGE WAS DRIVEN HOME BY ANOTHR STILL SHARPER CHANGE OF PACE AT THE END. AFTER AN HOUR OF MOURNFUL DEAD MARCH ON THE GROUND, AND TCHAIKOVSKIY AND CHOPIN FUNERAL MUSIC ON TELEVISION, AS SOON AS BREZHNEV WAS IN THE GROUND. THE BAND STRUCK UP INTO FAST MARTIAL MUSIC. THE PUBLIC CEREMONY ENDED WITH AN ALMOST JAUNTY MARCH-PAST OF HONOR UNITS FROM EVERY MAJOR SERVICE IN THE MOSCOW GARRISON. THE CONTRAST --BETWEEN THE HONORED BUT MUSTY PAST AND THE VIBRANT NEW PRESENT -- COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE STRIKING. SHULTZ. BT

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NLRR 148 13-31-2-6
BY GOO NARA DATE 12/19/15

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DATE 08/10/83//222

SITUATIONS PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE: |

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BT

CONFLOENTIAL SECTO 15021

E.O. 12065: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ. GEORGE P.)

SUBJECT: MOSCOW TRIP: VISIT TO PENTECOSTALIST FAMILIES IN EMBASSY

FOR THE PRESIDENT

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. JUST BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE AIRPORT FOLLOWING OUR MEETING WITH ANDROPOV. GEORGE AND BARBARA BUSH AND I HAD THE SAD AND SOBERING EXPERIENCE OF MEETING WITH THE SIX PENTECOSTALIST FAMILY MEMBERS LIVING IN OUR MOSCOW EMBASSY. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE BEEN GIVING THE PENTECOSTALISTS REFUGE SINCE JUNE 1978 BECAUSE THE SOVIETS INSIST THEY MUST RETURN TO SIBERIA BEFORE THEIR EMIGRATION APPLICATIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED. THEY WISH TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION DIRECTLY BECAUSE

THEIR PREVIOUS APPLICATIONS HAVE BROUGHT THEM ONLY PERSECUTION.

3. THE SIX FAMILY MEMBERS SEEMED TOUCHED BY OUR UNEXPECTED VISIT. IT GAVE THEM THE CHANCE TO GIVE US THE LETTERS THEY HAD PREPARED TO SEND US ON THE OCCASION OF OUR STAY IN MOSCOW, AND THEY WERE GENEROUS IN THEIR PRAISE OF U.S. HELP AND OUR EFFORTS TO HELP THEM EMIGRATE. DURING OUR CHAT, GEORGE AND I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE TIME WILL SOON COME WHEN THEY CAN LEAVE AND BE FREE TO PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION AS THEY WISH. WITHOUT ENCOURAGING UREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS ON THEIR PART.

WE DID NOT PUBLICIZE THE VISIT BEFOREHAND. BUT IT DID COME ON THE HEELS OF OUR TALK WITH ANDROPOV. AND I DOUBT THE SOVIETS WILL MISS THE CLEAR SIGNAL OF YOUR DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN

THE USSR. SHULTZ.

BT

#0017

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NLRR 23-3/-3-1

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DATE 08/10/83//222

SITUATION:

PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

OO WTE

DE WTE2 #0013 3192000

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FM VICE PRESIDENT BUSH ABOARD AIR FORCE TWO

TO WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT

A DATE 12/10/15

NOTE: FOR JUDGE CLARK: BILL. PLEASE HAND ONE COPY TO

GEORGE SHULTZ. NO OTHER DISTRIBUTION.

ZEM

SECRETEYESONLY

SUBJECT: MY VISIT TO MOSCOW

- 1. MR. PRESIDENT, GEORGE SHULTZ WILL BRIEF YOU VERBALLY ON OUR MOSCOW VISIT. BUT I WANTED TO PASS ALONG A COUPLE OF THOUGHTS.
- 2. I AM GLAD YOU SENT US. THE SOVIETS CLEARLY APPRECIATED THE GESTURE AND SHARED THEIR APPRECIATION IN SEVERAL WAYS.
- 3. BY WAY OF EXAMPLE: GEORGE SHULTZ AND I WALKED TO THE RECEIVING HALL, TOOK OFF OUR COATS, AND WENT TO THE REAR OF THE LINE. WHEN WE WERE HALFWAY UP THE STAIRS WALKING ALONG WITH THE LIKES OF PRESIDENT ZIA. PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI AND MANY MORE, A SOVIET PROTOCAL OFFICER PUSHED THROUGH THE CROWD ON THE STAIRS AND TOLD US TO COME FOR-WARD. RELUCTANTLY WE OBLIGED. BEING LED OBTUSIVELY PAST ALL THE WAITING DIGNITARIES. WE WERE INSTALLED AT THE HEAD OF THE LINE JUST IN FRONT OF PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU. THIS WAS ALL DONE IN FRONT OF A LARGE TV CAMERA POOL. WE THEN GREETED ANDROPOV. TIKINOV. AND GROMYKO. ALL OF WHOM THANKED US PROFUSELY FOR COMING AND ASKING THAT WE CONVEY THEIR SINCERE THANKS TO YOU.
- 4. THERE WERE OTHER LITTLE GESTURES, BUT THE MAJOR EVENT WAS OUR MEETING AT 4:30 P.M. WITH ANDROPOV AND GROMYKO. SOVIET WATCHERS WERE AMAZED THAT ANDROPOV RECEIVED US.
- 5. I WILL NOT REPORT HERE ON THE CONVERSATION. A VERBATIM REPORT IS BEING PREPARED, BUT SINCE THIS WAS THE FIRST KNOWN VISIT WITH ANDROPOV BY AMERICANS. LET ME CONVEY SOME IMPRESSIONS.
- 6. HE SEEMED SURE OF HIMSELF. HE READ HIS THREE-PAGE BRIEF BUT WITH EASE AND SELF-ASSURANCE.

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SITUATION:

PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

- 7. HE CONVEYED STRENGTH. BUT NOT IN A BELLICOSE WAY.
- 8. HE DISHED IT OUT, BUT DID NOT FLINCH AS I MEN-TIONED POLAND, AFGHANISTAN, AND HUMAN RIGHTS.
- 9. HE SMILED AND SEEMED GENUINELY WARM WHEN I MADE JOKING REFERENCE TO HIS HAVING BEEN KGB CHIEF WHILE I WAS HEAD OF CIA.
- 10. IT IS OF COURSE TOO EARLY TO PREDICT HOW THINGS WILL EVOLVE IN MOSCOW, BUT FOR SOME REASON I FEEL UP-BEAT. OPPORTUNITY MAY WELL LIE AHEAD, THOUGH MUCH OF THE RHETORIC WAS PREDICTABLE AND ACCUSATORY.
- 11. I AM WRITING THIS CABLE AS WE FLY MOSCOW TO FRANKFURT -- A SOVIET NAVIGATOR UP FRONT IN THE COCKPIT: THE IMPRESSIONS OF RED SQUARE AND THE PAGEANTRY OF BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL FRESH IN MY MIND.
- 12. WE WERE VERY CLOSE TO THE FRONT. WHEN THE GOOSE-STEPPING, ARM-SWINGING, ELITE GUARD MARCHED IN I AT FIRST SAW ONLY HOSTILE TROOPS AND HOSTILE POWER. WE HAD A LITTLE WAIT AND I WATCHED THE CHANGING OF THE GUARD AND LOOKED AT THE FACES AND THEN I SAW MY SONS AND YOURS: GEORGE, JEB, NEIL, MARVIN, MIKE AND RON.
- 13. I SAW A FUNERAL WITHOUT TEARS. SAVE FOR THE IMMEDIATE FAMILY. I SAW A FUNERAL WITHOUT GOD AND THOUGHT "HOW SAD -- HOW LONELY."
- 14. I CAN'T SPEAK FOR GEORGE SHULTZ WITH WHOM IT WAS A TOTAL JOY SHARING THESE RESPONSIBLITIES, BUT LET ME SAY TWO THINGS NOW: FIRST. THANKS FOR SENDING US ON AN UNFORGETTABLE MISSION. SECOND: WE MUST SUCCEED IN OUR QUEST FOR PEACE.
- 15. NOW BACK TO AFRICA. WARM REGARDS, GEORGE.

BT #0013 NNNN

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DATE 08/10/83//222

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SITUATION: PRES MSGS SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

HCE353 OO RUEHC

DE RUEHC #8360 3160308

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 0000

RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON IMMEDIATE 0000

RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA IMMEDIATE 0000

RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 0000

INFO RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 0000

RUFHLG/AMCONSUL LENINGRAD IMMEDIATE 0000

BT

S E COR E T STATE 318360

NODAS |

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PPDC, PEPR, UR, US, NATO

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO HEADS OF STATE AND

GOVERNMENT ON DEATH OF BREZHNEV

ISLAMABAD FOR UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER, TOPOL

(SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT).

EMBASSIES (WITH EXCEPTION OF ISLAMABAD) SHOULD DELIVER IMMEDIATELY TEXT OF FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT ADDING APPRORIATE SALUTATION AND CLOSE. NATO POSTS SHOULD INCLUDE PARAGRAPH ON NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING. THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE DELETED FROM LETTERS TO JAPANESE AND ANZUS LEADERS.

BEGIN TEXT: 3.

DEAR.

THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT LEONID BREZHNEV BRINGS TO A CLOSE AN EVENTFUL EIGHTEEN-YEAR PERIOD IN SOVIET HISTORY. WHETHER HIS DEPARTURE WILL OPEN A PERIOD QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT IN IMPORTANT RESPECTS REMAINS TO BE SEEN. IN THE NEAR TERM WE EXPECT LITTLE CHANGE IN SOVIET BEHAVIOR, EITHER AS REGARDS THE SOVIET UNION'S RELATIONS WITH OTHERS, OR THE INTERNAL ORDERING

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SITUATION:

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SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION: OF ITS OWN SOCIETY.

> OVER THE LONG TERM. HOWEVER. THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION OF A SORT WHICH COULD PRESENT THE WEST WITH NEW OPPORTUNITIES AS WELL AS NEW CHALLENGES. DIRECTION OF SUCH CHANGE CAN BE INFLUENCED, FOR BETTER OR WORSE, BY THE MANNER IN WHICH WE WESTERN LEADERS CONDUCT OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE COMING MONTHS. AT THIS IMPORTANT JUNCTURE. THEREFORE. I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE PATH AHEAD.

> OUR APPROACH TO THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN PREMISED UPON THE PRINCIPLE THAT ONE MUST HOLD THAT GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS ACTIONS, AND BASE ONE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH IT ON THE REALITIES OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR. THIS MEANS WE MUST STAND READY TO IMPROVE THESE RELATIONS. AND ADD NEW CONTENT TO THEM. WHEN SOVIET ACTIONS SO MERIT, JUST AS WE HAVE SOUGHT TO EXPRESS IN RECENT YEARS THROUGH A COOLING OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, DISAPPROVAL OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN, POLAND, AND INDOCHINA. AS THE CURRENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP LOOKS INTO THE FUTURE, AND A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS EMERGES TO TAKE ITS PLACE, IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST WILL DEPEND UPON THE WAY THEY CONDUCT SOVIET POLICY.

> UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES, I BELIEVE WE, AS WESTERN LEADERS. SHOULD, IN OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PRONOUNCEMENTS DIRECTED AT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, AFFIRM THE OPPORTUNITY FOR IMPROVED EAST-WEST RELATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD STRESS THAT SUCH IMPROVEMENT MUST REQUIRE SOLID EVIDENCE OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR. I HAVE SENT A MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN KUZNETSOV IN THIS SPIRIT SECRETARY SHULTZ HAS WRITTEN IN A SIMILAR VEIN TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO. VICE PRESIDENT BUSH WILL LEAD OUR DELEGATION TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL. AND COMMUNICATE THE SAME MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

CONTINUITY WILL MARK THE NATURE OF OUR CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AHEAD. WE WILL CONTINUE ALL THE DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE PRESENTLY UNDER WAY. INCLUDING THOSE BEING

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SITUATION:

PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

CONDUCTED IN GENEVA. VIENNA. AND MADRID. WE WILL BE ALERT TO ANY POSSIBILITY OF FORWARD PROGRESS AND WILL MAINTAIN OUR REGULAR CONTACTS IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL BE READY TO MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO FOR ANOTHER IN-DEPTH EXCHANGE WHEN MUTUALLY CONVENIENT.

I THINK IT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AT THIS TIME THAT WESTERN CONDUCT TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION BE MARKED BY UNITY OF PURPOSE. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC INDEED IF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WERE TO PERCEIVE DIVISIONS IN THE WEST. EITHER AS REGARDS OUR WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO POSITIVE STEPS FROM MOSCOW OR WAVERING IN OUR INSISTENCE THAT THE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP BE BASED UPON SOVIET ADHERENCE TO THE NORMS OF RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR. I HOPE. THEREFORE. THAT IN THE DAYS AHEAD OUR GOVERNMENTS CAN MAINTAIN AN INTENSIVE EXCHANGE AS REGARDS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE USSR, ANALYSES OF THEIR POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES, AND INTENTIONS REGARDING OUR RESPECTIVE POLICY STATEMENTS.

THE MEETING OF NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS NEXT MONTH OFFERS AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY FOR AN AUTHORITATIVE EXCHANGE OF WESTERN VIEWS ON THE FUTURE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE USSR. AND ITS IMPACT ON WESTERN POLICIES. IT WILL ALSO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEND THE SORT OF POSITIVE, FIRM, AND CONCERTED MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WHICH I TRUST WILL MARK ALL OUR ACTIONS THROUGHOUT THIS IMPORTANT PERIOD.

IN THE DAYS AHEAD, WE WILL BE FOLLOWING EVENTS IN MOSCOW AND ELSEWHERE CLOSELY. WE SHALL SHARE OUR INFORMATION AND PERCEPTIONS WITH YOU AND WILL VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR DOING THE SAME WITH US. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER TO ENSURE THAT THE APPROACH OF A UNITED WEST DURING THIS PERIOD WILL HAVE UPON THE NEW SOVIET LEADERSHIP THE EFFECT WE ALL DESIRE.

SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN. SHULTZ BT #8360 NNNN

171158 DATE 08/10/83//222

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NLRR 748-23-31-5-3

BY COB NARA DATE 12/10/18

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SITUATION LISTING

SITUATION: PRES MSGS SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

HCE341

OO RUEHC RUMJPG RUEHMO RUFHLG DE RUEHC #8359 3160309 ZNY SSSSS ZZH

0 120301Z NOV 82 ZFF6

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUMJPG/AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE 5827 INFO RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 9993

RUFHLG/AMCONSUL LENINGRAD IMMEDIATE 5116

BIT

S E CAR E T STATE 318359

NODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PPDC, PEPR, UR, US, CH

PRESIDENTIAL LETTER ON DEATH OF BREZHNEV SUBJECT:

- 1. (SEJERET ENTIRE TEXT).
- 2. EMBASSY SHOULD DELIVER IMMEDIATELY THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO THE APPROPRIATE CHINESE OFFICIAL.
- 3. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR: THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT LEONID BREZHNEV BRINGS TO A CLOSE AN EVENTFUL EIGHTEEN-YEAR PERIOD IN SOVIET WHETHER HIS DEPARTURE WILL OPEN A PERIOD HISTORY. QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT IN IMPORTANT RESPECTS REMAINS TO BE SEEN. IN THE NEAR TERM WE EXPECT LITTLE CHANGE IN SOVIET BEHAVIOR, EITHER AS REGARDS THE SOVIET UNION'S RELATIONS WITH OTHERS, OR THE INTERNAL ORDERING OF ITS OWN SOCIETY. FOR THE PRESENT, OUR EMBASSY REPORTS MOSCOW CALM. AND THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF UNUSUAL SOVIET MILITARY ACTIVITY.

OVER THE LONGER TERM, HOWEVER, THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION OF A SORT WHICH COULD PRESENT NEW OPPORTUNITIES AS WELL AS NEW CHALLENGES. THE DIRECTION OF SUCH CHANGE CAN BE INFLUENCED, FOR BETTER OR WORSE, BY THE MANNER IN WHICH OTHER LEADERS CONDUCT THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE COMING MONTHS. AT THIS IMPORTANT JUNCTURE, THEREFORE, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON OUR COURSE IN THE MONTHS AHEAD .

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DATE 08/10/83//222

SITUATION:

PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

## MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

OUR APPROACH TO THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN BASED UPON THE PRINCIPLE THAT ONE MUST HOLD THAT GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS ACTIONS, AND BASE ONE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH IT ON THE REALITIES OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR. THIS MEANS THAT WE MUST STAND READY TO IMPROVE THESE RELATIONS, AND ADD NEW CONTENT TO THEM, WHEN SOVIET ACTIONS SO MERIT, JUST AS WE HAVE SOUGHT TO EXPRESS IN RECENT YEARS THROUGH A COOLING OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. DISAPPROVAL OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN KAMPUCHEA, AFGHANISTAN, POLAND AND ELSEWHERE. AS THE CURRENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP LOOKS INTO THE FUTURE, AND AS A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS EMERGES TO TAKE ITS PLACE, IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER NATIONS WILL DEPEND UPON THE WAY THEY CONDUCT SOVIET POLICY.

UNDER SUCH CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. IN OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS DIRECTED TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WE WILL SEEK TO AFFIRM THE OPPORTUNITY FOR IMPROVED EAST-WEST RELATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME WE WILL STRESS THAT SUCH IMPROVEMENT WILL REQUIRE SOLID EVIDENCE OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR. I HAVE SENT A MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN KUZNETSOV IN THIS SPIRIT. VICE PRESIDENT BUSH WILL LEAD OUR DELEGATION TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL AND COMMUNICATE THE SAME MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

CONTINUITY WILL MARK THE NATURE OF OUR CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AHEAD. WILL CONTINUE ALL THE DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE UNDERWAY, INCLUDING THE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA AND VIENNA. WE WILL BE ALERT TO ANY POSSIBILITY OF FORWARD PROGRESS. WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR REGULAR CONTACTS IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL BE READY TO MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO FOR ANOTHER IN-DEPTH EXCHANGE WHEN MUTUALLY CONVENIENT.

IN THE DAYS AHEAD WE WILL BE FOLLOWING EVENTS IN MOSCOW AND ELSEWHERE CLOSELY. I HOPE THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS CAN MAINTAIN AN INTENSIVE EXCHANGE AS REGARDS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE USSR. WE WILL VERY MUCH APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR GOVERNMENT'S EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION AND THOUGHTS REGARDING FUTURE POLICY.

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DATE 08/10/83//222

SITUATION: PRES MSGS

SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN

END TEXT. SHULTZ

BT

#8359

NNNN