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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

**Withdrawer**

KDB 11/2/2015

**File Folder** USSR (11/18/81-11/19/81)

**FOIA**

F03-002/5

**Box Number** 22

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219

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170235	CABLE	STATE 306337 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-1-1</b>	3	11/18/1981	B1
170270	CABLE	MOSCOW 15964 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-2-0</b>	6	11/18/1981	B1
170271	CABLE	201103Z OCT81	1	10/20/1981	B1
170273	CABLE	STATE 306338 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-3-9</b>	4	11/18/1981	B1
170275	MEMO	R. ALLEN TO REAGAN RE ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SITUATION OF SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	1	11/18/1981	B1
170276	MEMO	N. BAILEY TO R. ALLEY RE EAST BLOC FINANCIAL PROBLEMS (W/NOTE ADDED)	1	10/22/1981	B1
170277	CABLE	SOFIA 2895 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-22-1-6-6</b>	1	10/20/1981	B1

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170278	CABLE	BELGRADE 8473 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-7-5</b>	1	10/21/1981	B1
170280	CABLE	201442Z OCT 81	1	10/20/1981	B1
170282	CABLE	201404Z OCT81	1	10/29/1981	B1
170283	CABLE	MOSCOW 15010 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-11-0</b>	3	10/26/1981	B1
170285	CABLE	USNATO 6573 <b>PAR 6/3/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-12-9</b>	2	10/23/1981	B1
170287	MEMO	DRAFT (W/EDITS) OF DOC #170295 (R. ALLEN TO REAGAN RE ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SITUATION OF SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTIRES) (+NSC PROFILE SHEETS)	4	ND	B1
170289	CABLE	STATE 291726 <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-14-7</b>	3	10/31/1981	B1

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170291	MEMO	J. NANCE TO L. PAUL BREMER RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN	1	12/11/1981	B1
170293	MEMO	P. PIPES TO J. NANCE RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN (W/NOTE ADDED) <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-15-6</b>	1	12/9/1981	B1
170295	MEMO	J. NANCE TO REAGAN RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COORPORATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN	1	ND	B1
170296	MEMO	DRAFT OF DOC #170293 (P.PIPES TO J. NANCE TO REAGAN RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN) (W/EDITS) <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-15-6</b>	1	12/4/2008	B1
170297	MEMO	DRAFT (W/EDITS) OF DOC #170295 (J. NANCE TO REAGAN RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN)	1	ND	B1

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170298	MEMO	BREMER TO R. ALLEN RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-22-1-17-4</b>	2	11/21/1981	B1
170299	REPORT	RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN <b>R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-1-18-3</b>	2	ND	B1
170300	MEMO	N. OSTENSO TO T. SIMMONS RE US-USSR WORLD OCEAN AGREEMENT (+ ATTACHEMENTS)	19	9/22/1981	B1
170301	MEMO	TO E. HURWITZ RE RENEWAL OF WORLD OCEAN BILATERAL <b>PAR 10/8/2010 CREST NLR-748-22-1-20-0</b>	1	10/16/1981	B1

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

170725

PAGE 01 OF 03 SECSTATE WASHDC 6337  
SIT082 DATE 11/23/81

DTG: 180337Z NOV 81 PSN: 015563  
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**NLRR 748-22-1-1-1**

**BY 1000 NARA DATE 4/2/85**

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT IMMEDIATE 0000

~~SECRET~~ STATE 306337  
NODIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 11/17/01 (HAIG, ALEXANDR M. JR.)  
TAGS: PEPR, UR, US  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT  
BREZHNEV

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AMBASSADOR HARTMAN SHOULD DELIVER FOLLOWING LETTER  
FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV TO FOREIGN  
MINISTER GROMYKO. THE LETTER IS KEYED TO A SPEECH WHICH  
THE PRESIDENT IS SCHEDULED TO DELIVER NOVEMBER 18 IN  
WASHINGTON. TALKING POINTS FOR AMBASSADOR'S DEMARCHE  
FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR PRESIDENT BREZHNEV:  
YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 15 MAKES IT CLEAR ONCE AGAIN  
HOW PROFOUND ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN OUR RESPECTIVE  
ASSESSMENTS OF THE CAUSES OF THE MAJOR SOURCES OF TENSION  
IN THE WORLD. I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT YOUR  
DECLARATION THAT SOVIET ACTIONS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE  
WORLD MUST HAVE NO BEARING ON OUR RELATIONS. SOVIET  
ACTIONS ARE HAVING A DIRECT AND ADVERSE IMPACT ON  
AMERICAN INTERESTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. AS I SAID  
IN MY LETTER TO YOU OF SEPTEMBER 22, SOVIET RESORT TO

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

DIRECT AND INDIRECT USE OF FORCE IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS IS  
A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN TO US, AS IS THE CONTINUED  
BUILDUP OF MILITARY STRENGTH BEYOND THE NEED FOR  
SELF-DEFENSE.

DESPITE THESE DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD STRIVE  
TO FIND A COMMON GROUND FOR AGREEMENT ON MATTERS OF VITAL  
INTEREST TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.  
THE CAUSE OF PEACE, AND PARTICULARLY THE THREAT OF  
NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION HANGING OVER MANKIND, REQUIRE THAT  
OUR TWO COUNTRIES MAKE AN EFFORT, TOGETHER WITH OUR  
PARTNERS, TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY. I  
ASSURE YOU THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO SUCH A  
PROCESS. I THEREFORE WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY FOR  
BUSINESSLIKE COOPERATION IN ADDRESSING WORLD PROBLEMS. I  
BELIEVE THAT OUR EXCHANGES, AND THE DISCUSSIONS IN NEW  
YORK BETWEEN SECRETARY HAIG AND FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO,

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 02 OF 03 SECSTATE WASHDC 6337

DTG: 180337Z NOV 81 PSN: 015563

HAVE LAID THE ESSENTIAL GROUNDWORK FOR SUCH AN EFFORT. THE KEY QUESTION NOW IS HOW WE CAN TRANSLATE THESE BEGINNINGS INTO CONCRETE RESULTS. WE ARE READY TO ADVANCE SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS AND TO HEAR OUR SOVIET PROPOSALS AIMED AT RELIEVING THE DANGERS, AS WELL AS THE CURRENT HUMAN SUFFERING, IN PROBLEM AREAS AROUND THE WORLD.

I AM CONVINCED, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE RESULTS IN THE COMING YEAR IF THERE IS GENUINE GOOD WILL AND SERIOUS INTEREST ON BOTH SIDES.

AFGHANISTAN REMAINS A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS, BECLOUDING THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE. IT APPEARS FROM RECENT COMMUNICATIONS THAT WE BOTH AGREE ON THE NEED FOR PROGRESS TOWARD AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE. WE APPEAR TO AGREE ON BASIC GOALS: A NON-ALIGNED, INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN, FREE OF ANY FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE AND GUARANTEED AGAINST ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. THIS CALLS FOR A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON QUESTIONS THAT BEAR ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. AMBASSADOR HARTMAN WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO TO DETERMINE WHETHER THERE IS THE BASIS FOR A SERIOUS DIALOGUE.

NOW LET ME ADDRESS YOUR ASSERTIONS REGARDING US POLICY TOWARDS CUBA.

WE DO NOT SEEK TO INTERFERE WITH CUBA'S INDEPENDENCE NOR ARE WE INTERFERING IN CUBA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HOWEVER,

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

WE DO FIND ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE CUBA'S UNREMITTING EFFORTS TO EXPORT ITS REVOLUTION BY FOMENTING VIOLENT INSURGENCIES AND TERRORISM AGAINST LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

BUT TO GET TO THE REAL PURPOSE OF MY LETTER, ARMS CONTROL IS A VITAL AREA WHERE PROGRESS CAN BE MADE TOWARD WORLD PEACE. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT EQUALITY IN CONVENTIONAL, INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR AND STRATEGIC FORCES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF SUCH FORCES. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO TAKE OTHER STEPS TO ENHANCE GENERAL PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

LET ME BEGIN WITH STRATEGIC FORCES. THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE NEW YEAR. IN APPROACHING THESE TALKS WE SHOULD LEARN FROM PST EXPERIENCES. IN MY VIEW HOWEVER, THE NEGOTIATIONS ALSO WILL REQUIRE FRESH IDEAS - TO WHICH BOTH SIDES SHOULD DEVOTE URGENT AND SERIOUS ATTENTION - IN ORDER THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE GENUINE REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC FORCES. THIS WILL DEMAND POLITICAL WILL AND A READINESS ON BOTH SIDES TO ACCEPT A HIGHER DEGREE OF OPENNESS IN ORDER TO ENHANCE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WELCOME YOUR IMPORTANT PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT VERIFICATION MEASURES GOING BEYOND NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. CONCERNING INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES, THE AGREEMENT TO BEGIN TALKS ON THESE SYSTEMS ON NOVEMBER 30 IN GENEVA MARKS AN IMPORTANT BEGINNING IN DEALING WITH THE DIFFICULT ISSUE OF THE MILITARY IMBALANCE IN THESE FORCES. WE ARE READY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION WHICH WE BELIEVE IS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND FAIR. WE ARE PREPARED TO CANCEL OUR PLAN TO DEPLOY PERSHING II AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES ON THE CONDITION THAT THE SOVIET UNION IN TURN DISMANTLES ALL OF ITS SS-20 MISSILES, RETIRES AND DISMANTLES ITS SS-4 AND SS-5 MISSILES, AND DESISTS FROM FURTHER DEPLOYMENTS OF THESE OR COMPARABLE SYSTEMS.

OPPORTUNITIES ALSO EXIST FOR REDUCTIONS IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. YOUR OFFENSIVE FORCES

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DTG: 180337Z NOV 81 PSN: 015563

HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CAPABLE. THE SOVIET UNION COULD MAKE NO MORE CONVINCING CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN EUROPE THAN BY SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCING ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES. NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE ACTIONS TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

OFFERS ANOTHER PRACTICAL POSSIBILITY FOR INCREASING CONFIDENCE AND REDUCING THE RISKS OF WAR. AT THE MADRID MEETING, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE ADVANCED PROPOSALS FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE THAT COULD NEGOTIATE MEASURES AIMED AT REDUCING CONCERNS ABOUT SURPRISE ATTACK. AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD HOPE WE COULD MOVE THE HELSINKI PROCESS FORWARD IN A BALANCED WAY IN ALL AREAS, TAKING FAVORABLE ACTION TO RESOLVE CERTAIN HUMANITARIAN MATTERS, SUCH AS THE REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES AND THE INDIVIDUAL CASES RAISED DURING THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK. SUCH ACTION I HAVE NO DOUBT WOULD HAVE A FAVORABLE EFFECT ON DELIBERATIONS IN MADRID, AND ON RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I FEEL I MUST TELL YOU I AM PERSONALLY CONCERNED WITH THE PARTICULAR CASES UNDER DISCUSSION BETWEEN SECRETARY HAIG AND YOUR REPRESENTATIVES.

THERE IS NO SHORTAGE, MR. PRESIDENT, OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR EASING WORLD TENSIONS. IF THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD IN THESE AREAS OF GENUINE CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES, YOU WILL FIND ME A READY PARTNER.

SINCERELY,  
RONALD REAGAN  
HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 6337

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

170270 4

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW RED TAG 5964  
SIT976 DATE 11/23/81

DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016196  
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O 181736Z NOV 81  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9155

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 15964  
NODIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 11/18/01 (HARTMAN, ARTHUR) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, UR, US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR HARTMAN'S NOVEMBER 18 CALL  
- ON GROMYKO

REFS: (A) STATE 306337, (B) STATE 306338

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR HARTMAN CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO NOVEMBER 18 TO DELIVER THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO BREZHNEV AND DISCUSS POINTS IN REFTEL B. GROMYKO DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON THE LETTER, NOTING THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED TRANSLATION FROM THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. HE DID, HOWEVER, ADDRESS THE ISSUES RAISED IN OUR TALKING POINTS, IN VINTAGE GROMYKO FASHION, FOR SOMETHING OVER TWO HOURS. HE BASICALLY ACCEPTED THE ESSENTIAL REALITY OF LINKAGE WHILE ARGUING AGAINST IMPOSING PRE-CONDITIONS ON OUR RELATIONSHIP, FLATLY DENIED THAT ARMS OR ARMED PERSONNEL ARE BEING SENT TO LATIN AMERICA BY CUBA, TOOK A HARD AND UNYIELDING STANCE ON AFGHANISTAN, PROFESSED SOVIET DESIRE FOR PROGRESS AT THE INF TALKS WHILE REFERRING TO "EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY" AS THE BEDROCK

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

FOUNDATION OF ANY ARMS AGREEMENT, AND LECTURED ON THE NEED TO LOWER OUR VOICES ON NUCLEAR WAR. THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND SPEECH, THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP IN ERODING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, AND PROBED FOR ANY NEW SOVIET APPROACH ON AFGHANISTAN. END SUMMARY.

3. FOLLOWING PLEASANTRIES, AMBASSADOR HARTMAN OPENED THE MEETING BY HANDING OVER THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND MAKING A TWENTY MINUTE PRESENTATION OF THE POINTS IN HIS INSTRUCTIONS, INCLUDING THE BILATERAL INSTRUCTIONS. GROMYKO RESPONDED WITH A LONG MONOLOGUE MAKING THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS: NO ONE CAN DENY THAT

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR 748-22-1-2-0  
BY ICOB NARA DATE 4/2/85

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW RED TAG 5964 DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016196

U. S. -SOVIET RELATIONS ARE AFFECTED BY ISSUES ELSEWHERE IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD AND THAT THE STATE OF SOVIET-U. S. RELATIONS SOMETIMES AFFECTS ISSUES IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. HOWEVER, THE USSR DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN SOVIET-U. S. RELATIONS MUST AWAIT THE RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS IN OTHER AREAS. IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT THE SITUATION IN ALL AREAS OF THE WORLD COULD BE TO THE LIKING OF BOTH OF US AT ANY PARTICULAR TIME AND THE USSR WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY PRE-CONDITIONS ON IMPROVEMENTS IN SOVIET-U. S. RELATIONS. WE MUST DEAL WITH EVENTS ON THEIR MERITS AND WHEN THEY ARISE. THERE CAN BE SEVERAL ISSUES BEFORE US AT ONCE, BUT TO TRY TO DEAL WITH EVERYTHING WILL ONLY BRING ABOUT AN IMPASSE.

B. CUBA: THE U. S. SHOULD LEAVE CUBA ALONE, EVEN THOUGH YOU DISLIKE ITS SOCIALIST SYSTEM. YOUR STATEMENTS THAT THE CUBANS ARE SENDING ARMS AND ARMED PERSONNEL TO LATIN AMERICA ARE SIMPLY NOT TRUE. WE CAN BE SPECIFIC BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT THIS IS CORRECT. YOUR SOURCES ARE WRONG. THE U. S. IS EITHER BEING MISLED OR INTENTIONALLY MAKING FALSE STATEMENTS ON THIS ISSUE. CUBAN LEADERS HAVE TOLD US THEY WANT BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES DESPITE THE CONTINUED U. S. PRESENCE AT GUANTANAMO AND THE TOUGH APPROACH FROM THE U. S. WE HOPE THE U. S. WILL TAKE A MORE SENSIBLE POSITION ON CUBA.

MOSCOW RED TAG 5964 DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016196  
MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

C. AFGHANISTAN: WE HAVE NOTHING NEW ON AFGHANISTAN. OUR TROOPS WILL BE WITHDRAWN IF AND WHEN THERE IS AN END TO INTERVENTION FROM PAKISTAN AND IRAN (MOSTLY PAKISTAN), THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON THIS, AND INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. WE SEE NO DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE PAKISTANI OR IRANIAN LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A SOBER POSITION. AS I TOLD SECRETARY HAIG, THERE IS NOTHING COMPLICATED ON COMBINING A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES TO AN END TO INTERVENTION. WHETHER THE TROOPS WOULD LEAVE WITHIN A MONTH, TWO, OR MORE FOLLOWING AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE THE SORT OF THING TO BE DISCUSSED IN A MEETING. THE U. S. IS HOLDING BACK PAKISTAN, PERHAPS YOU SHOULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO MEET WITH THE BABRAK KARMAL GOVERNMENT. THE PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN BORDER IS A DIFFICULT QUESTION AND I TOLD AGHA SHAHI IN THIS REGARD IN NEW YORK THAT HE SHOULD TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT OR PAKISTAN MIGHT MISS "MIGHT THE TRAIN."

MOSCOW RED TAG 5964 DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016196

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5964  
SIT975 DATE 11/23/81

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9156

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 MOSCOW 15964  
NOTES

D. STRATEGIC ARMS AND INF: THE USSR WANTS TO FIND COMMON LANGUAGE WITH THE U.S. IN THE INF TALKS AND TO HAVE A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, BUT IT FEELS THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT TAKEN A PATH CONDUCIVE TO FINDING SOLUTIONS. THE BEDROCK FOUNDATION OF THE SOVIET POSITION IS THAT ARMS AGREEMENTS MUST BE BASED ON EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. IF WASHINGTON SEEKS PREDOMINANCE, THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS. ON MBFR, WE BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. AND ITS ALLIES HAVE DECIDED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO POSITIVE END. THE WEST IS ONLY KEEPING THEM GOING FOR "CONSIDERATIONS OF A TRANSIENT NATURE". THE USSR HAS SOUGHT TO MEET THE WEST HALFWAY AND EVEN WITHDREW TANKS AND TROOPS FROM THE GDR. THE WEST DID NOT EVEN THANK US FOR THAT BUT INSTEAD HOLDS FAST TO ITS POSITIONS.

E. CSCE: THE CSCE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN DRAGGING ON TOO LONG. THE WEST IS TO BLAME AND MAKES NO STEPS IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET CONCESSIONS. WE HOPE THE WEST WILL TAKE A MORE OBJECTIVE AND REASONABLE STAND. FOR OUR PART, WE HOPE THE MEETING WILL BE A SUCCESS.  
F. TALK OF NUCLEAR WAR: A LARGE MEASURE OF TENSION HAS BEEN GENERATED BY WASHINGTON THROUGH STATEMENTS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

AND ACTIONS OF ITS LEADING PERSONALITIES. THERE ARE MANY STATEMENTS ON NUCLEAR WAR OR A LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR WITH THE THEATER FOR THEIR USE BEING EUROPE. WHY ARE YOU PUTTING THESE IDEAS IN PEOPLES' HEADS? ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, THE U.S. AND THE USSR ARE IN THE SAME BOAT. THERE SHOULD BE A STATEMENT FROM WASHINGTON, FROM THE PRESIDENT, RESPONDING TO MR. BREZHNEV AND COMMITTING THE U.S. TO A NUCLEAR NON-FIRST USE POLICY. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN PURSUING AND WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE A POLICY OF PEACE, AND WE WANT GOOD AND BUSINESSLIKE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AS PRESIDENT BREZHNEV HAS NOTED IN REPEATED STATEMENTS.

4. AMBASSADOR HARTMAN RESPONDED TO THIS LONG STATEMENT BY NOTING THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 5964

DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016198

MISUNDERSTANDING IN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PERCEPTION OF THE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. THE REASON FOR THE DEBATE IN THE U.S. ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WAS DUE TO THE PERCEPTION OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OF A TREMENDOUS BUILDUP IN SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH BEYOND WHAT COULD LEGITIMATELY BE NEEDED FOR DEFENSE. IN A PERIOD WHEN U.S. DEFENSE EXPENDITURES DECLINED OR LEVELED OFF, SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING HAD GROWN RAPIDLY. THIS WAS THE CAUSE OF THE U.S. DEBATE AND LED PRESIDENT REAGAN TO CALL FOR INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING WHILE SEEKING TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. PRESIDENT REAGAN BELIEVES DEEPLY IN PEACE AND WISHES FOR IT AS FERVENTLY AS ANY WORLD LEADER. WE MUST DISCUSS THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE TENSIONS AND NOT MAKE SPEECHES AT EACH OTHER. YOUR TALKS WITH THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK WERE A START IN THIS DIRECTION.

5. HE THEN SAID HE WOULD REPORT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S COMMENTS ON CUBA, BUT SINCE OUR STATEMENTS WERE PRESUMABLY WELL-FOUNDED, WE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE FURTHER. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIET STATEMENT ON AFGHANISTAN LEFT OUT THE CRITICAL ELEMENT OF THE WISHES OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. BABRAK KARMAL IS NOT ACCEPTED BY THE AFGHAN PEOPLE AND HIS GOVERNMENT FACES OVERWHELMING OPPOSITION. PERHAPS THE TWO DEVELOPMENTS COULD GO ON IN PARALLEL.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

6. GROMYKO THEN LAUNCHED INTO AN IMPASSIONED DENIAL THAT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN MIGHT BE AN ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION. THERE IS A REGIME IN AFGHANISTAN THAT GOVERNS THE COUNTRY AND THERE IS NO GROUND TO SAY THAT IT IS NOT SUPPORTED INTERNALLY. ONLY THE GOVERNMENT'S REPRESENTATIVES COULD PARTICIPATE IN FORMAL TALKS AND IT WOULD BE MEANINGLESS TO CONVENE THE TALKS IF THE AFGHAN REPRESENTATIVES WERE TO BE QUESTIONED. THE EC PROPOSAL TOOK SUCH AN APPROACH, AND IT WAS NEVER MORE

MOSCOW 5964

DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016198

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5964  
SIT974 DATE 11/23/81

DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016201  
TOR: 322/2118Z

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MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE  
DE RUEHMO #5964/03 3221744  
O 181736Z NOV 81  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9157

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 15964  
NODIS

THAN A PAPER CONCEPT. INTERNAL ISSUES CAN ONLY BE DIS-  
CUSSED BY THE AFGHAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES. TO UNDERLINE THE  
POINT OF NO GIVE IN THE SOVIET POSITION ON AFGHANISTAN,  
GROMYKO SUMMED UP THAT THERE WAS NOTHING NEW IN  
WHAT HE HAD TO SAY ON THIS QUESTION.

7. GROMYKO CONCLUDED THE SESSION BY ARGUING THAT THE  
U. S. SEEMED TO BE FALLING PREY TO ITS OWN PROPAGANDA  
ON MILITARY FIGURES. HE CONTENDED THAT THE U. S.  
WAS INCREASING ITS AIRPOWER IN EUROPE AND ITS  
PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, IN ADDITION TO THE  
WELL-KNOWN 1979 NATO DECISIONS. HE ALSO POINTED  
TO THE IMPROVEMENT IN FRENCH AND BRITISH FORCES.  
TO END THE ARGUMENT, HE PROCLAIMED THAT THE OVERALL  
FIGURES WERE, IN FACT, IN THE U. S. FAVOR AND THAT  
WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD DONE ONLY PARTIALLY COMPENSATED  
FOR THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NATO AND WARSAW PACT  
FORCES EVEN WITHOUT THE NEW U. S. BUILDUP.

8. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THIS WAS ALL ESSENTIALLY  
NEGATIVE STUFF, IT WAS SAID IN A NON-POLEMICAL,  
GRANDFATHERLY STYLE (ALL EXCEPT THE INTERNAL  
AFGHAN REMARK.) WE AGREED TO DISCUSS THESE  
MATTERS FURTHER AND GET DOWN TO MORE DETAILED

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

CHANGES ON SPECIFICS. BOTH THE CUBA AND AFGHAN  
ISSUES ARE WORTH FOLLOWING UP WITH PROBES AND IN  
THE CUBA CASE SOME EVIDENCE FOR OUR STATEMENTS  
WOULD BE HELPFUL. EITHER BECAUSE HE WANTED TO  
MAINTAIN THE GOOD HUMOR OF THE MEETING OR CONCENTRATE  
ONLY ON LARGE ISSUES, GROMYKO FAILED TO MENTION  
ANY OF THE RECENT INCIDENTS IN NEW YORK. WE  
WILL HAVE SOME FURTHER REFLECTIONS AS WE SEE THE  
REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.  
HARTMAN

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 5964

DTG: 181736Z NOV 81 PSN: 016201

MOSCOW 5964

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 01 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 6338  
SIT081 DATE 11/23/81

DTG: 180344Z NOV 81 PSN: 015628  
TOR: 322/1229Z

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EOB:  
WHSR COMMENT: RED TAG

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MESSAGE:

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DE RUEHC #6338 3220502  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

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E.O. 12065: RDS-1 11/17/01 (HAIG, ALEXANDER M., JR.)

TAGS: PEPR, UR, US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR HARTMAN'S CALL ON GROMYKO

1. ~~AS~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. THIS CABLE CONTAINS INSTRUCTIONS FOR AMBASSADOR HARTMAN'S APPOINTMENT WITH GROMYKO NOVEMBER 18 MOSCOW TIME. PURPOSES OF THE MEETING WILL BE TO DELIVER A COPY OF THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO BREZHNEV, TO INFORM SOVIETS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH, AND TO CONTINUE OUR EXCHANGES WITH THE SOVIETS ON A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES. (FYI: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO BREZHNEV WAS DELIVERED TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN HERE EVENING NOVEMBER 17).

3. AMBASSADOR HARTMAN SHOULD DRAW UPON FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS DURING DISCUSSION OF TOPICS INCLUDED IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND LETTER:

A. U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS:  
--I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM YOU THAT TODAY IN WASHINGTON PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL MAKE A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH, WHICH WILL ADDRESS OUR OVERALL APPROACH TO PEACE AND SECURITY, INCLUDING ARMS CONTROL AND KEY REGIONAL ISSUES. WE BELIEVE THAT YOU WILL FIND IT A

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

BALANCED AND CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT OF OUR APPROACH.  
--IN ADDITION, I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO DELIVER TODAY PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 15, A COPY OF WHICH WAS ALSO DELIVERED TO YOUR AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON. (TEXT OF LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO BREZHNEV IS BEING TRANSMITTED TO YOU BY SEPTTEL). NEEDLESS TO SAY, WE HOPE THAT BOTH THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND HIS LETTER WILL BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AS AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS OF OUR POLICY.  
--PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER MAKES CLEAR THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE ASSERTION THAT SOVIET ACTIONS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD HAVE NO BEARING ON OUR RELATIONS. SOVIET RESORT TO DIRECT AND INDIRECT USE OF FORCE IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND THE CONTINUING BUILD-UP OF SOVIET MILITARY FORCES ARE MATTERS OF DEEP CONCERN TO US.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-1-3-9

BY COB NARA DATE 4/2/05

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 6338

DTG: 180344Z NOV 81 PSN: 015628

--DESPITE OUR DIFFERENCES ON THESE ISSUES, OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD MAKE A CONCERTED EFFORT TO RESOLVE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS PEACEFULLY. THE US IS COMMITTED TO SUCH A PROCESS AND WE WELCOME THE EXPRESSED SOVIET DESIRE FOR BUSINESSLIKE COOPERATION IN ADDRESSING WORLD PROBLEMS.

--THE HAIG/GROMYKO MEETINGS IN NEW YORK HAVE PROVIDED A USEFUL BEGINNING FOR WHAT WE HOPE WILL BE A BROAD AND CONSTRUCTIVE U.S.-SOVIET DIALOGUE. BUT NOW WE MUST TRANSLATE THESE BEGINNINGS INTO CONCRETE RESULTS. WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN INTENSIVE PREPARATIONS FOR THE GENEVA MEETING IN JANUARY.

B. AFGHANISTAN:

--AS PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV STATES, WE REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM WHICH WOULD ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF A NON-ALIGNED, INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN, FREE OF FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE AND GUARANTEED AGAINST OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

--THIS CALLS FOR A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE.

--WE ARE GIVING CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN'S DEMARCHE TO THE SECRETARY OF OCTOBER 31. WE HAVE NOTED THE ABSENCE FROM DOBRYNIN'S DEMARCHE OF FORMULAS FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH THE SOVIET SIDE KNOWS ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO US AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

--WE WILL SHORTLY HAVE A CONSIDERED REPLY TO AMBASSADOR

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

DOBRYNIN'S DEMARCHE.

C. CUBA:

--I WISH NOW TO TURN TO THE SUBJECT OF CUBA AND AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN'S DEMARCHE TO THE SECRETARY OF OCTOBER 31 WHICH CONTAINS A NUMBER OF INACCURACIES AND DISTORTIONS. I EXPECT TO HAVE MORE TO SAY ON CUBA AT A LATER MEETING, BUT MY AUTHORITIES BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO MAKE U.S. VIEWS ON THESE INACCURACIES CLEAR AT THIS TIME.

--THE SOVIET DEMARCHE ALLEGES THAT THE U.S. IS MOUNTING A "CAMPAIGN OF HATRED AND THREATS" AGAINST CUBA BECAUSE THE U.S. DOES NOT LIKE CUBA'S SOCIAL SYSTEM. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER MAKES CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOT ATTEMPTING TO OVERTURN CUBA'S POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC SYSTEM, NOR ARE WE INTERFERING IN CUBA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

--AS WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED, WE HAVE PROBLEMS WITH CUBA NOT BECAUSE OF ITS SOCIAL SYSTEM BUT BECAUSE OF ITS EFFORTS TO EXPORT THAT SYSTEM TO OTHER COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA BY PROVIDING ARMS AND OTHER SUPPORT TO VIOLENT INSURGENCIES AGAINST LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENTS. IT IS THIS ASPECT OF CUBAN BEHAVIOR WHICH WE WILL NOT ACCEPT.

--WE HAVE NOT INITIATED A CAMPAIGN OF ANY KIND AGAINST CUBA. RATHER IT IS THE CUBAN CAMPAIGN OF INTERVENTIONISM WHICH HAS FORCED US TO RESPOND.

D. SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL:

--PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER MAKES CLEAR THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT EQUALITY IN CONVENTIONAL, INTERMEDIATE-RANGE, AND STRATEGIC FORCES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF SUCH FORCES. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO TAKE OTHER STEPS TO ENHANCE GENERAL PEACE AND SECURITY. --YOU WILL NOTE THAT BOTH THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV REFER TO OUR DESIRE FOR RESUMPTION OF THE SALT PROCESS. THIS WILL REQUIRE THAT WE LEARN FROM PAST EXPERIENCE BUT IT WILL ALSO REQUIRE FRESH IDEAS.

--THIS WILL DEMAND POLITICAL WILL AND A READINESS ON BOTH SIDES TO ACCEPT A HIGHER DEGREE OF OPENNESS.

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 03 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 6338

DTG: 180344Z NOV 81 PSN: 015628

THEREFORE, WE WELCOME PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER MEANS OF VERIFICATION GOING BEYOND NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

--CONCERNING INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES, PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER MAKES CLEAR THAT OUR APPROACH

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGINNING IN GENEVA NOVEMBER 30 IS SERIOUS AND AMBITIOUS. WE ARE PREPARED TO CANCEL OUR PLAN TO DEPLOY PERSHING II AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES IF THE SOVIET UNION IN TURN DISMANTLES ALL OF ITS SS-20 MISSILES, RETIRES AND DISMANTLES ITS SS-4 AND SS-5 MISSILES, AND DESISTS FROM FURTHER DEPLOYMENTS OF THESE OR COMPARABLE SYSTEMS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR RESPONSE TO THIS APPROACH AND WILL, OF COURSE, CONSIDER IN GOOD FAITH CONSTRUCTIVE SOVIET PROPOSALS.

--PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER ALSO STATES OUR CONVICTION THAT POSSIBILITIES EXIST FOR REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. THE SOVIET UNION COULD MAKE NO MORE CONVINCING CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN EUROPE THAN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES. WE BELIEVE THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE ACTIONS TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

--WITH REGARD TO THE CSCE PROCESS AND THE MADRID MEETING, THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER RECALLS THAT THE WESTERN SIDE HAS ADVANCED PROPOSALS FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE THAT COULD NEGOTIATE MEASURES AIMED AT REDUCING CONCERNS ABOUT SURPRISE ATTACK. THE MOST RECENT WESTERN PROPOSALS ON THE ZONE QUESTION SHOULD PROVIDE THE BASIS OF AN AGREEMENT ON THAT ISSUE.

--AT THE SAME TIME, AGREEMENT ON A CDE MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY STEPS WHICH MOVE THE HELSINKI PROCESS FORWARD IN A BALANCED WAY IN ALL AREAS, INCLUDING HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. DURING YOUR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK AND HIS NOVEMBER 11 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN, THE SECRETARY MADE CLEAR OUR POSITION ON THIS ISSUE AND ADVANCED A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS FOR RESOLUTION OF SPECIFIC CASES. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV WHICH I HAVE GIVEN YOU MAKES CLEAR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN FAVORABLE ACTION TO RESOLVE THESE CASES.

4. AMBASSADOR SHOULD USE OCCASION OF CALL ON GROMYKO TO RAISE A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES, DRAWING UPON FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS:

A. CONSULATES:

--WE HAVE RESUMED PAYMENT OF RENT FOR THE APTMENTS WHICH WE LEASE IN KIEV.

--I AM DISPATCHING A TEAM FROM OUR EMBASSY HERE TO LOOK INTO THE CONDITION OF THE KIEV PROPERTIES.

SECSTATE WASHDC 6338

DTG: 180344Z NOV 81 PSN: 015628

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

--WE EXPECT THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVING FORWARD WITH RESPECT TO OUR CONSULATES GENERAL IN KIEV AND NEW YORK WILL AGAIN BE DISCUSSED BY OUR MINISTERS IN GENEVA.

B. BILATERAL AGREEMENTS:

--WE ARE VERY CONFIDENT THAT THE WORLD OCEANS AGREEMENT CAN BE EXTENDED, AND WE ARE OPTIMISTIC THAT AGREEMENTS ON THE ENVIRONMENT, ARTIFICIAL HEART RESEARCH, AND HEALTH CAN ALSO BE RENEWED.

--THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER PROCEDURES FOR EXTENDING THE WORLD OCEANS AGREEMENT. IN OUR VIEW THIS COULD BE DONE BY AN EXCHANGE OF NOTES IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW.

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

13

PAGE 04 OF 04 SECSTATE WASHDC 6338

DTG: 180344Z NOV 81 PSN: 015628

## C. CUSTOMS PROBLEMS:

--THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE ON A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES STANDS IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE FAILURE OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO ADDRESS OUR CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN OBTAINING UNHINDERED IMPORTATION AND DELIVERY OF CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS FOR THE NEW CHANCERY.

--THE UNHINDERED IMPORTATION OF THESE MATERIALS WAS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DECEMBER 4, 1972 U. S. - SOVIET AGREEMENT ON THESE MATTERS.

--WITH THE OPENING OF OUR NEW WAREHOUSE FACILITY, WE EXPECT UNIMPEDED DELIVERY OF CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS DIRECTLY TO THE WAREHOUSE. IF NECESSARY, MY DEPUTY, MINISTER ZIMMERMANN WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH APPROPRIATE SOVIET OFFICIALS LOOKING TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM.

## D. AEROFLOT VIOLATIONS (IF RAISED BY GROMYKO):

--THE MOSCOW-WASHINGTON AEROFLOT FLIGHTS ON NOVEMBER 8 APPEAR TO US TO HAVE INTENTIONALLY DEVIATED FROM THE ROUTE THAT FAA OPERATION SPECIFICATIONS REQUIRE AEROFLOT TO FOLLOW.

--THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OBJECTS STRENUOUSLY TO VIOLATION OF THE BILATERAL CIVIL AIR TRANSPORT AGREEMENT BY AEROFLOT ON NOVEMBER 8. WE INSIST THAT FUTURE AEROFLOT FLIGHTS BE CARRIED OUT IN FULL ACCORD WITH THE TERMS OF THAT AGREEMENT.

## E. TROYANOVSKIY RESIDENCE SHOOTING INCIDENT (IF RAISED BY GROMYKO):

--THE US GOVERNMENT EXPLORES ALL INCIDENTS OF TERRORISM AND DEEPLY REGRETS THAT SUCH AN INCIDENT WAS DIRECTED AGAINST THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

--THE INCIDENT IS BEING CAREFULLY INVESTIGATED BY THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

--THE U. S. GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO PREVENT A RECURRENCE OF SUCH REPREHENSIBLE INCIDENTS. HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 6338

DTG: 180344Z NOV 81 PSN: 015628

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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Tom Bailey  
See RMA note.  
jt

11/3/81

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CY TO VP

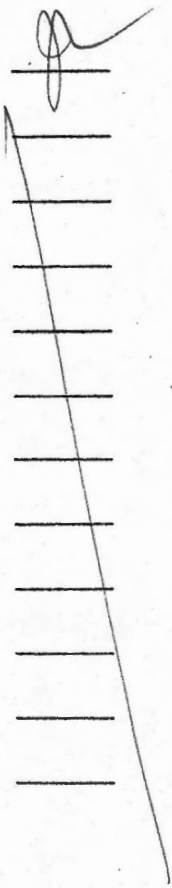
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Comments:

Norman,

This merits a short (1-page, perhaps 1 1/2) memo to P, with information compressed and facts marshalled, with appropriate conclusions.

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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170275 MEMO

1 11/18/1981 B1

R. ALLEN TO REAGAN RE ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL  
SITUATION OF SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN  
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

### 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.

MEMORANDUM

6220 redo

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 17, 1981

UNCLASSIFIED with SECRET  
and CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENTS

11/2/81 COB

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: NORMAN A. BAILEY

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on the Economic/  
Financial Situation of the Soviet Union and  
Eastern Europe

The memorandum to the President at Tab I on the economic and financial situation of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has been retyped to incorporate the changes you made in the version I forwarded November 10 (Tab II).

RECOMMENDATION:

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Revised Memo to the President for Your Signature  
Tab II My Earlier Memo of November 10

UNCLASSIFIED with SECRET  
and CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENTS

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 10, 1981

UNCLASSIFIED with SECRET  
and CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENTS

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES  
11/21/81 COB

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: NORMAN A. BAILEY *MB*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on the Economic/  
Financial Situation of the Soviet Union and  
Eastern Europe

In response to your comment on my memorandum to you of October 22 (Tab II), attached is a memorandum from you to the President outlining the situation (Tab I). I have added a final paragraph in response to your remark that the version I forwarded on October 28 ended without a point (Tab III).

A selection of supporting cables is attached for your own use (Tab III).

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the attached memorandum (Tab I) to the President.

Approve   *L*   Disapprove             
*as amended.*

Attachments

Tab I	Memo for Your Signature to the President
Tab II	My Memo of October 22
Tab III	Notes by You on My Earlier Memo
Tab IV	Supporting Cables

*See how things  
can be compressed?  
Weigh every word.  
I'm not fascinated  
with the role of  
editor.  
11/16/81*

UNCLASSIFIED with SECRET  
and CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENTS

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 28, 1981

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and CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENTS

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

11/2/15 KOB

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: NORMAN A. BAILEY *NAB*SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on the Economic/  
Financial Situation of the Soviet Union and  
Eastern Europe

In response to your comment on my memorandum to you of  
October 22 (Tab II), attached is a memorandum from you to  
the President outlining the situation (Tab I). A selection  
of supporting cables is attached for your own use (Tab III).

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the attached memorandum (Tab I) to the President.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments

Tab I Memo for Your Signature to the President  
Tab II My Memo of October 22  
Tab III Supporting cables

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and CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENTS

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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22

219

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
170276	MEMO  N. BAILEY TO R. ALLEY RE EAST BLOC FINANCIAL PROBLEMS (W/NOTE ADDED)	1	10/22/1981	B1

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
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25

170277

PAGE 01 SOFIA 2895 DTG: 200800Z OCT 81 PSN: 035731  
EOB945 AN003869 TOR: 293/1024Z CSN: HCE659

DISTRIBUTION: BALLY-01 SCHW-01 LENZ-01 NAU-01 PIPE-01 POAT-01  
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WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: COL JP VP EOB

EOB:

THE REFERENCE TO "SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES" WHICH, COMING ON TOP OF CURRENT EVENTS IN POLAND, IS DISQUIETING TO SAY THE LEAST. I BELIEVE THE USG SHOULD, AT A MINIMUM, AGREE TO SUPPORT THE GOR IN THE IMF WITH REGARD TO A SPEED-UP OF THE PAYMENT OF THE \$450 MILLION. FOR EUR: GET WORKING ON WHAT WE MIGHT DO AND KEEP ME INFORMED. ANDERSON

BT

OP IMMED  
STU9575  
DE RUDKSA #2895 2930923  
O 200800Z OCT 81  
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2285

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE 4169

~~SECRET~~ SOFIA 2895

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 22-1-6-6

BY CCB NARA DATE 11/2/15

PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY FROM ASST. SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER  
DEPARTMENT FOR DAS SCANLAN  
E.O. 12065: RDS-1 10/19/01 (EAGLEBURGER, LAWRENCE S.)  
TAGS: RO, US, OVIP (EAGLEBURGER, LAWRENCE S.)  
SUBJECT: MY CONVERSATION WITH FM ANDREI

1. ~~IS-ENTIRE TEXT~~

2. IN A 10/19 TETE A TETE, FM ANDREI AGAIN TALKED ABOUT ROMANIA'S FINANCIAL SITUATION. ANDREI SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED WITH CEAUESCU AFTER HIS 10/18 CONVERATION WITH ME (WHERE I TOLD HIM WE COULD NOT RESPOND FAVORABLY TO ROMANIA'S REQUEST FOR \$1 BILLION LOAN, BUT COULD HELP WITH CCC), AND THAT CEAUESCU HAD ASKED HIM TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- ROMANIA IS IN AN ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT PERIOD RIGHT NOW, AND NEEDS AMERICAN ASSISTANCE;
- THE INTEREST RATE ON CCC CREDITS IS SO HIGH THAT THE GOR PROBABLY WILL NOT ACCEPT THAT TYPE OF ASSISTANCE;
- OTHERS (E.G., SAUDI ARABIA) HAVE OFFERED HELP, BUT CEAUESCU PREFERS TO SEEK US HELP;
- THE GOR HAD NOTED THE USG'S WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE ROMANIA IN THE IMF;
- GIVEN THE USG'S INABILITY TO LEND \$1 BILLION, ROMANIA NOW NEEDS EITHER A BILLION DOLLAR LOAN FROM THE IMF OR A \$450 MILLION TRANCHE OUT OF NEXT YEAR'S PORTION OF THE \$1.5 BILLION IMF LOAN ALREADY NEGOTIATED; EITHER WAY, THESE FUNDS ARE NEEDED BY 12/31/81;
- THIS MONEY IS NEEDED TO REPAY DEBTS COMING DUE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS; ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION IS BASICALLY SOUND, BUT THERE IS A SERIOUS SHORT-TERM LIQUIDITY PROBLEM;
- THE GOR AIMS TO SET ITS HOUSE IN ORDER NO MATTER THE COST, AND HOPES TO HAVE MATTERS IN HAND BY 1/83.

3. ANDREI COMMENTED THAT THE GOR COULD DEAL WITH ITS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS EVEN WITHOUT EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE, BUT ADDED THAT "THERE WILL BE INTERNAL SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES IF WE DON'T GET HELP." THUS, HE ASKED WHETHER THE USG WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A ROMANIAN REQUEST TO THE IMF FOR A \$1 BILLION LOAN OR AN ADVANCE OF \$450 MILLION ON THE EXISTING LOAN. I REPLIED THAT I WOULD PASS THE REQUEST ON TO WASHINGTON.

4. COMMENT: MY PERSONAL ASSESSMENT IS THAT THE GOR IS IN WORSE SHAPE THAN ANDREI LET ON. I ALSO NOTE

~~SECRET~~

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PAGE 01 BELGRADE 8473 DTG: 211607Z OCT 81 PSN: 037638  
EOB754 AN004366 TOR: 294/1647Z CSN: HCE182

OF-PAYMENTS' REVIEW AND BE HELD IN EITHER PARIS  
OR LONDON.

DISTRIBUTION: BALLY-01 LENZ-01 PIPE-01 STER-01 /004 A1

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:  
SIT: COL JP VP EOB  
EOB:

3. SHOULD THE DEPARTMENT DECIDE THAT, GIVEN THE ABOVE  
DISADVANTAGES, SOME KIND OF MEETING ON YUGOSLAVIA MUST  
AFTER ALL BE HELD, THE EMBASSY SHOULD HAVE THE OPPOR-  
TUNITY TO COMMENT ON ANY USG VIEW OR PAPER PRESENTED.  
ANDERSON  
BT

b

OP IMMEDIATE /ROUTINE  
UTS7981  
DE RUDKRB #8473 2941620  
O R 211607Z OCT 81  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3087

INFO DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 3920  
AMEMBASSY BONN 3240  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 5559  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2885  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS 3700

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NLRR 748-22-17-5

BY LCDB NARA DATE 11/2/15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BELGRADE 8473

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 10-21-96 (ANDERSON, DAVID) OR-M  
TAGS: EFIN, YO  
SUBJECT: WARSAW MEETING ON YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC SITUATION  
REF: PARIS 31419

1. ~~(ENTIRE TEXT)~~.

2. THE EMBASSY URGES THAT WE OPPOSE ON THE FOLLOWING GROUNDS  
THE BRITISH REQUEST TO CONVENE A SEPARATE MEETING IN WARSAW TO  
REVIEW THE YUGOSLAV FINANCIAL SITUATION:

--ALTHOUGH THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SITUATION HERE AND THE  
LEVEL OF INDEBTEDNESS ARE WORRISOME, YUGOSLAVIA'S FINANCIAL  
PROBLEMS ARE CLEARLY NOT OF THE SAME MAGNITUDE AS ROMANIA'S  
AND POLAND'S. WE SHOULD AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF IMPLYING  
THAT THE FINANCIAL SITUATIONS OF THESE THREE STATES ARE  
ANALAGOUS.

--NOT ONLY ARE THE FINANCIAL SITUATIONS DIFFERENT, BUT THE  
WARSAW MEETING WOULD UNDERMINE OUR LONGSTANDING POLICY OF  
SHARPLY DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND MEM-  
BERS OF THE WARSAW PACT. A WARSAW MEETING DEVOTED  
TO A DISCUSSION OF FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF POLAND,  
ROMANIA -- AND YUGOSLAVIA -- WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL  
IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE YUGOSLAVS.  
--THE PROPOSED MEETING MIGHT WELL BECOME KNOWN TO THE  
YUGOSLAVS AND -- MORE IMPORTANTLY -- TO U.S. AND  
WESTERN BANKERS. COMBINING YUGOSLAVIA WITH POLAND  
AND ROMANIA WOULD GIVE PRECISELY THE OPPOSITE MESSAGE THAT  
THE EMBASSY UNDER BOTH AMBASSADORS EAGLEBURGER  
AND ANDERSON HAS SOUGHT TO CONVEY TO U.S. BANKERS  
OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, I.E., THAT POST-TITO  
YUGOSLAVIA IS GRAPPLING WITH THE COMPLEX FINANCIAL ISSUES  
OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY AND DESPITE ONGOING, SERIOUS  
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, IS NOT IN THE SAME CATEGORY OF NEAR-CRISIS  
AS POLAND AND ROMANIA.

--WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE BRITISH EMBASSY HERE THAT THE  
PROPOSAL IS A BRITISH INITIATIVE. IT IS NOT CLEAR,  
HOWEVER, WHY THE REVIEW OF YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN  
REQUESTED AT THIS TIME AND WHY IN WARSAW.

-- WE WOULD PREFER THAT IF ANY COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF  
YUGOSLAVIA'S FINANCIAL SITUATION IS TO TAKE PLACE,  
IT SHOULD FOLLOW THE NOVEMBER 16 GATT FULL BALANCE-

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170271	CABLE 201103Z OCT81	1	10/20/1981	B1

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170280	CABLE	1	10/20/1981	B1
	201442Z OCT 81			

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170282 CABLE

1 10/29/1981 B1

201404Z OCT81

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5649

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 EB-08  
DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 COME-00 L-03 LAB-04  
DOE-10 TRSE-00 PM-09 INT-05 OPIC-07 CEA-01 OMB-01  
STR-11 SIL-01 SHS-01 FTC-01 OES-09 ACDA-12 ICAE-00  
SP-02 SPRS-02 /138 W

R 261712Z OCT 81  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8449  
INFO AMCONSUL Leningrad  
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BY /C03 NARA DATE 11/2/15

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E.O. 12065: N/A  
TAGS: ECON, ENRG, EPET, UR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT AND ENERGY  
STATISTICS FOR FIRST THREE QUARTERS OF 1981

1. SUMMARY: THE RATE OF SOVIET ECONOMIC GROWTH IS CONTINUING TO DECELERATE DURING 1981, AS INDICATED IN OUTPUT STATISTICS PUBLISHED OCTOBER 24. THE RATES OF GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY REMAIN BELOW THOSE PLANNED FOR THE YEAR AND EVEN BELOW RATES ACHIEVED IN 1980 AND THE FIRST HALF OF 1981. IN THE ENERGY SECTOR, BOTH GAS AND OIL OUTPUT SEEMS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE, AND PERHAPS EVEN EXCEED, ANNUAL PRODUCTION TARGETS. HOWEVER, PRODUCTION OF A NUMBER OF OTHER BASIC INDUSTRIAL INPUTS, INCLUDING STEEL AND COAL, MERELY KEPT PACE WITH, OR WAS ACTUALLY LOWER THAN, OUTPUT LEVELS REACHED IN THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR. DESPITE CONTINUING RHETORICAL EMPHASIS ON PROVIDING ADDITIONAL CONSUMER GOODS FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE, THE INCREASE IN OUTPUT BY GROUP "B" (LIGHT) INDUSTRY WAS WELL BELOW THE GROWTH OF ACHIEVED BY SOVIET INDUSTRY AS A WHOLE. WHILE FOOD AVAILABILITY REMAINS A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR SOVIET CONSUMERS, THE RECENTLY RELEASED DATA INDICATES THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN PRODUCTION OF MEAT, SAUSAGE AND WHOLE MILK AT ABOUT LAST YEAR'S LOW LEVELS. END SUMMARY.

2. OUTPUT STATISTICS FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981, PUBLISHED OCTOBER 24 IN THE CENTRAL PRESS, INDICATE A CONTINUING DECELERATION OF THE RATE OF SOVIET ECONOMIC GROWTH. INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT HAS GROWN BY 3.3 PERCENT THUS FAR IN 1981, WELL BELOW THE 4.1 PERCENT INCREASE PLANNED FOR THIS YEAR AND THE 3.9 PERCENT INCREASE ACTUALLY ACHIEVED DURING THE SAME PERIOD IN 1980. LABOR PRODUCTIVITY HAS GROWN BY 2.6 PERCENT THUS FAR IN 1981, BELOW THE 2.9 PERCENT GROWTH RATE OBTAINED IN THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR. SOVIET LEADERS HAVE BEEN COUNTING HEAVILY ON A SUBSTANTIAL ACCELERATION IN THE RATE OF PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH TO COUNTER THE LOOMING LABOR SHORTAGE THE USSR WILL EXPERIENCE DURING THIS DECADE.

3. OUTPUT OF SEVERAL BASIC INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS WHICH SERVE AS IMPORTANT INPUTS FOR OTHER SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY CONTINUE TO CAUSE CONCERN. "TRUD'S" "ECONOMIC OBSERVER" COLUMN OCTOBER 25 NOTES THAT "SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS HAVE BEEN PERMITTED IN FERROUS METALLURGY." WHILE ROLLED STEEL PRODUCTION THUS FAR IN 1981 HAS MATCHED OUTPUT DURING THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR, STEEL PIPE PRODUCTION

170283  
WAS ACTUALLY LOWER THROUGH NINE MONTHS OF 1981 THAN LAST YEAR. "TRUD" ALSO COMMENTS THAT, DESPITE SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN OUTPUT OF SEVERAL BASIC CHEMICAL PRODUCTS (SUCH AS CHEMICAL FERTILIZER) THIS YEAR, OUTPUT STILL LAGS BEHIND PLAN TARGETS. TRANSPORTATION CONTINUES TO RANK AS A SERIOUS BOTTLENECK TO THE SMOOTH FUNCTIONING OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY. DESPITE THIS, OUTPUT OF DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES, ROLLING STOCK, AND TRUCKS THUS FAR IN 1981 ARE ALL BELOW 1980 PRODUCTION LEVELS FOR THE SAME PERIOD. RHETORICAL EMPHASIS ON IMPROVING THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF SOVIET CONSUMERS NOTWITHSTANDING, "TRUD" NOTES THAT OUTPUT GROWTH BY GROUP "B" (LIGHT, OR CONSUMER-GOODS INDUSTRIES) WAS UP ONLY TWO PERCENT IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, SUBSTANTIALLY BELOW THE RATE OF GROWTH OF TOTAL INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT. SOVIET OFFICIAL STATEMENTS FOR THE PAST YEAR HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT GROUP "B" OUTPUT WAS STATED TO EXCEED THAT OF GROUP "A" (HEAVY) INDUSTRIES THIS YEAR. PROCESSED FOOD STATISTICS SHOW THAT MEAT, SAUSAGE AND WHOLE MILK OUTPUT REMAINED AT ABOUT THE LEVELS PRODUCED IN THE CORRESPONDING PERIOD LAST YEAR, WHILE PRODUCTION OF BUTTER AND VEGETABLE OILS REMAINED FIVE PERCENT LOWER THAN IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1980.

4. NATURAL GAS: THIS REMAINS THE BRIGHTEST SPOT IN THE SOVIET ENERGY PICTURE. LAST MONTH'S OUTPUT, AT 39 BILLION CUBIC METERS, WAS THE THIRD HIGHEST MONTHLY PRODUCTION TOTAL ATTAINED THIS YEAR. GAS PRODUCTION HAS NOW RISEN FOR FOUR CONSECUTIVE MONTHS, AND THE DAILY EXTRACTION RATES IN SEPTEMBER WAS 1.3 BILLION CUBIC METERS,

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INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 AID-07 INR-10 SS-15 CIAE-00 EB-08  
DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 COME-00 L-03 LAB-04  
DOE-10 TRSE-00 PM-09 INT-05 OPIC-07 CEA-01 OMB-01  
STR-11 SIL-01 SMS-01 FTC-01 OES-09 ACDA-12 ICAE-00  
SP-02 SPRS-02 /138 W

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R 261712Z OCT 81  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8450  
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
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MARKING A RETURN TO THE RATE ACHIEVED IN THE FIRST THIRD OF THIS YEAR. OUR PROJECTIONS CONTINUE TO FORECAST THAT SOVIET NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION THIS YEAR WILL EXCEED THE PLAN TARGET OF 458 BILLION CUBIC METERS. IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE, WE NOW EXPECT TOTAL OUTPUT FOR THE YEAR IN THE 460-465 BILLION CUBIC METER RANGE.

5. OIL: SOVIET PRODUCTION OF CRUDE OIL AND GAS CONDENSATES ALSO APPEARS TO BE ON TARGET THUS FAR IN 1981. HOWEVER, SOVIET PRESS COVERAGE OF THIS INDUSTRY'S ACHIEVEMENTS CONTINUES TO BE RESTRAINED. FOR EXAMPLE, "TRUD" COMMENTS THAT WHILE OIL OUTPUT IS UP SLIGHTLY OVER THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR, THE INDUSTRY FAILED TO FULFILL ITS ABOVE-PLAN PRODUCTION GOALS. STILL, DAILY EXTRACTION RATES FOR OIL THROUGH SEPTEMBER HAVE HELD STEADY AT THE LEVEL PREVAILING SINCE 1980, IN CONTRAST TO THE SUMMER SLUMP IN EXTRACTION RATES FOR NATURAL GAS. OUR PROJECTION CONTINUES TO SHOW THAT, IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE, OIL OUTPUT THIS YEAR WILL REACH OR PERHAPS EVEN SLIGHTLY EXCEED THE PLAN TARGET OF 610 MILLION METRIC TONS; OUR PROJECTIONS NOW SHOW TOTAL 1981 PRODUCTION OF 610 TO 612 MMTS.

6. COAL: THE COAL INDUSTRY, THE BENEFICIARY OF A SUBSTANTIAL WAGE INCREASE IN SEPTEMBER AND OF A MAJOR PARTY/GOVERNMENT DECREE EARLIER THIS MONTH, CONTINUES ITS DISAPPOINTING PERFORMANCE. COAL OUTPUT LAST MONTH, AT 56 MILLION METRIC TONS, WAS TWO PERCENT LOWER THAN IN SEPTEMBER, 1980, AND THE CUMULATIVE OUTPUT TOTAL FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981 ALSO LAGS BEHIND THE LEVEL PRODUCED IN THE CORRESPONDING PERIOD LAST YEAR. AN OCTOBER 25 EDITORIAL IN "SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA" BLAMES THE DECLINE ON SHAFT MINERS IN THE DONETSK, KUZNETS AND KARAGANDA COAL BASINS. THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE OCTOBER DECREE'S EMPHASIS ON SPEEDING DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET OPEN-CAST MINES. SLUMPING OUTPUT OF COKING COAL (WHICH IS PRODUCED MAINLY IN DONBAS AND KUZBAS SHAFT MINES) IS CONTINUED TO BE SINGLED OUT AS A MAJOR BOTTLENECK FOR THE SOVIET STEEL INDUSTRY. OUR PROJECTIONS CONTINUE TO FORECAST THAT TOTAL 1981 COAL PRODUCTION WILL NOT ONLY FAIL TO FULFILL THE PLAN, BUT WILL BE LOWER THAN 1980 OUTPUT, MARKING A THIRD CONSECUTIVE YEAR OF DECLINING COAL OUTPUT. WE CURRENTLY ESTIMATE THAT 1981 COAL PRODUCTION WILL BE IN THE 703-706 MILLION METRIC TON RANGE.

7. ELECTRICITY: THE SOVIET POWER GRID GENERATED

101 BILLION KILOWATT HOURS LAST MONTH, UP TWO PERCENT OVER SEPTEMBER, 1980. AS WE HAVE NOTED EARLIER, ELECTRICITY OUTPUT IS PRIMARILY A FUNCTION OF DEMAND, AS THE SOVIET POWER INDUSTRY IS CAPABLE OF GENERATING FAR HIGHER WATTAGES IF NECESSARY. THE CONTINUING FAILURE OF DEMAND FOR ELECTRICITY BY SOVIET INDUSTRY TO GROW AS FAST AS OVERALL INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IS PUZZLING, SINCE IT IS COMMONLY ESTIMATED THAT AT LEAST ONE PERCENT GROWTH IN SOVIET ENERGY CONSUMPTION IS REQUIRED IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A ONE PERCENT GROWTH IN GNP.

8. THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS WAS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING STATISTICS. ENERGY OUTPUT DATA:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
- ELECTRICITY (BILLION KWH)	101	3.37	969	102	100.9	102	100.3
- OIL (MILLION METRIC TONS) (MILLION BARRELS PER DAY)	50	1.7	455	101	100.6	101	98
- GAS (BILLION CUBIC METERS)	39	1.3	342	107	103	107	105
- COAL							

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MOSCOW 15010 03 OF 03 261727Z

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DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 NSAE-00 COME-00 L-03 LAB-04  
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STR-11 SIL-01 SMS-01 FTC-01 OES-09 ACDA-12 ICAE-00  
SP-02 SPRS-02 /138 W

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R 261712Z OCT 81  
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 15010

(MILLION METRIC TONS) 56 1.9 528 98 98 99.3 98

## COLUMN HEADINGS:

- (1) PRODUCTION IN SEPTEMBER 1981.
- (2) DAILY PRODUCTION RATE IN SEPTEMBER 1981.
- (3) CUMULATIVE PRODUCTION, JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 1981.
- (4) OVERALL PRODUCTION JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 1981 AS A RATIO  
- OF PRODUCTION IN JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 1980.
- (5) PERCENT OF PLAN FULFILLMENT FOR JANUARY-SEPTEMBER  
- 1981 BY VOLUME OF PRODUCTION BY MINISTRY.
- (6) VOLUME OF PRODUCTION BY MINISTRY AS A RATIO OF  
- THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981 OVER THE SAME  
- PERIOD IN 1980.
- (7) LABOR PRODUCTIVITY BY MINISTRY AS A RATIO OF THE  
- FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981 OVER THE SAME PERIOD  
- IN 1980.

9. OUTPUT DATA FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1981 FOR  
SELECTED INDUSTRIES ARE SHOWN BELOW:

	1981 OUTPUT	PERCENTAGE OF 1980 OUTPUT
--	----------------	------------------------------

## PRIMARY MATERIALS:

- STEEL (MILLION METRIC TONS)	112	100.1
- ROLLED SHEET STEEL (MILLION METRIC TONS)	77.8	100
- CEMENT (MILLION METRIC TONS)	95.4	101
- LUMBER (MILLION METRIC TONS)	209	99

## FINISHED INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT:

- TRUCKS (THOUSANDS)	581	99
- DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES (MILLION HORSEPOWER)	2.8	96
- FREIGHT CARS (THOUSANDS)	45.3	96
- STEEL PIPE (MILLION METRIC TONS)	13.6	99.6
- MINERAL FERTILIZER (NUTRIENT BASIS, IN MILLION)	19.8	105

## METRIC TONS)

## CONSUMPTION ITEMS:

- MEAT (FROM STATE SOURCES, IN MILLIONS OF TONS)	6.8	101
- BUTTER (FROM STATE SOURCES, IN MILLIONS OF TONS)	1.0	95
- PASSENGER CARS (THOUSANDS)	985	99.3

NOTE: REPORTED MINERAL FERTILIZER PRODUCTION REPRESENTS  
A CHANGE OF BASE FROM OFFICIAL STATISTICS REPORTED  
IN OCTOBER 1980. END NOTE. HARTMAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

~~SECRET~~  
**Department of State**

33  
170285  
**TELEGRAM**

PAGE 01 USNATO 06573 01 OF 02 231824Z  
 ACTION EUR-12

6896

USNATO 06573 01 OF 02 231824Z

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-15 EB-00 H-01 NSC-05  
 NSAE-00 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-09 PA-01 ACDA-12 ICAE-00  
 SP-02 SPRS-02 /081 W

-----215510 231846Z /52

P 231816Z OCT 81  
 FM USMISSION USNATO  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1160  
 CIA WASHDC PRIORITY  
 DIA WASHINGTON DC// PRIORITY  
 INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
 AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
 AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
 AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
 AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
 AMEMBASSY WARSAW

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLR 748-22-1-12-9

BY COR NARA DATE 11/2/15

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 06573

E.O. 12065: RDS 10/23/91 (GLITMAN, MAYNARD W.) OR-M  
 TAGS: NATO, ECON, MPOL, UR, XF  
 SUBJECT: ECONOMIC COMMITTEE: REINFORCED MEETING ON  
 WARSAW PACT MILITARY EXPENDITURES, OCTOBER 21-23: NO  
 LET-UP SEEN IN GROWTH OF SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING DESPITE  
 LAGGING ECONOMY

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: NATO ECONOMIC COMMITTEE'S THREE DAY REINFORCED MEETING ON WARSAW PACT DEFENSE EXPENDITURES ENDED OCT 23 WITH ALLIED EXPERTS IN AGREEMENT THAT ALL EVIDENCE POINTS TO CONTINUATION IN THE 1980S OF PAST GROWTH TRENDS IN SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING DESPITE SLOWER GROWTH IN SOVIET GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP). ENDORSEMENT BY THE FULL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF THE EXPERTS' REPORT ON "DEFENSE EXPENDITURE OF THE SOVIET UNION (1970-80) AND PROSPECTS UP TO 1990" IS EXPECTED WITHIN THREE WEEKS. THE REPORT SHOULD THEN GO TO THE NATO COUNCIL PRIOR TO THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, FOR WHICH IT WILL CONSTITUTE RELEVANT DOCUMENTATION. END SUMMARY.

DOS REVIEWED 08-Jan-2013: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION.

REFER TO CIA  
 REFER TO DIA

3. THE US DELEGATION MADE A STRONG CASE FOR THESE CONCLUSIONS REGARDING CONTINUED GROWTH OF SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING ON THE BASIS OF: THE SOVIET ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1981-85, ONGOING EXPANSION IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES, RISING COST OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND THE NUMBER OF NEW DEFENSE PROGRAMS ALREADY IN EVIDENCE. NEW SYSTEMS ARE BEING DEVELOPED IN EVERY MAJOR WEAPONS CATEGORY. REAL GROWTH IN SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF 4 TO 5 PERCENT, AT A MINIMUM, THEREFORE IS EXPECTED. A FURTHER INCREASE, AS INDICATED BY RECENT EVIDENCE, WAS CONSIDERED POSSIBLY TO BE A REACTION TO ANNOUNCED INCREASES IN US DEFENSE PROGRAMS AND TO FAILURE TO ATTAIN ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENTS. TRANSFER OF RESOURCES FROM THE CIVIL SECTION TO THE MILITARY MAY BE OCCURRING.

DIA REVIEWED 10-Jan-2013: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION.

4. THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO CONTINUED GROWTH IN DEFENSE SPENDING APPEARED TO THE EXPERTS TO BE VIRTUALLY UNAFFECTED BY MOUNTING SOVIET DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING PAST ECONOMIC GROWTH RATES. THE 4 PERCENT REAL GROWTH IN SOVIET DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, MAINTAINED OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS, WAS BROADLY IN LINE WITH AVERAGE GROWTH OF SOVIET GNP UP TO THE LATE 1970S. THE RATE OF GROWTH IN SOVIET GNP IN THE 1980S, HOWEVER, IS EXPECTED TO BE AROUND 2 TO 2.5 PERCENT AND MOST LIKELY LOWER IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS OF THE DECADE. AMONG THE CAUSES OF THE LOWER

CIA REVIEWED 14-May-2013: NO OBJECTION TO RELEASE AS SANITIZED

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01  
ACTION EUR-12

USNATO 06573 02 OF 02 231825Z

6901

INFO	OCT-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-15	EB-08	H-01	NSC-05
	NSAE-00	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-09	PA-01	ACDA-12	ICAE-00
	SP-02	SPRS-02	/081 W				

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P 231816Z OCT 81  
FM USMISSION USNATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1161  
CIA WASHDC PRIORITY  
DIA WASHINGTON DC// PRIORITY  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

SECRET SECTION 02 OF 02 USNATO 06573

SHOULD BE AVAILABLE OCTOBER 27 FOR DATACOM TRANSMISSION TO WASHINGTON (EUR/RPE) FOR EXPEDITIOUS REVIEW. FINAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL OF THE DOCUMENT IS EXPECTED FOR NOVEMBER 12 (NOVEMBER 19 AT THE LATEST) SO IT CAN BE CONSIDERED BY THE COUNCIL PRIOR TO THE DECEMBER MINISTERIALS. A VERSION OF THE DOCUMENT EDITED FOR UNCLASSIFIED RELEASE IS TO BE DRAFTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BY THE SECRETARIAT, WITH A VIEW TO SECURING THE NECESSARY CLEARANCES AND APPROVAL FROM CAPITALS BY EARLY DECEMBER.

8. COMMENT: CONSENSUS HERE IS THAT ANNUAL STUDY OF SOVIET DEFENSE EXPENDITURES HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY RELEVANT TO THE MAINSTREAM OF NATO DELIBERATIONS. THE CLEAR MESSAGE CONTAINED IN THIS YEAR'S REPORT IS EXPECTED TO BE IMPORTANT DOCUMENTATION FOR UPCOMING MINISTERIALS, COMPLEMENTING, INTER ALIA, THE PRIOR US PRESENTATION ON SOVIET MILITARY POWER AND THE DEFENSE REVIEW COMMITTEE'S FORCE COMPARISON PAPER. END COMMENT  
BENNETT

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USSR (11/18/81-11/19/81)

*FOIA*

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
170287	MEMO  DRAFT (W/EDITS) OF DOC #170295 (R. ALLEN TO REAGAN RE ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SITUATION OF SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES) (+NSC PROFILE SHEETS)	4	ND	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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31 OCT 81

Department of State

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OUTGOING  
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14

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NOD062

PAGE 01  
ORIGIN NODS-00

STATE 291726

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 /000 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SOV:RCOMBS:JH  
 APPROVED BY S/S:LPBREMER, III  
 EUR:JSCANLAN  
 EUR:LEAGLEBURGER  
 NEA:NAVELIOTES  
 S/S-O:AMMORSE

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

81 NOV 19 A 6:26

O 312149Z OCT 81 ZFF4  
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-1-147

~~SECRET~~ STATE 291726BY COB NARA DATE 11/2/15

NODIS

E.O. 12065 RDS-1 10/31/01 (BREMER, L. PAUL, III)  
 TAGS PEPR, AF, UR, US

SUBJ HAIG-DOBRYNIN MEETING OCTOBER 31: AFGHNISTAN  
 1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DURING MEETING WITH SECRETARY OCTOBER 31, SOVIET  
 AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW HANDED  
 OVER PAPER ON AFGHANISTAN (FULL TEXT BELOW). DOBRYNIN  
 CONCEDED THAT USSR HAD MADE SERIOUS MISTAKE IN  
 AFGHANISTAN AND SAID USSR WANTED TO FIND BASIS FOR  
 GETTING OUT. SECRETARY INDICATED WE WOULD GIVE THE  
 PAPER CAREFUL STUDY AND BE BACK TO THE SOVIETS-IN DUE  
 COURSE.

3. BEGIN TEXT: IN CONNECTION WITH THE READINESS  
 EXPRESSED BY THE US SIDE TO CONTINUE ON THE LEVEL OF  
 EXPERTS THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON QUESTIONS-CONCERNING A  
 POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AROUND AFGHANISTAN, WHICH THE

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

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OUTGOING  
TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02

STATE 291726

SECRETARY OF STATE SPOKE FOR AT THE MEETING WITH A.A. GROMYKO IN NEW YORK, AS WELL AS IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR ON OCTOBER 16, WE, ON OUR PART, CONFIRM OUR POSITIVE ATTITUDE-TOWARDS-SUCH A POSSIBILITY.

IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS REVEALED, BESIDES THE DIFFERENCES IN THE POSITIONS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES, ALSO CERTAIN COINCIDING ELEMENTS. WE UNDERSTAND WHAT HAS BEEN SAID ON THE AMERICAN SIDE TO MEAN THAT THE US WOULD LIKE TO SEE AFGHANISTAN REMAIN AN INDEPENDENT AND NON-ALIGNED STATE MAINTAINING GOOD RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS AND THAT THERE IS AN INTEREST IN WASHINGTON IN HAVING A STABLE AND SECURE SITUATION IN THAT REGION.

IF IS IS THE CASE - AND THIS HAS BEEN PRECISELY THE APPROACH ALWAYS FOLLOWED BY US - THEN, APPARENTLY, IT CAN BE ASSUMED THAT THERE EXISTS A COMMON POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR A MORE SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF THE PERTINENT QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AROUND AFGHANISTAN.

WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO HOLD AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THOSE QUESTIONS THROUGH OUR EMBASSIES IN WASHINGTON OR MOSCOW WITH THE PARTICIPATION, IF NEED BE, OF ADDITIONAL SPECIALISTS WHO DEAL WITH THE SAID QUESTIONS.

WE ARE FOR CONDUCTING SUCH DISCUSSIONS IN A BUSINESS-LIKE MANNER, IN THE SPIRIT OF REALISM, AND WITHOUT UNNECESSARY POLEMICS. THE WORK THAT WOULD BE DONE BY OUR REPRESENTATIVES COULD BE OF USE FOR THE-SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGE OF VIEWS TO BE HELD DURING THE

~~SECRET~~



*Department of State*

41  
**OUTGOING  
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PAGE 03

STATE 291726

MEETING BETWEEN THE MINISTERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES  
SCHEDULED EARLY NEXT YEAR. END TEXT. HAIG

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED (ON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S))

RECEIVED 19 NOV 81 19

142/15 GAB

TO ALLEN

FROM GUHIN

DOC DATE 19 NOV 81

KEYWORDS: USSR

IMMIGRATION

SUBJECT: PENDING LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE PENTECOSTALISTS IN US EMBASSY  
MOSCOW

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR DECISION DUE: 21 NOV 81 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

ALLEN

## COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

( J / )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Pres	P 11/20	for decision		
	11/27	allow noted by LVA		
MH	S 12/9	Redo	12/10	
Pres	IP 12/9	for info		
nonice	x 12/9	red to Russia Refs 12/15		
Pres	IP 12/15	for info		
	C 12/17	noted by the Pres		MG ✓

dom

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 19 NOV 81 19

TO ALLEN

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

( J / )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Pres	P	11/20	for decision		
		11/27	below noted by LVA		
MG	S	12/9	Rebo	12/10	
Pres	IP	12/9	for info		
W/vice	X	12/14	Fwd'd to Russia Refs 12/15		
Pres	IP	12/15	for info		
	C	12/17	noted by the Pres		MG ✓

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE PA (C)

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170291 MEMO

1 12/11/1981 B1

J. NANCE TO L. PAUL BREMER RE US-USSR  
AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF  
THE WORLD OCEAN

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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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.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

44

Date: ~~Dec~~ DEC 11

Log number: 6711

MEMORANDUM FOR SITUATION ROOM

FROM: NSC/S

URGENT

Please LDX the attached to:

ADDRESSEE

OTHER/Specify:

please send to addressee (Bremer)  
and to Ed Hurwitz  
Room 4229  
phone: 632-2248

Return receipt to Room 385/NSC/S.

Thank you very much.

Donna Moore

170293  
6711 re-do  
45  
afl

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 9, 1981

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

ACTION

NLRR 748-221-15-6

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. NANCE

BY LCDB NARA DATE 11/2/85

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *N*

SUBJECT: Recommendation for Renewal of U.S.-USSR  
Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the  
World Ocean

The NSC Staff concurs with State's recommendation at Tab III that the U.S.-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean be renewed for three years. However, since this is the first of several U.S.-USSR science and technology agreements to come up for renewal in this Administration, you may or may not feel it merits the President's attention. A memorandum to the President for your signature is at Tab I. At Tab II is a memorandum for your signature to Jerry Bremer endorsing the State Department recommendation for renewal of the subject agreement, which is provided in anticipation of the President's approval. The incoming memorandum from State is at Tab III. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove ✓

Bill Stearman concurs.

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to the President  
Tab II Memorandum for your signature to Jerry Bremer  
Tab III Incoming memorandum from State, dated November 21.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review December 4, 1987.

*End —  
Agreement  
requires on  
December 15  
unless we  
renew it  
ji*

*not necessary*

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170295	MEMO  J. NANCE TO REAGAN RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COORPORATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN	1	ND	B1

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

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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.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12/8/81

47

Dick Pipes

See Janets' note -  
memo to Pres should  
probably say

this is the first of  
6 (?) existing Science and  
Technology agreements  
with the USSR . . . .  
, , , , ,

Allen

# 6711

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTONAllen Luz :

12/7

re: sentence in Cypis  
memo to Vance saying  
This is the first  
US-USSR agreement to  
come up for renewal in  
the Reagan Admin —

What about the  
US-USSR grain agreement?

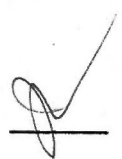
JR

12/8/81

RECEIVED

81 DEC 7 P 5: 59

JANET COLSON



BUD NANCE

\_\_\_\_\_

DICK ALLEN

\_\_\_\_\_

IRENE DERUS

\_\_\_\_\_

JANET COLSON

\_\_\_\_\_

BUD NANCE

\_\_\_\_\_

PETER

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO VP

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO MEESE

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO BAKER

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO DEEVER

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO BRADY

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 4, 1981

ACTION

DECLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. NANCE

NLRR 748-22-1-15-6

FROM:

RICHARD PIPES *RP*

BY 1003 NARA DATE 11/2/15

SUBJECT:

Recommendation for Renewal of U.S.-USSR  
Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the  
World Ocean

*of several  
science  
and  
technology*  
The NSC Staff concurs with State's recommendation at Tab III that the U.S.-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean be renewed for three years. However, since this is the first U.S.-USSR agreement, renewal to come up in this Administration, you may or may not feel it merits the President's attention. A memorandum to the President for your signature is at Tab I. At Tab II is a memorandum for your signature to Jerry Bremer endorsing the State Department recommendation for renewal of the subject agreement, which is provided in anticipation of the President's approval. The incoming memorandum from State is at Tab III.

*science & technology  
for renewal*

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Bill Stearman concurs.

Attachments:

Tab I	Memorandum to the President
Tab II	Memorandum for your signature to Jerry Bremer
Tab III	Incoming memorandum from State, dated November 21.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review December 4, 1987.

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170297	MEMO  DRAFT (W/EDITS) OF DOC #170295 (J. NANCE TO REAGAN RE US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES OF THE WORLD OCEAN)	1	ND	B1

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## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

170298

52

81 NOV 21 P 5: 18

DECLASSIFIED

November 21, 1981

NLRR 748-22-1-17-4

BY 1003

NARA DATE 11/2/15

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOMMEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Recommendation for Renewal of US-USSR Agreement  
on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean

The US-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean expires December 15, 1981, and can be renewed by mutual agreement of both sides.

As the attached report indicates, the lead agency, the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), believes that the Agreement has resulted in concrete benefits to the U.S. and that, while it is now operating at a reduced level of activity, should be renewed for an additional three year period.

The Committee on Exchanges (COMEX) concluded that activities under the Agreement have resulted in benefits to the U.S., and that, overall, Agreement activities appear to be well balanced. COMEX concurs in NOAA's recommendation that the Agreement be renewed.

The lead agency report has also been reviewed by members of the Interagency Coordinating Committee on U.S.-Soviet Affairs (ICCUSA). All either concurred in the recommendation that the Agreement be renewed, or offered no comment.

The Department of State favors renewing the Agreement for three years. Although we have substantially cut back on exchange activities in the wake of the Afghanistan invasion, we have tried to leave the structure of cooperation intact. We are continuing with certain routine exchanges which are of benefit to us. We feel this approach gives us the flexibility to adjust the tightening or relaxing of our exchanges policy to future shifts in the political situation. Consistent with this approach, we permitted the automatic extension in May, 1980 of the Transportation Agreement, the first

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GDS 11/18/87


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

52A

agreement to come up for renewal after the Afghanistan invasion. We also recommended in a recent memorandum to the NSC that the Health and Environmental Agreements be extended.

The Soviets, for their part, have informally expressed their readiness to renew the Oceans Agreement.

Extension of the Agreement can be achieved by a simple exchange of diplomatic notes.

  
L. Paul Bremer III  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

As stated.

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NLRR 748-22-1-18-3

BY 608 NARA DATE 11/2/15

170299

EUR/IG REPORT ON THE RENEWAL OF THE  
US-USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN STUDIES  
OF THE WORLD OCEAN

The US-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the World Oceans will expire December 15, 1981. An explicit action -- signature of a new agreement or exchange of diplomatic notes -- is required in order to renew the Agreement.

The Oceans Agreement was first signed in Washington in June, 1973 by Secretary of State Rogers and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. The Agreement was renewed on its own terms for six months in June, 1978, and subsequently amended and further renewed for three years on December 15, 1978. The modification of four of the articles from the original Agreement served largely to update the list of areas of cooperation and to specify the "equal, reciprocal, and mutually beneficial basis" of access to technology, institutes, organizations and scientists participating in joint cooperative activity as well as scientific and technical data.

Since the last renewal of the Oceans Agreement in December, 1978, US-Soviet relations have cooled and funding for activities in many areas has been reduced. Overall, as a consequence, the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) estimates that activities under this agreement have declined by one-half since the invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979.

NOAA has been the lead agency for the Agreement, with additional participation from the U.S. Navy, the National Science Foundation, U.S. Geological Survey, and the National Academy of Sciences. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR coordinates the activities on the Soviet side.

Activities under the Agreement cover five areas: air/sea interaction, ocean dynamics, marine geology and geophysics, instrumentation, and biological productivity and biochemistry. Attached is NOAA's report which provides a description of progress and benefits in these areas. Forms of cooperation range from exchanges of delegations or information to extensive joint research studies, often aboard oceanographic vessels and to remote regions of the world (e.g. Antarctica). Agreement activities range from minimal to extensive and generally do not involve sensitive technology

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or linkage to bilateral issues outside the Agreement framework.

Soviet interest in U.S. technology in Ocean studies is quite high, and the Agreement does facilitate their access. Overall, however, NOAA believes benefits are about equal, with the degree of usefulness and balance of benefits varying from activity to activity and over time. Technology transfer risks are carefully monitored by the U.S. side.

#### SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND AGENCY RECOMMENDATIONS

NOAA's evaluation comments indicate:

-- Benefits to the U.S. from the Agreement include opportunities for U.S. scientists to gain access to research facilities in various locations in the USSR, and in waters off the Soviet coast, aboard both US and Soviet research ships. Soviet participation aboard the research vessel Glomar Challenger has enhanced and helped finance the over-all international effort in the Deep Sea Drilling Project (DSDP). The Agreement has also facilitated considerable exchange of data from cooperative cruises in the area of biological productivity and biochemistry.

-- Balance and reciprocity were specifically included in the amendment text at the time of the previous renewal of the Agreement in 1978. These factors continue to apply.

#### Agency Recommendations

NOAA recommends the Oceans Agreement be renewed by its terms for an additional three-year period effective December 15, 1981, as set forth in their report (attached).

State recommends the Agreement be renewed for three years.

DOD made no separate recommendation on the renewal of the Agreement, although Navy, as a participating technical agency, did concur in the NOAA report.

Committee on Exchanges (COMEX) concurs in NOAA's recommendation to renew the Agreement. Its report is attached.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) concurs in NOAA's recommendation. Its report is attached.

Other Agencies offered no comment or concurred.

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170300	MEMO  N. OSTENSO TO T. SIMMONS RE US-USSR WORLD OCEAN AGREEMENT (+ ATTACHEMENTS)	19	9/22/1981	B1

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170301

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
Committee on Exchanges

74

EC-306-81  
16 October 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Edward Hurwitz  
Deputy Director (Exchanges)  
Office of Soviet Union Affairs  
Bureau of European Affairs  
Department of State

ATTENTION: Mr. Michael Boorstein

FROM:  *EL*  
Executive Secretary  
Committee on Exchanges

SUBJECT: [COMEX OR-336-81] (U)  
Renewal of the World Ocean Bilateral

25X1

The Committee on Exchanges concurs in NOAA's recommendation to renew the World Ocean Agreement. This bilateral appears to be well balanced, and is one from which the United States has received benefits.

25X1

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BY *AL* NARA DATE *11/13/12*

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US-USSR JOINT COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION IN THE  
FIELD OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION (American Side)

СМЕШАННАЯ АМЕРИКАНСКО-СОВЕТСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ ПО СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВУ  
В ОБЛАСТИ ОХРАНЫ ОКРУЖАЮЩЕЙ СРЕДЫ (Американская Часть)

Room 805 WSMW (A-106)  
401 M Street, S.W.  
Washington, DC 20460  
Telephone: 202-755-0560

October 14, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO : Edward Hurwitz  
Interdepartmental Group for Europe

FROM : Linwood R. Starbird *LR*  
Executive Secretary

SUBJECT: Renewal of World Ocean Agreement

REF : Eagleburger Memo of October 2, 1981

We have reviewed the report prepared by NOAA recommending renewal of the US-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean. The relevant U.S. Government agencies involved in cooperation with the Soviet Union under the Environmental Agreement have no objection to renewal of the World Ocean Agreement.

We note mention (p. 7) of greater emphasis to come on chemical oceanographic parameters, and interest in Soviet capabilities with regard to measurement of pollutants. It should be pointed out that EPA has been working with the Soviets on such problems, albeit with a focus on coastal and estuarine waters, for several years under Area VI of the Environmental Agreement. We would welcome greater participation in this effort from NOAA laboratories in Seattle, Washington, and Sandy Hook, New Jersey. Additionally, our Soviet counterpart organizations have long demonstrated a concern for blue-water pollution, something for which EPA has no regulatory responsibility. We would be happy to

facilitate contact between NOAA and cooperating Soviet institutes in support of joint ocean pollution studies.

One other area of interest common to both the Oceans and Environmental Agreements is aquaculture (p. 6). Preliminary consideration has already been given to expanding US-Soviet aquaculture work under the Environmental Agreement to include salt water studies. We would hope to coordinate with NOAA so as to avoid duplication of effort in this regard.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Allen Lutz

In the interest of time,  
I'm forwarding this.

However, the memo  
does not even mention  
the December 15 expiration date.  
Also, what is supposed to  
be done with the bottom half  
of the Vance/Burner memo —  
use it as a holding place  
for chewing gum!! We have  
a repeated problem w/ whoever  
types Giger memos in this  
regard.



James

12/10/81

12/10

orig to  
Lutz

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ALLEN

FROM BREMER

DOC DATE 21 NOV 81

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KEYWORDS: USSR

OCEANS

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SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION FOR RENEWAL OF US - USSR AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN  
STUDIES OF WORLD OCEAN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN

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