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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

Withdrawer

JET 5/24/2005

File Folder SOVIET LEADERSHIP TRANSITION - CPPG JULY 20,
1982 1/2

FOIA

F06-114/10

Box Number 34

YARHI-MILO

3416

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
11464	MEMO	PIPES RE USSR SUCCESSION CPPG-SOVIET LEADERSHIP TRANSITION D 7/18/2008 F06-114/10; R 12/27/2012 M554/1	1	7/20/1982	B1 B3
11465	PAPER	CPPG ISSUE PAPER SOVIET LEADERSHIP TRANSITION	7	ND	B1
11466	PAPER	SAME TEXT AS DOC #11465	7	ND	B1
11470	CABLE	111542Z NOV 82 R 1/2/2008 NLRRF06-114/10	4	11/11/1982	B1
11467	PAPER	USSR: AFTER BREZHNEV R 7/18/2008 F06-114/10	2	ND	B1
11471	CABLE	110912Z NOV 82 R 1/2/2008 NLRRF06-114/10	2	11/11/1982	B1
11472	REPORT	SUGGESTED BREZHNEV PORTION OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 11, 1982 R 1/2/2008 NLRRF06-114/10	1	ND	B1
11468	MEMO	HANDWRITTEN NOTE RE BRIEFING THE PRESIDENT R 1/2/2008 NLRRF06-114/10	1	11/11/1982	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.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
11474	REPORT	USSR R 3/28/2011 F2006-114/10	2	11/11/1982	B1
11469	MEMO	HANDWRITTEN NOTE RE NSPG???? R 6/25/2009 NLRRF06-114/10	1	11/11/1982	B1
11473	REPORT	USSR R 3/28/2011 F2006-114/10	1	11/24/1982	B1

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Meet at 2:30 PM

PIPES

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Точне іспекчеба...

USSR
SUCCESSION

Subjunct
462-5800

CPPG - Sov. leadership transition JULY 20, 1982

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR M554/1 #11464
BY KML NARA DATE 12/27/12

Q: Do you have any comment on the Government of Poland's decision to release Lech Walesa from detention? Do you see this as some sort of gesture from the Soviet Union following Brezhnev's death?

A: I hope the report of Walesa's release is true. The release of Lech Walesa and the many other internees in Poland is something which we and our Allies, indeed people everywhere in the world, have been urging for the past eleven months. I would not wish to speculate on the possible role of the Soviet authorities in this development.

Drafted: EUR/SOV: LCNapper

Clearances: EUR/SOV: TWSimons, Jr.

EUR/EEY: DHerspring

EUR: MPalmer

EUR: RBlackwill

NSC
4



RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

02 SEP 3 P 4: 57

September 2, 1982

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:	OVP ✓	- Mr. Donald P. Gregg	S/S 8226355
	NSC ✓	- Mr. Michael O. Wheeler	S/S 8226356
	CIA	- Mr. Thomas B. Cormack	S/S 8226357
	Defense	- COL John Stanford	S/S 8226358
	JCS	- MAJ Dennis Stanley	S/S 8226359
	Treasury	- Mr. David Pickford	S/S 8226360

SUBJECT : Second Revision of CPPG Issue Paper on Soviet Leadership Transition

Attached for your concurrence is a second revised edition of the issue paper on the Soviet leadership transition, reflecting agency suggestions and discussion at the August 26 CPPG meeting. Further comments or suggestions may be forwarded before September 13 to Tom Simons in the Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Room 4217, telephone 632-3738. If no revisions are received, we will consider the paper to be approved on a contingency basis by principals.

L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Issue paper

DECLASSIFIED

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~
DECL:OADR

Statement by the White House Press Spokesman

The President has expressed his personal condolences to Mr. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the death of Soviet President Brezhnev. A high-level delegation will represent President Reagan at the memorial ceremonies in Moscow.

As leader of the Soviet Union for nearly two decades, President Brezhnev was one of the world's most ~~influential~~ ^{important} figures. President Brezhnev played a very significant role in the shaping of U.S.-Soviet relations during his presidency.

President Reagan has conveyed to the Soviet Government the strong desire of the United States to continue to work for an improved relationship with the Soviet Union and to maintain an active dialogue between our societies on all important issues. The President looks forward to a constructive relationship with the new leadership of the Soviet Union.

From President Reagan to Kuznetsov

Please accept my condolences on the death of President Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. President Brezhnev was one of the world's most ~~influential leaders~~ ^{important figures} for nearly two decades. May I ask you to convey our sympathies to the President's family.

I would also like to convey through you to the Soviet Government and people the strong desire of the United States to work toward an improved relationship with the Soviet Union. I look forward to conducting relations with the new leadership in the Soviet Union with the aim of expanding the areas where our two nations can cooperate to mutual advantage.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

(1207M)

DECLASSIFIED (20/04/02)
White House Guidelines, August 29, 1997
By CWS NARA, Date 6/5/02

From Secretary Shultz to Gromyko

Please accept my condolences on the death of President Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. I can appreciate your sense of loss at the death of a colleague who played such a leading role in your nation and in relations between our two nations. We hope to continue efforts to improve these relations in the future, and I look forward to working with you toward this end.

Sincerely yours,

George Shultz

(1207M)

15

POSSIBLE MEMBERS,
U.S. DELEGATION TO
BREZHNEV FUNERAL

Head of Delegation: Vice President George Bush

Members of Delegation:

Secretary of State George P. Shultz

US Ambassador to USSR Arthur A. Hartman

W. Averell Harriman---respected senior figure from World War II period, former Ambassador to USSR, last met with Brezhnev in December of 1978.

General Maxwell Taylor---no direct USSR tie, but also symbol of earlier allied cooperation during World War II.

John Eisenhower or Milton Eisenhower, same qualifications as Taylor.

The Honorable William Verity---ARMCO head, Chairman, US-USSR Trade and Economic Council, represents desire for continuing limited economic and commercial relations.

David Rockefeller---Chairman, Board of Directors, Chase-Manhattan Bank, frequent visitor to USSR.

Frank Press---President, National Academy of Sciences, visited USSR in 1978.

William W. Scranton---Chairman, Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union, United Nations Association, former U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN.

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.---former Secretary of State.

Cyrus Vance---former Secretary of State.

Henry A. Kissinger---former Secretary of State.

William P. Rogers---former Secretary of State.

Dean Rusk---former Secretary of State.

Thomas Watson---former Ambassador to the USSR.

Malcolm Toon---former Ambassador to the USSR.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.---former Ambassador to the USSR.

- (R) Senator Howard H. Baker---Senate Majority Leader, has visited USSR.
- (D) Senator Robert Byrd---Senate Minority Leader, major visit to USSR in 1979.
- (R) Senator Charles H. Percy---Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, major visit to USSR in 1981, met with Brezhnev, Gromyko, Ustinov.
- (D) Congressman Clement J. Zablocki---Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee.
- (R) Senator Richard G. Lugar---Chairman of European Subcommittee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- (D) Congressman Lee H. Hamilton---Chairman, European/Middle East Subcommittee of House Foreign Affairs Committee.
- (D) Senator Claiborne Pell---Senate Foreign Relations Committee, ranking minority member.
- (R) Congressman William S. Broomfield---House Foreign Affairs Committee.
- (D) Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill---Speaker of the House.
- (R) Congressman Robert Michel---House Minority Leader.

(0093A)
 (Rev. 8/31/82)

From President Reagan to Brezhnev's Successor

(if Brezhnev retires alive)

Please convey to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev my best wishes for good health and long life upon his retirement from office, and please accept my congratulations upon assuming the new duties and responsibilities that are now yours.

I would also like to convey through you to the Soviet Government and people the strong desire of the United States to work toward an improved relationship with the Soviet Union. For my part, I will be seeking relations which expand the areas where our two nations can cooperate to mutual advantage and which contribute to the cause of peace.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

NSC
18



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

02 SEP 3 P 4: 57

September 2, 1982

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

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L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Issue paper

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997

By CIS NARA, Date 8/5/02

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

DECL:OADR

Statement by the White House Press Spokesman

The President has expressed his personal condolences to Mr. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the death of Soviet President Brezhnev. A high-level delegation will represent President Reagan at the memorial ceremonies in Moscow.

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Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

(1207M)

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED
White House Guidelines, August 21, 1997
By CW NARA, Date 8/5/02

From Secretary Shultz to Gromyko

Please accept my condolences on the death of President Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. I can appreciate your sense of loss at the death of a colleague who played such a leading role in your nation and in relations between our two nations. We hope to continue efforts to improve these relations in the future, and I look forward to working with you toward this end.

Sincerely yours,

George Shultz

(1207M)

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(if Brezhnev retires alive)

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I would also like to convey through you to the Soviet Government and people the strong desire of the United States to work toward an improved relationship with the Soviet Union. For my part, I will be seeking relations which expand the areas where our two nations can cooperate to mutual advantage and which contribute to the cause of peace.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By OTS NARA, Date 8/5/12

POSSIBLE MEMBERS,
U.S. DELEGATION TO
BREZHNEV FUNERAL

Head of Delegation: Vice President George Bush

Members of Delegation:

Secretary of State George P. Shultz

US Ambassador to USSR Arthur A. Hartman

W. Averell Harriman---respected senior figure from World War II period, former Ambassador to USSR, last met with Brezhnev in December of 1978.

General Maxwell Taylor---no direct USSR tie, but also symbol of earlier allied cooperation during World War II.

John Eisenhower or Milton Eisenhower, same qualifications as Taylor.

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Henry A. Kissinger---former Secretary of State.

William P. Rogers---former Secretary of State.

Dean Rusk---former Secretary of State.

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(R) Senator Richard G. Lugar---Chairman of European Subcommittee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

(D) Congressman Lee H. Hamilton---Chairman, European/Middle East Subcommittee of House Foreign Affairs Committee.

(D) Senator Claiborne Pell---Senate Foreign Relations Committee, ranking minority member.

(R) Congressman William S. Broomfield---House Foreign Affairs Committee.

(D) Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill---Speaker of the House. ?

(R) Congressman Robert Michel---House Minority Leader.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

November 11, 1982

TO; JUDGE CLARK

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: U.S. DELEGATION TO BREZHNEV FUNERAL

It seems to me the delegation should be powerful enough not to cause a visible contrast with other Allied delegations, but not so high-level as to send a wrong signal to Moscow. In particular, it should not include individuals clearly identified with detente or appeasement (as, for example, Averell Harriman, who was directly involved in the Yalta negotiations). My suggested list would be as follows:

Head of Delegation: Vice President George Bush

Members of Delegation:

- Secretary of State, George P. Shultz
- U.S. Ambassador to USSR, Arthur A. Hartman
- Alexander M. Haig, Jr., former Secretary of State
- Senator Howard H. Baker, Senate Majority Leader
- Congressman Thomas P.O'Neill, Speaker of the House.

PROPOSED Qs & As FOR PRESIDENT'S
NEWS CONFERENCE

Q: Can you tell us anything about the current situation in Moscow? Has there been any unusual movement of Soviet military forces?

A: Arrangements for the funeral proceeding. Aware of no other unusual events or unusual Soviet military movements.

Q: Has there been any change in the status of U.S. forces?

A: No.

Q: Can you tell us about the U.S. delegation to the Brezhnev funeral?

A: As of 2 PM: No details or information on their plans so I have nothing for you on ours. We will certainly do what is appropriate.

If we're invited to send high level: Have asked Vice President Bush to lead a distinguished bi-partisan delegation to represent our government. Will include Secretary Shultz, members of Congress from both parties, several former Secretaries of State and our Ambassador in Moscow.

Q: Why did you decide not to attend?

A: This distinguished delegation, headed by the Vice President as my personal representative, will appropriately represent our government.

Q: What about succession?

A: Entirely inappropriate to speculate on an internal Soviet matter.

Q: With Brezhnev's death, isn't this the time for a new effort by the United States to improve U.S.-Soviet relations?

A: The U.S. remains prepared for improved U.S.-Soviet relations if the Soviet Union is prepared to act with restraint. Unfortunately, Soviet actions have made such progress extremely difficult.

Our approach to U.S.-Soviet relations will continue to be consistent, firm and steady. We will make every effort to determine their willingness to join us in improving the relationship.

Deal with governments not individuals

If there are positive changes in Soviet policies there will be a positive response from us.

Q: What impact do you think Brezhnev's death will have on the prospects for agreements on START and INF?

A: Have been negotiating seriously with the Soviets in Geneva toward balanced, significant, and verifiable reductions to equal levels in both START and INF talks.

Will continue this effort and I would certainly expect the Soviets will also wish to continue. We will be alert to any opportunities for progress.

Q: What about a summit. Doesn't it make sense for you to have an early meeting with the new leadership?

A: Remain prepared to meet with Soviet leaders wherever such meetings can be mutually beneficial.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 3594
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AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE 4250
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE 8550
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE 7657
AMCONSUL MUNICH IMMEDIATE 6557
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE IMMEDIATE 8336
AMEMBASSY SOFIA IMMEDIATE 7648
AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 9778
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE 2421
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 6345
USDEL MBFR VIENNA 1942

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NLRR F06-114/10 #11470
BY CU NARA DATE 1/2/05

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 13594

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, PDIP, UR
SUBJECT: ANDROPOV NAMED CHAIRMAN OF BREZHNEV
FUNERAL COMMISSION
REF: MOSCOW 13587

1. ~~(C-ENTIRE TEXT.)~~
2. SUMMARY: THE DESIGNATION OF ANDROPOV AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BREZHNEV FUNERAL COMMISSION IS A POSSIBLE SIGNAL THAT HE WILL SUCCEED THE DECEASED LEADER AS PARTY HEAD. THE ADDRESS TO THE PARTY AND PEOPLE FROM COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP ORGANS WAS AS EXPECTED: IT EMPHASIZES THE CONTINUITY OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, THE UNITY OF THE NATION, AND A WARNING TO WOULD-BE ENEMIES NOT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. END SUMMARY.
3. YURI ANDROPOV'S SELECTION AS CHAIRMAN OF THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 3594

DTG: 111542Z NOV 82 PSN: 001772

BREZHNEV FUNERAL COMMISSION CONSTITUTES A PRELIMINARY SIGNAL THAT THE FORMER KGB CHIEF MAY BECOME THE CPSU'S NEXT LEADER. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CAME IN A TASS ANNOUNCEMENT, READ ON SOVIET TELEVISION, FROM THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WERE LISTED AS FOLLOWS:
ANDROPOV, GORBACHEV, GRISHIN, GROMYKO, PEL'SHE, TIKHONOV, USTINOV, CHERNENKO, KUZNETSOV, KAPITONOV, ZIMYANIN, ALEKSANDROV, SHALAYEV, PASTUKHOV, BLOKHIN, MARKOV, KHRENNIKOV, PONOMAREV, BONDARCHUK, TERESHKOVA, BEREGOVOI, GORDIYENKO, SMIRNOV, GOLUBEVA, GITALOV. WHILE THE LISTING OF FULL POLITBURO MEMBERS WAS ALPHABETICAL, ANDROPOV WAS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNATED AS THE CHAIRMAN. (AMONG THE MOSCOW-BASED LEADERS, DOLGIKH, DEMICHEV, KIRILENKO, AND PONOMAREV
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 2616
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 5456
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 2602
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 3710
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 5374
AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE 4359
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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE 3379
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 13594

ARE NOT MEMEBEROF THE FUNERAL COMMISSION.)

4. WE NOTETHAT IN THE PAST THE DESIGNATION OF CHAIRMAN OF THE FUNERAL COMMISSION HASBEEN A TIP TOTHE IDENTITY OF THE DEAD LEADER'S SUCCESSOR. USTINOV, FOR INSTANCE, HEADED DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO'S FUNERAL COMMISSION IN 1976, AND PREMIER TIKHONOV HEADED THE FUNERAL COMMISSION FOR HISPREDECESSOR KOSYGIN IN 1980. IN THE CASE OF SUSLOV'S DEATH, NON CHAIRMANOF THE FUNERALCOMMISSION WAS OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED, ALTHOUGH GRISHIN PLAYED THIS ROLE. THESE WAS INTENSE INFIGHTING OVER THE SELECTION OF SUSLOV'S SUCCESSOR, AND SEVERAL MOTHSELAPSED AFTER SUSLOV'S DEATH BEFORE ANDROPOV WAS PUBLICLY NAMEDAS HIS SUCCESSOR.) AT ANY RATE, THE PRAVDA OBITUARY, WHICH SHOULD BE PUBLISHED IN THE NOVEMBER12 PRAVDA, WILL BE THE NEXT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE REGIME TO SIGNAL A LEADERSHIP LINEUP. THE WAKE, WHICH MAY BEGIN ON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, WILL ALSO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP CLUES.

5. TASS HAS ALSO PUBLISHED AN ADDRESS OF THE CPSU CENTRALCOMMITTEE, PRESIDIUUM OFTHE USSR SUPREME SOVIET, AND THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERSTO THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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DTG: 111542Z NOV 82 PSN: 001788

COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOVIET PEOPLE. IN PAYING TRIBUTE TO BREZHNEV, THE ADDRESS CALLS FOR NATIONAL UNITY AROUND THE PARTY AND EMPHASIZES THE PARTY'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR CURRENT DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES. STRESSING BREZHNEV'S CONTRIBUTION TO "PEACE, PEACEFUL COOPERATION, DETENTE, AND DISARMAMENT, THE ADDRESS WARNS WOULD-BE ENEMIES NOT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. "WE SEE THE ENTIRE COMPLEXITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION," SAYS THE STATEMENT, "THE ATTEMPTS BY THE AGGRESSIVE CIRCLES OF IMPERIALISM TO UNDERMINE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, TO PUSH THE PEOPLES TO THE PATH OF ENMITY AND MILITARY CONFRONTATION. BUT THIS CANNOT WEAKEN OUR RESOLVE TO UPHOLD PEACE. WE WILL DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY SO THAT THOSE WHO ARE FOND OF MILITARY VENTURES WILL NOT CATCH THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS UNAWARES, SO THAT THE POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR WILL KNOW THAT A CRUSHING RETALIATORY STRIKE AWAITS HIM INELUCTABLY."

6. ON INTERNAL MATTERS, THE LEADERSHIP STATEMENT REAFFIRMS THE COLLECTIVITY OF THE LEADERSHIP, THE NEED FOR OBSERVING "LENINIST NORMS" (I.E. NO PURGES OR TERROR) OF INTERNAL PARTY LIFE, AND THE UNITY OF THE PARTY WITH THE PEOPLE. CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICIES, INCLUDING THE FOOD PROGRAM, ARE ALSO REAFFIRMED IN GENERAL TERMS. HARTMAN
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/10# 11467

BY HOT NARA DATE 7/18/08

40
7

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Special Article

USSR: After Brezhnev

Leonid Brezhnev's death yesterday at age 75 after 18 years as head of the Soviet party and five as head of state has significant implications for Soviet policy.

President Brezhnev wielded less personal power than any of his predecessors. At least until recently, however, he was the regime's pivotal figure, the primary architect of policy, and the chief arbiter of differences within the Politburo.

Brezhnev's departure will evoke little emotional response from the largely apolitical Soviet population. The leadership will move rapidly to name his immediate replacement as party leader, but his demise will accelerate policy debate already under way in the Kremlin.

Brezhnev's chief legacy is an ambitious program of military spending that helped the USSR attain unprecedented power and influence both in absolute terms and relative to the US but is increasingly difficult for the economy to support.

In the immediate aftermath of his death, collective restraints on his successor's power will inhibit the new leader's ability to deal forcefully with the critical economic situation. Soviet policy across the board will be less predictable, and the possibility cannot be excluded of significant policy changes soon. The resolution of leadership debate over many issues, however, may await the outcome of the power struggle, which could be prolonged. As a new leader consolidates his position, prospects for comprehensive and perhaps fundamental policy change will increase.

Economic and Social Problems

Brezhnev's death comes at a time when Soviet economic prospects are gloomier than at any time since Stalin died in 1952. Since the mid-1970s,

economic stringencies have increased, and GNP is currently growing at its lowest rate since World War II.

This slowdown has called into question Brezhnev's economic strategy. Brezhnev sought to ensure popular quiescence by proving incremental improvements in material well-being, while dealing harshly with dissidents among the intelligentsia and with the national minorities. The slowing of economic growth, however, by making it difficult to continue to raise living standards, has increased dissatisfaction in Soviet society. This mood manifests itself in such ways as the growing consumption of alcohol and has contributed to a sharp decline in the growth of labor productivity.

Despite the pressing need for new approaches to ameliorate economic problems, however, the very complexity of these issues will make it difficult for the post-Brezhnev leadership to unite on a new approach. Moreover, the lack of slack in the economy reduces the leadership's leeway in dealing with the most distressed sectors. Any significant reorientation of economic priorities would involve painful trade-offs between investment, military spending, and consumption.

Limitations on the Successor's Power

Brezhnev's replacement will have less power than any previous party leader to push through program his own program, at least initially. Brezhnev's era represented an informal institutionalization of decisionmaking processes that put limits on the party leader's freedom of action. And the new party leader will not inherit even the full measure of Brezhnev's power.

In previous successions, the Politburo did not readily submit to the successor's attempts to assume his predecessor's full authority. None of the contenders for Brezhnev's job have had the range of experience that would give him a persuasive claim to succeed on the strength of credentials and political following. In these circumstances, the new party head will almost certainly be denied the state Presidency, and other actions to dilute his authority are possible.

Prospects for Policy Change

We cannot foresee with any confidence how different leaders will line up in forthcoming policy debates, because opportunism is likely to prevail over any desire for consistency. As they maneuver for political advantage and attempt to win allies, Politburo members will not necessarily refrain from attacking policies they previously supported. Brezhnev himself may not escape the fate that befell Stalin, Khrushchev, and most other former heads of Communist regimes and be blamed posthumously for the policy shortcomings of his incumbency.

It is improbable that the post-Brezhnev regime will scale down its foreign policy ambitions significantly in the near term because of internal problems. Increased debt and long-term hard currency shortages could affect the level of Moscow's economic commitments to client regimes in the Third World and could make Moscow more reluctant to take on major new economic burdens like those it has in Cuba or Angola. Recently there have been tentative indications that the level of military spending may have become a contentious issue among military and civilian leaders.

But, the military will probably retain its effective veto over many aspects of national security policy. During Brezhnev's tenure the military's prestige and influence expanded along with the expansion of the country's international role. This advance was

made manifest in the elevation of the Defense Minister to full membership on the Politburo in 1973. In addition, the military hierarchy's weight in policy deliberations has traditionally been especially strong during succession periods.

Brezhnev's address to the military last week suggested that economic investment priorities have been a subject of recent debate. This subject was certain to be a primary issue at the Central Committee Plenum scheduled for next week, and is a subject that a new leadership cannot escape. In the short term, however, new discussions on investment levels are not going to cause significant changes in living standards or economic performance.

Significant reforms, however, could well emerge in particular areas. Some economic reforms would be compatible with conservative social and political policies. In any event, although the precedent may not prevail, in previous successions the contender with the more "conservative" program has triumphed over the candidate advocating more "liberal" policies. Once the successor has secured his position, he has modified his program in a "liberal" direction substantially. Thus, Khrushchev adopted much of Malenkov's program which concentrated on consumer goods, cut the military budget and opened a dialogue with the US. Brezhnev, after establishing his authority, took over former Premier Kosygin's championship of detente

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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NODIS
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEPR, UR
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S DEATH

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR Feb 7/14/10 #11471
BY C/S NARA DATE 1/2/08

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE EXPECTED HAS FINALLY HAPPENED, ALTHOUGH THE PRACTICE OF THIS CLOSED SYSTEM DID NOT PERMIT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A LEADER'S DEATH UNTIL THEY WERE GOOD AND READY.
3. AT THE BIG RECEPTION THE OTHER DAY LEONID BREZHNEV APPEARED TO ME TO BE A MAN WHOSE COUNTRY WAS ASKING TOO MUCH OF HIM. MY BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES DISAGREED WITH ME YESTERDAY WHEN I SAID THAT BREZHNEV COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE PART OF THE ACTIVE GOVERNANCE OF THIS COUNTRY. ONE OR TWO OF THEM THOUGHT HE LOOKED BETTER THAN LAST YEAR. WE SAW HIM, OF COURSE, AFTER HE HAD STOOD OVER TWO HOURS IN THE COLD WIND AND AFTER A WEEK OR MORE OF ACTIVITY. IN MY BRIEF EXCHANGE THERE WAS HARDLY A SPARK OF UNDERSTANDING. I THOUGHT GIVEN HIS SENTIMENTALITY THAT I WOULD RECALL AN EVENT HE PROBABLY TREASURES AND WHERE I WAS PRESENT-VLADIVOSTOK. IT TOOK THREE TRIES BY ME, THE INTERPRETER, AND FINALLY GROMYKO TO GET THE ESSENCE THROUGH. THERE WAS SOME BRIGHTENING IN THE LOOK AND THEN THE SLIGHTLY CLOUDY BLUE EYES WENT BLANK ONCE AGAIN. THUS SIGHT, HEARING AND BREATHING WERE ALL SEEN TO BE IMPAIRED.
4. THE SENSE OF THE RECEPTION WAS CERTAINLY NOSTALGIC. BREZHNEV'S ASSISTANT ALEXANDROV LOOKED AS THOUGH THE WEIGHT OF THE WORLD WAS ON HIS SHOULDERS. HE SAID THAT HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP BUT HOPED SOMETHING MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED. I HAD THE FEELING HE WAS ALMOST EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT HIS OWN FUTURE.
5. WITH BREZHNEV'S DEATH, THIS IS A TIME OF MONUMENTAL JOCKEYING HERE. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT WE TRY TO KEEP OUR MANY OFFICIAL VOICES IN HARMONY. IN PARTICULAR, WE SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT SPECULATE ON THE SUCCESSION. THIS IS A SENTIMENTAL AND PROUD

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 3572

DTG: 110912Z NOV 82 PSN: 001436

PEOPLE WHO LOVE STRONG LEADERSHIP. THEY WILL NOT TAKE KINDLY TO OFFICIAL OUTSIDERS DENIGRATING THE GREAT MAN. IN ANY CASE, WE SHOULD AGAIN MAKE CLEAR OUR FIRMNESS OF PURPOSE AND INTENT TO PURSUE POSITIVE AVENUES TO PEACE IF WE GET AN APPROPRIATE SIGNAL FROM THE NEW LEADERSHIP. WHILE OUR PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS (SECURITY BALANCE, POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN) WILL NOT GO AWAY, WE MUST BE ALERT TO AND BE SEEN TO ENCOURAGE STEPS TOWARD RESTRAINT AND ACCOMMODATION.

6. WE WILL GET TO YOU THE PLANS ON ANY PUBLIC FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS AS SOON AS THEY ARE CONVEYED TO US. I HOPE UNTIL WE HAVE THEM IN HAND THAT WE CAN LIMIT STATEMENTS ON OUR SIDE TO THE FACT THAT WE WILL, OF COURSE, PARTICIPATE IN AN APPROPRIATE MANNER.

7. IF, AS IS LIKELY, THE SOVIETS WILL WANT A MAJOR STATE FUNERAL, IT WILL PROVIDE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO SIGNAL WHAT KIND OF A RELATIONSHIP WE WANT WITH THE NEW REGIME. I KNOW THERE ARE ALREADY CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR THIS; I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT AND YOU TO LEAD THE U. S. DELEGATION. THERE MAY BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SERIOUS TALKS; AT THE LEAST YOU WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO GET ACROSS AT A HIGH LEVEL AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF OUR POLICIES. ABOVE ALL, WE SHOULD CONVEY-IN OUR INITIAL CONDOLENCE MESSAGE AND IN OUR PRIVATE EXCHANGES WITH THE NEW LEADERS-OUR WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO ANY CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIONS THEY MIGHT TAKE. PREVIOUS SUCCESSIONS

(1953-55 AND 1964-65) HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY EFFORTS TO SOLVE SOME OUTSTANDING FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS. THIS SUCCESSION, AT LEAST AT FIRST, WILL BE OLDER AND LESS FLEXIBLE; NEVERTHELESS WE SHOULD DO WHAT WE CAN TO PERSUADE THEM THAT A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY IS BOTH A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY.
HARTMAN
BT

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NO
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

SUGGESTED BREZHNEV PORTION OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING
STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 11, 1982

Our veterans show us what the American qualities of
steadfastness and sacrifice mean in a world of change.
These qualities are more important now than ever.

President Brezhnev's death yesterday morning is
another reminder of change.

I spoke earlier today of my intention to continue
to work to improve our relationship with the Soviet Union
in the wake of President Brezhnev's death. Our two nations
bear a tremendous responsibility for peace in a dangerous
time. Each of us must recognize the consequences of
failure. The American Government has put forth serious
and far-reaching proposals to reduce the levels of nuclear
and conventional forces. I pledge to the new Soviet
leadership that we will continue to pursue every avenue
and opportunity for progress in this effort. *g*

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NLRR Feb-114/10 #11472

BY C11 NARA DATE 1/2/08

45

PROPOSED Qs & As FOR PRESIDENT'S
NEWS CONFERENCE

Q: Can you tell us anything about the current situation in Moscow? Has there been any unusual movement of Soviet military forces?

A: Our information is that arrangements for Brezhnev's funeral are proceeding. Otherwise we are aware of no unusual events in Moscow or any unusual Soviet military movements.

Q: Has there been any change in the status of U.S. forces?

A: No. There are no plans for any such change.

Q: Can you tell us about the U.S. delegation to the Brezhnev funeral?

A: I have asked Vice President Bush ^{if invited} to ^{and} lead ^{be prepared} a distinguished bi-partisan delegation of Americans to represent me at President Brezhnev's funeral. The delegation ^{will} include Secretary of State Shultz, members of Congress from both parties, and several former Secretaries of State and the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union. ?

Q: Why did you decide not to attend the funeral yourself?

A: I believe the distinguished delegation we have announced, headed by the Vice President as my personal representative, will appropriately represent the United States.

Q: Can you give us your views on who might succeed Brezhnev?

A: It would be entirely inappropriate for me to speculate on this question which is entirely an internal Soviet matter.

Q: With Brezhnev's death, isn't this the time for a new effort by the United States to improve U.S.-Soviet relations?

R

as always

A: The U.S. is prepared for an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations if the Soviet Union is prepared to act with restraint. Unfortunately, Soviet actions in Afghanistan, Poland, and elsewhere have made progress in our bilateral relationship extremely difficult. Our approach to U.S.-Soviet relations will be consistent, firm and steady in the coming period. We will make every effort to determine Soviet willingness to join us in an improved relationship. If there are positive changes in Soviet policies there will be a positive response from us.

deeds
not
words

Q: What impact do you think Brezhnev's death will have on the prospects for agreements on START and INF?

A: We have been negotiating seriously with the Soviets in Geneva toward balanced, significant, and verifiable reductions to equal levels in both the START and INF talks. The U.S. will continue this effort and I would certainly expect that the Soviet side will also wish to continue. We will be alert to any opportunities for progress.

Q: What about a summit. Doesn't it make sense for you to have an early meeting with the new leadership?

A: I have made clear in the past that we are prepared to meet with Soviet leaders wherever such meetings can be mutually beneficial. This remains our position.

11 Nov, 1982

9 AM

Directly the President

Sinabati quiet - apathy - milit. str. normal. ^{Wanted large amount today}

1. Two leading candidates are Andriyev & Chernenko.
NO ONE WILL HAVE HIS POWER - hence 3rd viable possible - desire of labor class / Pres.

2. Andriyev - ex-KGB head, intellectual, ruthless, suave. ^{in charge of funeral arrangements, which aspects he may be asked - usually milit. officers heads funeral arrangements. quick assurance = men used in work.}
anti-corruption, popular in apparatus - pretends to be liberal. related to D's work.

3. Chernenko - 100+ experience, ^{in econ. way.} more reform-minded. ^{could be cadre}

4. Possible 3rd private - Andriyev ~~Chernenko~~ ^{General Secretary} USDNW - Pavel Meunier (instead of Pikulev)

4. SU will want to appear calm & could - unlikely major changes - some alerts possible.

5. US - we deal with gen. int people - do not try to take advantage but do not succumb to pressures for quick fix. Will attempt to deal as agenda. Cardinali with Mrs. in. North Atlantic Council.

both sit on sec & int only Chernenko, Andriyev & Gorbachev.

2 please recess

DECLASSIFIED/RE/EX/60
NLRR E06-114/10 # 11468
BY Cal NARA DATE 1/2/08

INSERT

alw

The passing of Leonid Brezhnev again confirms the
a search for peace, strength and negotiation,
 necessity of preparedness. Our strength must be structured
 to meet every threat and every opportunity. [The passing of
 this powerful Soviet leader could well bring better relations
 between our two countries.] We [sincerely pray that it does
 and] are prepared to extend our hand in friendship and good will.

It is in times like these [uncertain moments], that our
 strength is so vital to preserving the peace. ~~Not~~ just military
 strength, which is essential, but also possessed by governments
 of less free societies. Our strength also consists of the
ability of a democratic government to adapt to fundamental
change with confidence and moderation.

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(Rohrabacher/BE)
November 10, 1982
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: VETERANS DAY CEREMONIES
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1982

Good morning and welcome to the White House. This morning we are honoring an American patriot, Raymond Weeks of Birmingham, Alabama. For more than 50 years, Mr. Weeks has exemplified the finest traditions of American volunteerism by his unselfish service to his country. As director of the National Veterans Day celebration in Birmingham for the past 36 years, Raymond Weeks, a World War II veteran himself, has devoted his life to serving others: his community, the American veteran, and his Nation. He was the driving force behind the congressional action which, in 1954, established this special holiday as a day to honor all American veterans.

It is a pleasure for me to present Mr. Weeks the Presidential Citizens Medal, given to those who have made outstanding contributions to their country. Mr. Weeks, in honoring you we honor the ideals we hope to live up to. Your country is mighty grateful for all you've done.

[PIN MEDAL]
Ray, thank you so much.

It is fitting that we pay tribute to Mr. Weeks on this day when we remember the sacrifices of those who donned this country's uniform, and did their part to protect our freedom and independence. Words alone cannot express our gratitude to these brave men and women who took on the task of protecting our country from foreign threats and aggression.

President Coolidge once said: "The nation which forgets its defenders will be itself forgotten."

Nothing is more important to the soul of America than remembering and honoring those who gave of themselves so we might enjoy the fruits of peace and liberty. That is the spirit of this special day, and of this coming Saturday, when the Nation will dedicate the Vietnam Veterans Memorial -- a tribute long overdue. For too long, America closed its heart to those who served us with valor. It is time Vietnam veterans take their rightful place in our history, along with other American heroes who put their lives on the line for their country. Certainly, mistakes were made, but the reality of Vietnam today -- massive prison camps for torture and political indoctrination, hundreds of thousands of "boat people" sacrificing everything and risking a painful death to flee communist oppression -- all this suggests that the cause for which our Vietnam veterans fought was an honorable one.

This Saturday, America will bury the ingratitude and injustice of the past. We will move forward in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln who, in 1865, said: "Let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations."

And although we'll be putting the divisiveness of Vietnam behind us, we will not forget those still unaccounted for. Today I renew my pledge to the families of those listed as missing in

action that this Nation will work unceasingly until full accounting is made. It is our sacred duty. And we will never forget them.

Along with Raymond Weeks, I may be one of the few people in this room who remembers when Veterans Day was called Armistice Day, commemorating the armistice that ended the First World War on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month in 1918. Armistice Day honored those who gave their lives in "the war to end all wars," a day of hope that they had not given their lives in vain.

But within a few years, and in spite of an impressive effort on the part of the Western democracies to limit arms and to outlaw war, aggressors rearmed and war came again. Ironically, Armistice Day was made a legal holiday in the United States in 1938, just one year before a second and more terrible conflagration swept across Europe.

Winston Churchill labeled it "the unnecessary war" because, he said, "There never was a war more easy to stop." And no man had more right to say that than Winston Churchill. He had fought the illusions that led to war; pleaded with his countrymen to recognize and arm against the expanding totalitarian war machines; pleaded with his countrymen to be strong and to have courage -- not because he wanted war, but because this was the only way to preserve peace. Yet for all this, Churchill was castigated as a warmonger.

Even after war broke out in Asia and in Europe, our own country was slow to take the steps necessary to defend itself.

Warning us of the impending crisis, a young Harvard student, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, wrote a book titled "Why England Slept." His thoughtful study holds as true now, 42 years later, as when it was first published. After describing how a dictatorship, with a controlled press and the power to silence political opposition, can carry on a vigorous arms program, he noted:

"In contrast, in a democracy the cry of 'war-monger' will discourage any politician who advocates a vigorous arms policy. This leaves armaments with few supporters."

Among the reasons for England's failure to rearm in time, Kennedy wrote: "Probably the most important . . . was a firm and widely held conviction that armaments were one of the primary causes of war." The Western democracies did not wake up till it was too late. It took Pearl Harbor to shake Americans from their complacency.

Today, in this era of much more dangerous weapons, it is even more important to remember that vigilance, not complacency, is the key to peace.

INSERT

America needs courage and wisdom to meet the totalitarian challenge of the 1980's. If there is one service we can render on this Veterans Day to all who gave their lives for America, it is to remember this most fundamental truth: Strength, not weakness, maintains tranquility between nations, ~~because once totalitarian powers achieve domination, peace depends on the goodwill of tyrants.~~

This Administration is committed to rebuilding our national defenses which were permitted to erode during the last decade.

new Soviet leadership should understand our
 The purpose of our program is not belligerency but respect; not conflict but deterrence; not war but peace. ^{The United States} These angry voices ^{has no desire to fight anyone} in the Soviet Union who are trying to frighten the American people know full well the United States has no desire to fight anyone. We demonstrated our goodwill during the last decade when we voluntarily cut back military spending in constant dollars by almost a third. We signed a strategic arms limitation agreement. We unilaterally postponed or cancelled many new weapons systems, leaving our troops with arms designed in the early 1960's, and our airmen in bombers often older than the pilots flying them.

Those who truly desire peace, and I put everyone in our Administration in that category, must ask themselves: Did the so-called era of detente make the world safer? Did it make conflict less likely? The answer, unfortunately, is: NO.

However, while we reduced our defense budget, the Soviets conducted one of the heaviest peacetime military buildups in the history of mankind, nearly doubling their military spending over the past 15 years.

And while we substantially decreased the military's share of our country's spending, the Soviets continued to expand, until today the Kremlin's military takes 12 to 14 percent of their gross national product, two to three times the level of ours. With an economy two-thirds the size of our own, the Soviets produce, dollar for dollar, 50 percent more for defense than we do.

^{are now in the initial phases of}
 We can no longer afford to delay the rebuilding of our defensive capabilities, ^{something that is necessary,} if we are to maintain a credible

deterrent. The danger of overwhelming Soviet military might, ^{lopsided} and threatening, is a danger to all people, including the Soviets themselves, because it distorts relationships and detracts rather than adds to the trust between Nations, producing needless friction and fear and limits off

clear. They've demonstrated a willingness to project their power in Afghanistan, in Eastern Europe, in Africa and in Central America. Even while killing Afghani villagers, directing the repression of free trade unions in Poland and arming, through Cuba, guerrillas in Central America, they charge as rude or bellicose anyone who points out their transgressions.

~~As we face the future, with fundamental change in the leadership of such powerful nations,~~
~~well,~~ the United States of America will ~~not be afraid to~~ ^{remain firm in our convictions}
~~and committed~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{our} protect ~~its~~ ^{our} vital interests. But let me repeat:
 our goal is a stable balance of forces, a mutual reduction of nuclear weapons, and peace between the Soviet Union, the United States and all nations. ~~The Soviets should~~ ^{be} ~~recognized this,~~ and ~~both our Nations should move forward in the near future on the~~ ~~negotiate with us in good faith.~~ ^{and} ~~vital issue of halting the ever increasing build up of weapons,~~ and indeed ~~reducing~~ ^{the level of our vast destruction weapons}

~~Let the Soviets understand as well that we will never shirk~~
~~Neither we nor the Soviets can ignore that there are fundamental~~
~~from a peaceful competition of ideas. Perhaps this is the most~~
~~dangerous threat to those who stand atop Lenin's tomb -- a threat~~
~~This competition can be done take place in a spirit of~~
~~good will in a world at peace~~
~~discussion; their ideology is helpless unless backed by terror.~~
~~But this competition should -- and must -- take place in a world~~
~~at peace.~~

On this day of honor to American veterans, ^{brave men} ~~we have no need~~
~~and women who have by service preserved our freedom~~
~~to impress the world with an awesome display of our military~~
 might. Our parades are a celebration of freedom, our banner is Old Glory, and we hold her high and proud. This is the legacy of the brave men and women we honor today.

Let us go forth together, having learned the lessons of history, ^{Confident in the strength of our system and} ~~and resolved not to permit another,~~ in Churchill's ^{anxious to seize new opportunities for peace.} ~~words, "unnecessary war."~~

On this Veterans Day we will remain firm in our commitment to peace. Those who died in defense of our freedom will not have died in vain.

FBIS 51 (OUT OF SEQUENCE)''''''

BULLETIN

FYI: ANDROPOV HEADS FUNERAL COMMISSION

LD111232

MOSCOW DOMESTIC RUSSIAN AT 111227 REPORTS ANDROPOV HEADING
FUNERAL COMMISSION.

11 NOV 1242Z PLS/TM''''''

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR FOI 6-114/10 #11474
BY RW NARA DATE 3/28/11

57
FBIS 53 ''''

B U L L E T I N

MOSCOW ANNOUNCES FUNERAL COMMISSION, BREZHNEV BURIAL SITE

LD111247 MOSCOW DOMESTIC SERVICE IN RUSSIAN 1227 GMT 11 NOV 82

(TEXT) IN THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRESIDUM OF THE
USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS:

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME
SOVIET AND THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAVE DECIDED:

1. TO FORM A COMMISSION TO ORGANIZE THE FUNERAL OF LEONID
ILICH BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR
TO CONSIST OF THE FOLLOWING:

CONRADES ANDROPOV -- CHAIRMAN, GORBACHEV, GRISHIN, GROMYKO,
PELSHE, TIKHONOV, USTINOV, CHERNENKO, KUZNETSOV, KAPITONOV,
ZINYANIN, ALEKSANDROV, SHALAYEV, PASTUKHOV, BLOKHIN, MARKOV,
KRENNIKOV, PONOMAREV, BONDARCHUK, TERESHKOVA, BEREGOVOY, GORDIYENKO,
SNIRNOV, GOLUBEVA, GITALOV.

2. TO BURY LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV AT RED SQUARE.

11 NOV 1302Z PLS/CAJ ''''

NSPG Nov. 11, 1972
8 AM - Sit. Room.

- 1. Change wording in statement & letter.
- 2. Gates report - all normal; fact that funeral arrangements quick means all in order;
- 3. Blackout : use to identify all items.

DECLASSIFIED / RELEASED
 NLRR FOI-114/10 #11469
 BY CW NARA DATE 6/25/05

(Rohrabacher/State)
November 11, 1982
2:00 p.m.

59

OPENING STATEMENT: NEWS CONFERENCE
NOVEMBER 11, 1982

Today we have witnessed an extraordinary series of events.

-- In Moscow, we have learned of the passing of President Brezhnev, a man who played a major role in world affairs for two decades.

-- Here in the White House I spent an hour talking with Phil Habib about what the prospects for peace in the Middle East, where the opportunity for progress has been fundamentally altered ^{impaired} ~~by recent events~~. *developments in the region -*

-- Today the Space Shuttle was successfully launched, once more expanding mankind's opportunities for enriching the human experience through exploration of the universe.

These events could have a critical impact on our future, a future we face with confidence and resolve. If there is a lesson for us, it is that we, as a free people, must always be prepared for change so that when it comes we are ready to meet new challenges and opportunities. Our constitutional system of government, *and* ~~better than most~~, ^{is best} is able to adapt to change and move forward without disruption or break in continuity.

I spoke earlier today of my intention to continue to work to improve our relationship with the Soviet Union in the wake of President Brezhnev's death. Our two nations bear a tremendous responsibility for peace in a dangerous time. The American Government has put forth serious and far-reaching proposals to reduce the levels of nuclear and conventional forces. I want to

want reconfirm to
assure ~~the new Soviet leadership~~ ^{that} we will ~~continue to~~ pursue every avenue and opportunity for progress in this effort.

But we should not delude ourselves. Peace is a product of strength, not weakness; of realization, ^{his} not false hopes. Today we honor American veterans, men and women who by their courage and dedication protected our freedom and independence. In the wake of events in the Soviet Union, we remain hopeful for better relations yet conscious of our national interests and our sacred

resolve to remain a free people. I can think of no better day than Veterans Day to rededicate ourselves to peace and to do those things necessary to maintain the peace and preserve our freedom.

Richard Pipes's Suggested List of Delegates
to Brezhnev funeral:

George Bush

George Shultz

Arthur Hartman

Alexander Haig

Howard Baker

Thomas O'Neill

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 11, 1982

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT VETERANS DAY OBSERVANCE

The East Room

10:01 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning and welcome to the White House.

This morning we're honoring an American patriot, Raymond Weeks of Birmingham, Alabama.

For more than 50 years, Mr. Weeks has exemplified the finest traditions of American volunteerism by his unselfish service to his country. As Director of the National Veterans Day Celebration in Birmingham for the past 36 years, Raymond Weeks, a World War II veteran himself, has devoted his life to serving others, his community, the American veteran and his nation. He was the driving force behind the Congressional action which in 1954 established this special holiday as a day to honor all American veterans.

It's a pleasure for me to present Mr. Weeks the Presidential Citizens Medal given to those who have made outstanding contributions to their country.

And, Mr. Weeks, in honoring you, we honor the ideals that we hope to live up to. Your country is mighty grateful for what you've done. Now -- Mr. Weeks --

Mrs. Weeks, I'm going to hand you the case because I can't do this with one hand.

MR. WEEKS: Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you --
(applause).

THE PRESIDENT: Ray, thank you so very much. Please --

MR. WEEKS: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: -- sit down over here.

It is fitting that we pay tribute to Mr. Weeks on this day when we remember the sacrifices of those who donned this country's uniform and did their part to protect our freedom and independence.

Words alone cannot express our gratitude to the brave men and women who took on the task of protecting our country from foreign threats and aggression.

President Coolidge once said, "The nation which forgets its defenders will be itself forgotten."

Nothing is more important to the soul of America than remembering and honoring those who gave of themselves so that we might enjoy the fruits of peace and liberty. And that is the spirit of this special day and of this coming Saturday when the nation will dedicate the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial, a tribute that is long overdue. For too long, America closed its heart to those who served us with valor. It's time that Viet Nam veterans take their rightful place in our history along with other American heroes who put their lives on the line for their country.

Certainly, mistakes were made. But the reality of Viet Nam today, massive

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prisoner camps for torture and political indoctrination, hundreds of thousands of boat people sacrificing everything and risking a painful death to flee communist oppression. All this suggests that the cause for which our Vietnam veterans fought was an honorable one.

This Saturday America will put behind us the ingratitude and injustice of the past. We'll move forward in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln who in 1865 said, "Let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. And although we'll be putting the divisiveness of Vietnam behind us, we will not forget those who are still unaccounted for.

Today I renew my pledge to the families of those listed as Missing in Action that this nation will work unceasingly until a full accounting is made. It's our sacred duty and we will never forget them.

Along with Raymond Weeks, I may be one of the few people in this room who remembers when Veterans Day was called Armistice Day commemorating the armistice that ended the First World War on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the year in 1918. And I might add, I not only remember when it was called that day, I guess we may be the only ones that were on the streets in the wild celebration of the first and actual Armistice Day when it was signed.

Armistice Day honored those who gave their lives in the war to end all wars -- a day of hope that they had not given their lives in vain. But within a few years and in spite of an impressive effort on the part of the Western democracies to limit arms and to outlaw war, aggressors rearmed and war came again. Ironically, Armistice Day was made a legal holiday in the United States in 1938, just one year before a second and more terrible conflagration swept across Europe.

Winston Churchill labeled it the "unnecessary war" because he said there never was a war more easy to stop and no man had more right to say that than Winston Churchill. He had fought the illusions that led to war, pleaded with his countrymen to recognize and arm against this expanding totalitarian war machine, pleaded with his countrymen to be strong and to have courage -- not because he wanted war but because this was the only way to preserve peace. Yet, for all this, Churchill was castigated as a warmonger. Even after war broke out in Asia and in Europe, our own country was slow to take the steps necessary to defend itself. Warning us of the impending crisis, a young Harvard student, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, wrote a book titled "Why England Slept." His thoughtful study holds as true now, 42 years later, as when it was first published. After describing how a dictatorship with a controlled press and the power to silence political opposition can carry on a vigorous arms program, he noted, "In contrast, in a democracy, the cry of warmonger would discourage any politician who advocates a vigorous arms policy. This leaves armaments

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with few supporters. Among the reasons for England's failure to rearm in time," Kennedy wrote, "probably the most important was a firm and widely-held conviction that armaments were one of the primary causes of war." Well, the Western democracies didn't wake up until it was too late. It took Pearl Harbor to shake Americans from their complacency.

Today in this era of much more dangerous weapons, it is even more important to remember that vigilance, not complacency, is the key to peace. This administration is committed to rebuilding our national defenses which were permitted to erode during the last decade. We are now in the initial phases of that rebuilding, and we must continue to press forward in the years to come if we are to maintain a credible deterrent.

But let the world understand our purpose is not belligerency but respect, not conflict but deterrence, and not war but peace. None of the wars that I have mentioned, or others before them, ever came about because this country was too strong. We shall never flag in our pursuit of a more peaceful world.

Our goal is peace -- peace that's achieved through a stable balance of forces, a mutual reduction of weapons, and a better understanding between the Soviet Union, the United States, and all nations.

Earlier today we received word of the death of Soviet President Brezhnev. And I want to read to you, if I might, the letter that I have sent this morning to Vasiliy Kuznetsov, First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium in Moscow. "Please accept my condolences on the death of President Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. President Brezhnev was one of the world's most important figures for nearly two decades. May I ask you to convey our sympathies to the President's family.

"I would also like to convey through you to the Soviet government and people the strong desire of the United States to work toward an improved relationship with the Soviet Union. I look forward to conducting relations with the new leadership in the Soviet Union with the aim of expanding the areas where our nations can cooperate to mutual advantage."

Now, I've said for many years there are fundamental differences between the Soviet system and our own system here in the United States. But I believe our peoples, for all our differences, share a desire and a dedication to peace. On this day dedicated to American veterans, we honor the brave men and women who have by their service preserved our liberty. Our parades are a celebration of freedom. Our banner is Old Glory, and we hold her high and proud. This is the legacy of the brave men and women that we honor today.

Now, let us go forth from here having learned the lessons of history, confident in the strength of our system and anxious to pursue every avenue toward peace. And on this Veterans Day, we will remember and be firm in our commitment to peace, and those who died in defense of our freedom will not have died in vain.

And, again, we thank the man who has made Armistice Day into this Veterans Day, Raymond Weeks. And thank you all for being here. (Applause.)

END

10:12 A.M. EST

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From President Reagan to Kuznetsov

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Please accept my condolences on the death of President Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. President Brezhnev was one of the world's most important leaders for nearly two decades. I regret that I never had the opportunity to meet personally with President Brezhnev and work directly with him toward improving U.S.-Soviet relations. May I ask you to convey our sympathies to the President's family.

I would also like to convey through you to the Soviet Government and people the strong desire of the United States to work toward ^{an improved} ~~a more stable and constructive~~ relationship with the Soviet Union. I look forward to constructive relations with the new leadership in the Soviet Union with the aim of expanding the areas where our two nations can cooperate to mutual advantage.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 18, 1997

By CSJ NARA, Date 8/5/02

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DRAFT 67

From Secretary Shultz to Gromyko

Please accept my condolences on the death of President Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. I can appreciate your sense of loss at the death of a colleague who played such a leading role in your nation and in relations between our two nations. We hope to continue efforts to improve these relations in the future, and I look forward to working with you toward this end.

Sincerely,

George Shultz

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White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By CWS NARA, Date 8/5/02

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DRAFT 68

Statement by the White House Press Spokesman

The President has expressed his personal condolences to Mr. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the death of Soviet President Brezhnev. A high-level delegation will represent President Reagan at the memorial ceremonies in Moscow.

As head of the Soviet Union for nearly two decades, President Brezhnev was one of the world's most important and powerful leaders. President Brezhnev played a very significant role in the shaping of U.S.-Soviet relations during his presidency, and President Reagan regrets that he did not have the opportunity to meet and work personally with President Brezhnev on the problems and issues of U.S.-Soviet relations.

President Reagan has conveyed to the Soviet Government the strong desire of the United States to continue to work for a more stable relationship with the Soviet Union and to maintain an active dialogue between our societies on all important issues. The President looks forward to a constructive relationship with the new leaders of the Soviet Union.

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White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By CAS NARA, Date 8/15/02

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CURRENT REPORTS

November 24, 1982

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1. USSRA. Reaction to President's Address and MX Decision

In its initial reaction to his speech, TASS accused the President of using falsified data in his presentation on the current state of the nuclear balance. TASS characterized the MX decision as a "new dangerous step." Citing Senators Kennedy and Hart, TASS claimed the decision had evoked strong criticism in the US. Moscow has not yet commented on the proposed confidence-building measures or other aspects of the President's address.

INR Comment: The critical reaction was foreshadowed by Andropov's plenum speech on Monday and Korniyenko's article in Newsweek. Andropov reiterated the call for a nuclear weapons freeze. Korniyenko aggressively criticized US failure to ratify SALT II and gave no hint of any change in the Soviet position on START. (CONFIDENTIAL)

B. Foreign Policy Aspects of Andropov Plenum Speech

In his first speech to the Communist Party Plenum as head of the Party, Andropov reaffirmed the Soviet commitment to detente but refused to make preliminary concessions to achieve normalization of relations, Embassy Moscow reports. He emphasized Soviet unwillingness to accept the blame for the current poor state of relations between the US and the USSR, and was skeptical of current arms control negotiations, although less negative than Brezhnev in his last speech. Andropov stressed the need to strengthen Socialist bloc ties, and hinted that China must take some initiative for improved Sino-Soviet relations.

Embassy Comment: This speech was designed to calm fears that his November 12 speech meant a hardening of Soviet foreign policy. His tone was firm, but not bellicose or threatening. The performance was that of a confident leader, very much in charge. (CONFIDENTIAL)

C. Chernenko Receives Parliament Job

At yesterday's Supreme Soviet session, Chernenko was named chairman of the Council of the Union's Foreign Affairs Commission.

INR Comment: This appears to rule out Chernenko as a candidate for Brezhnev's position as head of state. The Supreme Soviet should fill that slot today. Ideologist Suslov had been chairman of the Commission, and Chernenko may be taking over his responsibility for ideology, culture and international communism in the Party Secretariat as well as his Supreme Soviet function. (CONFIDENTIAL)

(See Item 3, Analysis, for related information)

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NLRR F06-114/10 #11473

~~TOP SECRET/EXDIS/KEYWORD~~

BY RW NARA DATE 3/28/11