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Security Council: Country File

Folder Title:

USSR (05/14/1981-05/19/1981)

Box: RAC Box 21

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KDB 10/26/2015

File Folder USSR (5/14/81-5/19/81)

FOIA

F03-002/5

Box Number 20

SKINNER

189

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
169978	CABLE	MOSCOW 6619	4	5/14/1981	B1
169979	CABLE	MOSCOW 6666	2	5/14/1981	B1
169980	CABLE	STATE 127122	3	5/15/1981	B1
169981	MEMO	R. POATS THROUGH N. BAILEY TO R. ALLEN RE SOVIET GRAIN AGREEMENT	2	5/15/1981	B1
169982	MEMO	R. ALLEN TO REAGAN RE SAKHAROV'S REPLY TO NEW YORK SYMPOSIUM	2	5/15/1981	B1 B6
169983	MEMO	R. ALLEN TO HAIG RE MEETING	1	5/15/1981	B1
169984	MEMO	COPY OF DOC #169983, W/NOTATIONS	1	5/15/1981	B1
169985	MEMO	COPY OF DOC #169984, W/NOTATIONS	1	5/15/1981	B1
169986	MEMO	HAIG TO REAGAN	1	5/13/1981	B1

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

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

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

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

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
169987	CABLE	MOSCOW 6692	2	5/15/1981	B1
169988	CABLE	MOSCOW 6757	1	5/16/1981	B1
169989	MEMO	R. PIPES TO R. ALLEN	1	5/18/1981	B1
169990	MEMO	L. PAUL BREMER TO R. ALLEN	1	5/13/1981	B1
169991	CABLE	STATE 129537	2	5/19/1981	B1
169992	MEMO	F. WETTERING TO R. ALLEN RE BREZHNEV QUOTES	1	5/19/1981	B1
169993	REPORT	FBIS	1	5/20/1981	B3

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

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>
169978	CABLE	4	5/14/1981	B1
	MOSCOW 6619			

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>
169979	CABLE	2	5/14/1981	B1
	MOSCOW 6666			

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

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>
169980	CABLE	3	5/15/1981	B1
	STATE 127122			

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

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169981	MEMO R. POATS THROUGH N. BAILEY TO R. ALLEN RE SOVIET GRAIN AGREEMENT	2	5/15/1981	B1

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

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NSC/S PROFILE

CONFIDENTIAL

ID 8102736

10

UNCLASSIFIED FROM REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFICATION
10/24/5 GIB

RECEIVED 16 MAY 81 09

TO ALLEN

FROM POATS

DOCDATE 15 MAY 81

BAILEY

15 MAY 81

KEYWORDS: USSR

GRAINS

SUBJECT: SOVIET GRAIN AGREEMENT

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE: 18 MAY 81 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

ALLEN

PIPES

STEARMAN

LENZ

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

(M /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

C 7/23 close per Poats
2 7/23 orig let returned to NSC/S

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

PA (C)

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169982 MEMO

2 5/15/1981 B1

R. ALLEN TO REAGAN RE SAKHAROV'S REPLY
TO NEW YORK SYMPOSIUM

B6

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

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>

169983 MEMO

1 5/15/1981 B1

R. ALLEN TO HAIG RE MEETING

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

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169984	MEMO COPY OF DOC #169983, W/NOTATIONS	1	5/15/1981	B1

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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169985 MEMO

1 5/15/1981 B1

COPY OF DOC #169984, W/NOTATIONS

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.**

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169986	MEMO HAIG TO REAGAN	1	5/13/1981	B1

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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5/15

Jean P. / NSC Secretariat

16A

Pls. dispatch through the system.

ab +
Dispatch copies attached.

Thanks.

Sally Sherman

16-B

Jean P. / NSC Secretariat:

blind copy to staff

per Janet Colson

5/15

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES
10/2/81
EOD

RECEIVED 16 MAY 81 09

TO PRES

FROM HAIG, A

DOCDATE 13 MAY 81

ALLEN

14 MAY 81

ALLEN

15 MAY 81

KEYWORDS: USSR

NAMIBIA

SHCHARANSKIY, AVITAL

GREAT BRITAIN

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

SHCHARANSKIY, A

SUBJECT: SEC HAIG EVENING RPT RE MTG W/ WIFE OF ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKIY

ACTION: NOTED BY PRES W/ COMMENT

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

PIPES ✓

Cord ✓

STEARMAN ✓

Guhin ✓

WETTERING ✓

RENTSCHLER ✓

SCHWEITZER ✓

Kimmitt ✓

Nau ✓

Kaminsky ✓

(H / H)

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

c 5/16 Allen Spol memo to Haig

DISPATCH

46.5/15

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

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169987 CABLE		2	5/15/1981	B1
	MOSCOW 6692			

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169988 CABLE

1 5/16/1981 B1

MOSCOW 6757

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169989	MEMO R. PIPES TO R. ALLEN	1	5/18/1981	B1

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169990 MEMO

1 5/13/1981 B1

L. PAUL BREMER TO R. ALLEN

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

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UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
10/26/85

RECEIVED 14 MAY 81 18

TO ALLEN

FROM BREMER

DOC DATE 13 MAY 81

KEYWORDS: USSR

EXPORT CONTROLS

SUBJECT: US CUSTOMS DETENTION & SEARCH OF AEROFLOT AIRCRAFT

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN

DUE: 17 MAY 81 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

PIPES

STEARMAN

HUBERMAN

LENZ

BAILEY

NAU

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

(M /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

Allen

ix

5/17

For info

5/19

5/20

Noted by Noneed

C. S. on RP

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

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169991 CABLE

2 5/19/1981 B1

STATE 129537

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

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F. WETTERING TO R. ALLEN RE BREZHNEV
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JANET COLSON

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DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

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doesn't belong
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 8, 1981

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM:

FRED WETTERING *m*

SUBJECT:

Proposed Speech on Soviet Activities in the Third World

Your memorandum (Tab B) indicated that you would consider using material on Soviet activities in Africa in a commencement address you would give in May.

I have taken the liberty of redrafting some earlier thoughts in what I hope is acceptable speech form for your use or not as you see fit (Tab A).

Sorry it took longer than I had anticipated. This was due to (a) workload, and (b) the time it took to get some information declassified.

cc:

Lilley

Fred --

This is very good stuff -- I believe I can use it. It needs a bit more lead in -- quoting some juicy Soviet sources on how SU helps LDCs generally. And then some specific boasting re Africa. Can you get your hands on such stuff promptly?

RVA 5/13/81

True
This is very good stuff -- I believe I can use it. It needs a bit more lead in -- quoting some juicy Soviet sources on how SU helps LDCs generally, and then some specific boasting re Africa. Can you get your hands on such stuff promptly?

FW -

BREZHNEV SPEECH - 26th Party Congress

9

PD

23 Feb 1981

The events in Poland convince one once again how important it is for the party, for the strengthening of its guiding role, to lend a sensitive ear to the voice of the masses, to struggle resolutely against all manifestations of bureaucratism and voluntarism, to actively develop socialist democracy, and to pursue a balanced and realistic policy in foreign economic relations. The history of world socialism knows all kinds of trials. It has had complex and critical moments. But communists have always boldly met the attacks of the adversary and won out. That is how it was and how it will be, and let no one have any doubt about our common determination to secure our interests and to defend the socialist gains of the peoples. We struggle for the just cause of the peace and security of peoples, for the interests of people of labor. On our side is the truth of Marxist-Leninist teachings. Our strength is in unity and cohesion. At the last congress it was said that the process of rapprochement of the socialist states was under way. This process continues to develop. But it does not blot out our national specificity and the historical peculiarities of the countries of socialism. In the variety of forms of their social life and the organization of their economy, one should see what is really there, a wealth of ways and methods, the affirmation of the socialist way of life.

Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is making progress in numerous areas. The principles and accords that have been agreed upon constitute a good foundation for its further expansion. Soviet-Yugoslav friendship has deep roots and we have no doubts as to its future. The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful, democratic unification of the motherland free from outside interference, and strives to deepen and enrich ties with it.

One has to assign a special place to China: The experience of the PRC's socioeconomic development over the past 20 years or so is a grave lesson that shows what the distortion of socialist principles--its essence both in domestic and foreign policies--leads to. The current leaders of China themselves call the state of affairs in their country, during the period of the so-called Cultural Revolution, the cruellest feudal-fascist dictatorship. We have nothing to add to an evaluation of this kind. Changes are now taking place in China's domestic policies. Time will yet show their true essence. Time will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will find it possible to overcome the Maoist legacy. However, as yet, one unfortunately cannot speak of any changes for the better in Beijing's foreign policies. As before, they are directed at aggravating the international situation, coming close to imperialist policies. Naturally this will not put China back onto a healthy path of development. Imperialists will not be socialism's friends.

There is a simple calculation behind the readiness of the United States, Japan and a number of NATO countries to expand military-political ties with China, that of exploiting its hostility to the Soviet Union and to the socialist community in their own imperialist interests. That is a risky game. But as far as the Chinese people were concerned, we are profoundly convinced that their true interest would be met by a policy of peace, only a policy of peace and normal relations with other states. If Soviet-Chinese relations remain frozen, the reason for this does not lie in our position. The Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek confrontation with the PRC. We are following the course determined by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and we would like to construct ties with it on a good-neighbourly basis. Our proposals aimed at normalizing relations with China remain in force, just as our feelings of respect and friendship for the Chinese people remain unflinching.

Comrades! As a whole, as you see, the Central Committee carried out a vast amount of work in the interests of developing and intensifying our relations with the socialist countries. World socialism is confidently advancing in the developing of the economy and culture, the perfection of social relations and socialist democracy, in literally all spheres. And we, Soviet communists, are proud of the role which the party of Lenin and the homeland of the Great October are playing in this.

The Development of Relations With the Liberated Countries

Comrades! One of the important results of the party's international activity in the period under review consists in the noticeable broadening of cooperation with countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke. These countries are very diversified. Some of them, after liberation, have taken the revolutionary democratic path, while in

others capitalist relations have become established. Some of them are pursuing a genuinely independent policy; others are today still following in the wake of the policy of imperialism. In a word, it is a fairly variegated picture. I will begin with the states that have a socialist orientation, Comrade Brezhnev continued, the countries that have chosen the path of socialist development. Their number has increased. The development of these countries along the progressive path does not, of course, proceed uniformly. It is taking place in complex conditions. But the main directions are similar: the gradual liquidation of the positions of the imperialist monopolies, the local grande bourgeoisie and feudal lords, the curbing of the activities of foreign capital. Commanding heights of the economy are being secured for the people's state, and a transition to planned development of productive forces is underway. The cooperative movement is being encouraged in the countryside. The role of the working masses in public life is being increased, and the state apparatus is gradually being reinforced with national cadres dedicated to the people. The foreign policy of these countries is anti-imperialist. In them, revolutionary parties reflecting the interests of the broad masses of the working people are growing stronger. In the period covered by this report the Soviet Union has concluded friendship and cooperation treaties with Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique, Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. A friendship and cooperation treaty was recently signed with Syria; I am sure that it will serve well the further development of Soviet-Syrian friendship and the cause of achieving a just peace in the Near East.

With the liberated states, we are developing broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation, beneficial to both sides. A large place in our relations belongs to the construction in those states of major economic projects in which the Soviet Union participates in one form or another. Among the projects completed in recent years there are several of major importance which even occupy a leading place in the economy of the countries in question.

These are, for example, the Ath-Thawrah hydropower complex in Syria, which produces more than 70 percent of the power generated in the country; the second phase of the metallurgical works in Algiers, which has increased its capacity to 2 million tons of steel; enterprises for extracting 2.5 million tons of bauxite in Guinea and so on. Our country gives assistance, as far as possible, to many liberated countries in training cadres--engineers, technical workers, qualified workers, doctors and teachers. Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are working selflessly at building sites in the countries of Asia and Africa, in industry and agriculture, in hospitals and education establishments. They are worthy representatives of their great socialist homeland. We are proud of them and send them our cordial wishes for successes.

We also help, together with the other fraternal countries, in strengthening the defense capability of the liberated states, when they turn to us with such requests. This took place, for example, in Angola and Ethiopia. Attempts were being made to deal with the people's revolutions in these countries by means of encouraging internal counterrevolution or aggression from outside. We are against exporting revolution but we cannot agree either with the export of counterrevolution. Imperialism unleashed a real undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This created a direct threat to the security of our southern border also. This situation forced us to render the military assistance which the friendly country asked for.

The plans of Afghanistan's enemies failed. The well-thought-out policies of the people's revolutionary party and the Government of Afghanistan, headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, which correspond with the national interests, strengthened people's rule. As far as the Soviet military contingent is concerned, we shall be ready to withdraw it on agreement with the Afghan Government. For this, the sending of counterrevolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be consolidated with accords between Afghanistan and its neighbors. Reliable guarantees are needed to ensure that there is no new intervention. Such is the principled position of the Soviet Union and we adhere to it firmly.

The revolution in Iran has a special character. It was one of the major international events of recent years. With all its complications and contradictions, it is fundamentally an anti-imperialist revolution even though internal and foreign reaction is striving to change its nature. The Iranian people are seeking their own path to freedom and

prosperity. We sincerely wish them success in this and we are ready to develop good relations with Iran on the bases of equality and, of course, reciprocity.

In several countries of the East recently Islamic slogans have been actively raised. We communists respect the religious convictions of people of the Islamic faith just as of other religions. The main issue is the aims pursued by the forces declaiming particular slogans. The liberation struggle can unfold under the banner of Islam. This is shown by the experience of history, including the most recent history. But reaction also operates with Islamic slogans while raising counterrevolutionary mutinies. Consequently, the whole essence of the matter is the real content of a particular movement.

Comrades, our cooperation with India occupies a major place in the Soviet Union's relations with the liberated countries. We welcome this power's increased role in international affairs. Our links with it continue to become stronger. Soviet-Indian friendship has, in both of our countries, become a deep-rooted popular tradition. As a result of the recent talks in Delhi with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other Indian figures, the whole complex of Soviet-Indian relations was considerably advanced.

Cooperation with peace-loving, independent India will remain one of the main directions of Soviet foreign policy. We see no obstacles to establishing good cooperation with Indonesia and with the other member-countries of ASEAN as well. In the past 5 years, 10 new states have gained independence in Africa, the Caribbean and Oceania and have been recognized immediately by the Soviet Union. The birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the increasing strength of the liberation struggle in Namibia, and now in the Republic of South Africa, show clearly that the rule of the old-style colonizers and racists is drawing to a close. Imperialists do not like the fact that the liberated countries are strengthening their independence. By thousands of ways and methods they are trying to bind those countries to themselves so as to be freer to dispose of their natural resources and use their territory for their strategic designs. In this, wide use is made of the old method of the colonizers: divide and rule. It is precisely from these positions that the West approaches the Iran-Iraq war, which has now been going on for 5 months--an absolutely senseless war from the point of view of the interests of those states, but very advantageous to imperialism, which has constant visions of reestablishing its positions in that region. It is to be hoped that both Iraq and Iran will draw the right conclusions from this. The Soviet Union resolutely advocates that this fratricidal war be brought to an end as soon as possible and the conflict settled by political means. We are endeavoring to promote this in practice.

Now, the Near East problem. In trying to secure a dominant position in the Near East, the United States embarked on the path of the Camp David policy, the path of splitting the Arab world and organizing a separate collusion between Israel and Egypt. American diplomacy did not succeed in turning this separate anti-Arab collusion into a wider, capitulatory agreement, but it was successful in something else. Renewed exacerbation of the situation in the region occurred, resulting in a Near East settlement being pushed back. What is to be done now? We believe that it is time to get things moving again, time to return to an honest collective search for an all-embracing settlement on a just and realistic basis. Given current circumstances this could be done, say, within the context of a specially convened international conference. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in work of this kind in a constructive spirit and with good will. We are prepared to do this jointly with other interested countries, with the Arabs--including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization--and Israel. We are prepared for such a joint search with the United States. We had, I would remind you, certain experience in this respect several years ago. We are prepared to cooperate with the European states, with all who display a sincere desire to secure a just and stable peace in the Near East. The United Nations Organization can clearly continue to play a useful role in resolving this question. As for the substance of the matter, we continue to be convinced that to achieve genuine peace in the Near East, Israeli occupation of all the Arab territories seized in 1967 must end; the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own state, must be realized; and the security and sovereignty of all the states of this region, including Israel, must be ensured. Such are the basic principles--the details can, of course, be the subject of talks.

The nonaligned movement, which this year marks its 20th anniversary, has been and remains an important factor in international relations. Its energies are directed against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression. We are confident that the key to the further enhancement of the role of the nonaligned movement in world politics, which we would welcome, lies in its loyalty to its basic principles. In the mid-seventies the former colonial countries raised the question of a new international economic order. The rebuilding of international economic relations on a democratic basis and on the principles of equality is historically natural. Much can and must be done here. But of course one cannot, as is sometimes done, reduce the question merely to a distinction between the rich North and the poor South. We are prepared to work toward the establishment of just international economic relations, and are in fact doing so.

No one should doubt, comrades, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stressed, that the CPSU will continue to pursue consistently the development of cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and the consolidation of the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

The CPSU and World Communist Movement

Now, about the Communist Party's line in the world communist and workers' movement. The international working class and its political vanguard, the communist and workers' parties, have approached the brink of the eighties with confidence. They have approached it as active fighters for the rights of the working people and for the peace and security of all peoples.

The communist movement continued to expand its membership and to strengthen its influence among the masses. Communist parties now operate actively in 94 countries of the world. In the last years alone, about 800,000 new fighters joined their ranks in Western Europe. Is this not evidence of the invincible, attractive force of communist ideas? Our party and its Central Committee worked actively to expand and intensify all-round cooperation with the fraternal parties. During the period under review, the members and candidate members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the Central Committee alone received several hundred party delegations. In turn, representatives of the CPSU took part in congresses and other functions of the communist parties. We regularly informed the fraternal parties about events in our internal life and about our foreign policy actions. Foreign comrades also had many opportunities to acquaint themselves with the practical activities of the CPSU in local areas, in the republics, oblast and enterprises. As our friends themselves say, all this helps them with their work.

Contacts with foreign communists also enable our party to acquire a better understanding of the situation in individual countries. As the influence of the communist parties grows, the tasks facing them become ever more complex and varied. This sometimes gives rise to differing assessments and to differences in approaches to resolving specific issues in the class struggle. It also evokes debate between the parties. In our opinion this is quite natural. Communist parties have held dissimilar opinions on this or that issue. Life has proved convincingly that, while divergences may exist, one can and must develop political cooperation in the struggle against the common class opponent. Time and practice are the supreme arbiters in solving problems that arise. Vladimir Ilich Lenin was profoundly correct when he pointed out that many disagreements could and would disappear without fail. This result would be achieved by the logic of the joint struggle against a truly formidable enemy, the bourgeoisie.

Not long ago the leadership energetically defended the right to a specific national character in regard to the ways and forms of struggling for socialism and socialist construction. However, if one approaches the matter without preconceptions then one should recognize that no one is imposing on any one any patterns or schemes which ignore the particular features of this or that country. The position of Vladimir Ilich Lenin on this question is well known. He wrote that all nations will arrive at socialism. This is inevitable, but they all will get there in not quite the same way. Each introduces a particular feature of one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate of socialist transformation of the various aspects of public life.

MORE ON CONGOLESE DELEGATION'S ACTIVITIES IN MOSCOW

Brezhnev, Sassou-Nguesso Talks

LD121506 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 12 May, TASS--Soviet-Congolese talks began in the Kremlin today. Taking part in them are Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, chairman of the Council of Ministers. He arrived in Moscow today at the head of the party-and-state delegation of the Congo for an official friendly visit.

~~Brezhnev Dinner Speech~~

LD122138 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Government today gave a dinner in the Great Kremlin Palace in honor of Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, head of government and chairman of the Council of Ministers. Together with Sassou-Nguesso at the dinner were members of his party and state delegation.

On the Soviet side at the dinner were Comrades Brezhnev, Gromyko, Tikhonov, Ustinov, Kuznetsov, Ponomarev; deputy-chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR ministers, chairmen of USSR state committees and other officials. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1750 GMT on 12 May adds that Andropov and Suslov were also present.]

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, gave a speech at the dinner.

He said: Dear Comrade Sassou-Nguesso, respected guests, comrades. We cordially welcome the party and state delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo, a country that represents the new free Africa, the community of young states proceeding along the path of political and social progress.

The time has now passed when Africa was the private domain of foreign oppressors, when the decisions concerning the destinies of the African peoples were taken behind their backs, in the narrow circle of colonial powers and international monopolies. About 50 African states have found independence in the years after the World War II. Their inclusion in international life has introduced a fresh and healthy spirit into world politics. A good spokesman for the views and aspirations of these states is the OAU, which has proclaimed as its lofty aim the cohesion of the African countries on anti-imperialist and anticolonial bases. Today the role of Africa in international affairs is weighty and unquestionable. Its voice sounds with ever more confidence in the resolution of basic modern-day problems. The imperialists, the direct heirs of those who through iron, fire and blood enslaved the free peoples, who for decades plundered and oppressed them, do not wish to reconcile themselves to this. They are attempting to impose upon the international community their own conception of order in the world. This is a conception which would justify neocolonialist robbery and the methods of diktat and violence, and would give full scope for the suppression of the national liberation movements.

Our position in these matters is diametrically opposed to this. What sort of Africa do the Soviet people wish to see? It is just as the Africans themselves wish to see it--peaceful, independent and prosperous. After all, Africa is the sphere of the vital interests of the Africans themselves and no one else. We are in favor of the peoples of Africa independently being able to determine the paths of their development, in favor of their freedom of choice being respected, and we are resolutely opposed to the attempts of imperialism to transform the African Continent into yet another region of military-political confrontation.

May Africa be a continent of peace, free from foreign military bases and nuclear weaponry. We are in favor of the OAU proposal on the transformation of Africa into a nuclear-free zone being embodied in a specific agreement, and we are ready to do everything in our power to support such an agreement. May Africa be completely cleansed of the vestiges of colonialism, racialism and apartheid, from the criminal rule of the racists where they still retain their power today. We steadfastly oppose the illegal occupation of Namibia. Our sympathies are on the side of the just struggle of the Namibian people led by its genuine representative the South-West African People's Organization. And we believe the day is not far off when this struggle will be crowned with victory. We want Africa to fully overcome the aftermath of the colonial past--famine, poverty, disease and cultural backwardness. We wish for a successful conclusion to the struggle of the liberated countries for economic independence, against the dominance of the imperialist monopolies and for the establishment of a just international economic order. The Africans themselves must have control over all the wealth of the continent.

Another thing that we wish for the liberated states of Africa is for them to live in peace and harmony with each other, to settle the disputes which sometimes break out between them at the negotiating table on the basis of noble principles proclaimed by the OAU. The Soviet Union has always rendered and will continue to render to the peoples of Africa the utmost assistance in the achievement of these lofty aims.

Dear Comrade Sassou-Nguesso, Soviet-Congolese relations have a firm and reliable base. This is the common character of our ideals in the struggle for peace and social progress. One of their most important elements is the successful development of cooperation between the CPSU and the Congolese Labor Party, which was one of the first in independent Africa to proclaim as its aim the construction of a new society on the principles of scientific socialism. Tomorrow we are to sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Congo. This is an important event in the life of our states and peoples. The treaty will undoubtedly assist the traditionally friendly Soviet-Congolese relations to rise to an even higher level. It will also be a factor that contributes to increasing the international weight of young independent Africa in our complex and contradictory world.

I propose a toast to the further development and deepening of friendship between our parties, states and peoples: to the successes of the Congolese people in the construction of a new life, to the health of Comrade Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, head of government and chairman of the Council of Ministers; and our Congolese friends.

A reply speech was given by Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

The speeches of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Denis Sassou-Nguesso were listened to with great attention and greeted with prolonged applause.

The dinner took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

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NSC STAFF

In the preface of an edition of Brezhnev's biography intended for an African audience, Brezhnev writes: The Soviet Union is rendering assistance to a number of African countries in the construction of industrial enterprises, power industry, farm, cultural and educational projects and in developing the fishing industry, in surveying for minerals, in planning in personnel training, and so on. Many Soviet teachers, engineers, physicians, agronomists and other specialists are helping the newly liberated African nations to build a new free life....The peoples of Africa can be confident that in their struggle for justice, for a better future, they will continue to have the Soviet Union as their loyal and reliable ally. ("L.I. Brezhnev: Pages From his Life," February 1981)

Speaking on 12 May 1981 on the occasion of a state visit to Moscow by Congolese President Sassou, Brezhnev said: What sort of Africa do the Soviet people wish to see? It is just as the Africans themselves wish to see it--peaceful, independent and prosperous...We are in favor of the peoples of Africa independently being able to determine the paths of their development, in favor of their freedom of choice being respected, and we are resolutely opposed to the attempts of imperialism to transform the African Continent into yet another region of military-political confrontation.

Speaking on 17 November 1980 at a dinner for Mozambican President Machel, Brezhnev said: For its part, the Soviet Union is trying unfailingly and consistently to make the African peoples genuine masters of their own fate, and to ensure that they themselves, without interference from outside determine the paths of their development.

Tom DuFFy
11/12/80

UNCLASSIFIED

In his message to Africa on the occasion of African Peoples Liberation Day, Brezhnev said: The imperialist monopolies are continuing to plunder Africa's natural riches and are hampering the placing of international economic ties on a democratic and just footing. The Soviet Union was and remains on the side of the African states' struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

UNCLASSIFIED

THE COLD WAR AND THE THIRD WORLD: EXAMINATION
OF A CLICHE

I would like to begin my address by deviating from my usual practice. Instead of quoting the words of Ronald Reagan to you, I offer a few quotations from Leonid Brezhnev for your consideration:

On February 23, 1981, Leonid Brezhnev addressed the 26th Party Congress and stated:

"A large place in our relations with the liberated states belongs to construction of major economic projects in those states in which the Soviet Union participates in one form or another."

On May 12, 1981, at a state dinner hosting a visiting African president, Brezhnev declared:

"We are resolutely opposed to the attempts of imperialism to transform the African Continent into yet another region of military-political confrontation."

These two thoughts -- that the Soviet Union subscribes to assisting economic development in the Third World, and that the United States -- the Reagan Administration -- is trying to transform the Third World into a cockpit of political military confrontation with the Soviet Union -- have gained a certain popularity among certain pundits and commentators in the West as well as among the Communist faithful. Indeed, various

commentators have caricaturized President Reagan, Secretary Haig, myself and other Administration figures as hardened cold warriors totally oblivious to the Third World except as another arena to fight the cold war.

I would like to take.....(continue with original draft)

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AFRICA

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EAST/WEST ECONOMICS

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS

SUBJECT: SOVIET RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROJECTING EAST - WEST CONFLICT INTO AFRICA

ACTION: FOR DECISION

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