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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET Ronald Reagan Library

#### **Collection Name** EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE Withdrawer KDB 11/5/2015 File Folder USSR (1/28/82-1/30/82) FOIA F03-002/5 **SKINNER Box Number** 22 233 No of Doc Date Restrictions Doc Type **Document Description ID** Pages 1/28/1982 170262 CABLE **MOSCOW 1148** 4 B6 1/29/1982 **B**1 170780 MEMO W. CLARK TO REAGAN RE SCOPE OF 2 12/30/1981 SANCTIONS 1/25/1982 170781 MEMO L. OLMER TO R. MCFARLANE, L. 5 **B**1 EAGLEBURGER, ET AL. RE REPORT ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS (INCL. ATTACHMENT) R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-15-3-4 170782 MEMO M. LEDEEN TO SECERTARY OF STATE RE 5 1/29/1982 **B1** SOVIET PROBLEM 3 1/29/1982 170783 CABLE **MOSCOW 1208 B1** 4/8/2013 R CREST NLR-748-22-15-4-3 170784 CABLE MOSCOW 1209 1 1/29/1982 **B**1 R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-15-5-2 170785 CABLE MOSCOW 1210 1 1/29/1982 **B1** R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-15-6-1 170786 CABLE 1 1/29/1982 **STATE 25166 B**1 4/8/2013 R CREST NLR-748-22-15-7-0

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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ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	
170787 MEMO	W. STEARMAN TO W. CL. STRIKER	ARK RE HUNGER 1	1/29/1982 B1
	R 4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-15-8	3-9
170788 MEMO	W. CLARK TO REAGAN R STRIKER (WITH NOTATIO		ND B1
170789 CABLE	STATE 20363	2	1/26/1982 B1
	R 4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-15-3	10-6
170790 CABLE	MOSCOW 1220	1	1/30/1982 B1
	R 4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-15-2	11-5
170791 LETTER	REAGAN TO BREZHNEV WITH EDITS)	(2 COPIES, ONE 2	ND B1
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170792 LETTER	2 DRAFTS OF SAME LET #170791 (REAGAN TO BRI		ND B1
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## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Norman Bailey

Per my instrucitons of yesterday, this issue will be considered at an NSC meeting next Tuesday. In preparation for that meeting, you should develop a paper which reflects the substance of each of the agenda items at our meeting as well as the pros and cons of the alternative positions (on IA and IB etc) together with each Department/Agency position. This paper hsould be circulated to each aprticipant (Stoessel, Carlucci, Inman, Kirkpatrick, Olmer, Clark) on Friday Jan 29. Comments should be reflected in a revised paper circulated as soon as possible and forwarded to the President by noon Monday.

Bud McFarlane

CC: mike Wheelen

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MEMORANDUM

## 477

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### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 28, 1982

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MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: NORMAN A. BAILEY

SUBJECT: Memo to the President on the Clarification of Oil and Gas Equipment Export Sanctions

Attached is a memorandum from you to the President reporting on the results of the interagency meeting of January 27 on the above subject.

**RECOMMENDATION:** 

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

Approve Disapprove

cc: Richard Pipes William Stearman Paula Dobriansky Gus Weiss Henry Nau

Attachments Tab I Memo to the President Tab A Commerce Paper





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170780	MEMO W. CLARK TO REAGAN RE SCOPE OF 12/30/1981 SANCTIONS	2	1/29/1982	B1	

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UNITED STA DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE The Under Secretary for International Trade Washington, D.C. 20230

170781

CONFIDENTIAL

SSIFIED NAPA DATE

January 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Robert McFarlane

Robert McFarlane Lawrence S. Eagleburger Fred C. Ikle Richard D. DeLaurer Robert D. Hormats Norman Bailey

Lionel H. Olmer

FROM:

The attachment is an attempt to clarify pending issues on export

The attachment is an attempt to clarify pending issues on export control vis-a-vis efforts to delay the Siberian pipeline. Your views are requested as soon as possible.

Although the facts and policy implications are accurately described (in brief), there remains a question of whether legal authority exists to control foreign made products of U.S. technology which was transferred prior to imposition of the expanded sanctions (December 30, 1981). Our General Counsel, Sherman Unger, will coordinate with GC's from other Departments to more thoroughly address this issue.

Attachment

cc: Sherman Unger

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ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

## ISSUES RELATING TO EXTENSION OF OIL AND GAS CONTROLS

### Introduction

The President announced sanctions on December 29, 1981 against the USSR that broadened oil and gas controls to include refining and transmission equipments. The controls prevent the export or reexport of U.S. origin commodities and technology to the USSR. Commerce Department specialists maintain that the broadened controls require additional extension to block or delay the construction of the West Siberian Pipeline. The proposed extensions are:

- I. Barring of all "U.S. Persons" (controlled foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations) from exporting oil and gas equipments to the USSR regardless of U.S. content, and
- II. Barring the export to the USSR of foreign products based on U.S. technology without U.S. components.

By further extending the controls, the U.S. will have a significantly higher probability of delaying or blocking the pipeline; our allies are expected to object strongly, however. New controls would also blunt criticism by the press and the AFL-CIO. On the other hand, these extensions could cause long-term US business losses as foreign customers turn in the future to non-US suppliers of technology and components. Decisions need to be taken regarding the extension of the new controls.

Two other issues have surfaced since December 30th. Several foreign governments (U.K., FRG, and Italy) and companies have informally requested that signed contracts should not be affected by the sanctions and that components already shipped from the U.S. should not require reexport authorizations. Turbine rotors supplied by G.E. to firms in Western Europe are affected by both these issues. Several hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of jobs are involved. Decisions should be taken on how to handle requests by governments to make exceptions to our sanctions.

### Present Coverage

The expanded controls cover:

- Exports or reexports of U.S. origin goods (regardless of physical location)
- o Products of technology exported after December 30, 1981
- Reexport of foreign produced commodities containing
   U.S. origin components

### Issues for Decision -

I. Should the U.S. prevent U.S. foreign subsidiaries from selling controlled commodities?

Legal Authority: Legal authorities exist under the EAA to assert control over U.S. subsidiaries.

Discussion: Although authority exists to control subsidiaries, it has been used only once (Levi's uniforms for the Moscow Olympics). If this action is taken, the major contracts affected include Dresser Industries' French subsidiary (\$30 million contract for the sale of 21 compressors) and Howmet Turbine Components Corporation's U.K. and French subsidiaries (\$4 million contract under negotiation). This option provides the President significant leverage to delay or even block the pipeline. Allied reaction is expected to be strong but this step is necessary if we are to stop compressor sales. It may be possible to get voluntary allied cooperation to prevent sales of relevant equipment. Voluntary compliance should be discussed before action is taken.

Decision: Include all U.S. foreign subsidiaries under the sanctions (consult with allies to solicit voluntary agreement before actually implementing.)

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Yes

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II. Should the U.S. assert control over foreign made products of U.S. technology which was transferred before December 30, 1981?

Legal Authority: No precedent exists under the export regulations for such an application (Carter Administration controls on oil and gas production and exploration equipment were applied prospectively). It can be done, however; but on tenuous legal grounds.

Discussion: Several companies in Europe use General Electric's technology to produce gas turbines, and have signed contracts with the USSR to supply the pipeline's 41 compressor stations. No deliveries have been made. At the time of the technology transfers, no license nor written assurances were required. The G.E. Manufacturing Associates include AEG-KANIS Turbinehfabrick (West Germany), John Brown Engineering (U.K.), and Nuovo Pignone (Italy). Alsthom-Atlantique (France) also has a license arrangement with G.E. to produce turbines. Lastly, Rolls Royce (U.K.) manufactures a turbine for which a coupling shaft is a product of U.S. technology, as is the compressor itself.

CHARTENTIAL

If these prodicts could be prevented fred going to the Soviet Union and option I is implemented, the President would be provided significant leverage to delay or block the pipeline. The allies argue that we should only include products of U.S. technology which is transferred after December 30, 1981, and that to cover earlier technology is retroactive application of U.S. law.

Decision: Include in our sanctions foreign-made products of U.S. technology which was transferred before December 30, 1981? (Consult with Allies to solicit voluntary agreement before actually implementing.)

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

III. Grant reexport authorization for controlled components already in Europe?

Legal Authority: The EAA and present regulations clearly require a reexport authorization from Commerce

Discussion: Over the past two years, G.E. and other companies have exported to Western Europe components that didn't require the government's prior approval but that now require a validated license because of the sanctions the President imposed on December 30th. For example, John Brown has 6 rotors, AEG Kanis has 2 rotors, and Nuovo Pignone 14. Each rotor costs \$1.5 million. Ambassador Louis has suggested granting these authorizations to ease tensions between the U.S. and our allies, since without the U.S. rotors the companies would lose over \$500 million in business (some of which would be covered by insurance) and result in substantial layoffs. The situation is especially acute in the U.K.

By granting this exception, the ultimate fate of the pipeline will not be affected. The pipeline requires 125 turbines and this would allow only those currently in Europe (22) to be sent to the U.S.S.R. Rotors for the rest of the turbines would require export licenses to leave U.S. shores. Granting an exception, however, could be used as a bargaining chip to induce allies to take independent steps to stop the pipeline. This action would be viewed as a dilution of the sanctions that were imposed on December 30th.

Decision: Grant exception by issuing reexport authorization while negotiating with allies for them to take independent steps to delay the pipeline.

Yes\_\_\_\_No\_\_\_\_

IV. Grant export Licenses to G.E. to export 103 rotors to fulfill present contracts?

Legal Authority: EAA and present regulations clearly require validated licenses to export turbine rotors.

and the start

Discussion: Contracts or Letters of Intent (Nuovo Pignone) exist to sell 125 gas turbines for the pipeline. G.E. will supply the rotors while final assembly will be in the U.K., FRG, and Italy. With U.S sanctions, the rotors can't be supplied thereby preventing the foreign companies from delivering over \$500 million of turbines. Substantial lay-offs would result, especially in the U.K. The respective governments are expected to request exceptions to the sanctions. While alternatives to G.E. gas turbines exist, they are either less reliable, more costly or impractical. Granting the exceptions would be viewed as substantially diluting the sanctions imposed on December 30th and invite criticism in the press. Agreeing to this option would ensure that the pipeline is built.

We could, however, use an exception for present contracts to entice our allies to take independent actions (withdrawal of loan guarantees) to delay or block the pipeline. The negotiations, if started, should be low-key. Also, if exceptions are granted, we should grant licenses for <u>all</u> signed contracts in the U.S. and abroad for oil and gas equipment\$. U.S. industry would strongly object if we allowed exceptions only for one U.S. firm.

<u>Decision</u>: Grant exception by issuing export licenses for rotors after successfully negotiating with allies to take independent steps to block pipeline (withdrawal of loan guarantees)? <u>/Note</u>: Granting this exception means that we should examine -- with presumption of approval -- <u>all</u> signed contracts./

Yes\_\_\_\_No\_\_\_\_

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ID	Document Type Document Description	No of pages	Doc Date	Restric- tions
170782	MEMO M. LEDEEN TO SECERTARY OF STATE RE SOVIET PROBLEM	5	1/29/1982	B1

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION Ø1 EXDIS DEPT FOR EUR/SOV E. O. 12065: GDS 1/29/88 (ZIMMERMANN TAGS: SREF, PINS, UR, US SUBJECT: MFA MEETING TO REQUEST ME - FOR PENTECOSTAL HUNGER ST - VASHCHENKO REF: MOSCOW 1148	, WARREN) OR-M Devac/hospitalization
1. CONFIDENTIAL, ENTIRE TEXT.	
2. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING UP HIS REQU COOPERATION IN THE MEDICAL EVACUATI HUNGER STRIKER LIDIA VASHCHENKO (RE ZIMMERMANN SPOKE WITH MFA USA DIVIS ON JANUARY 30. WHILE REFUSING SOVI MEDEVAC LIDIA TO A WESTERN HOSPITAL THAT LIDIA BE TREATED IN MOSCOW AT KOMPLEKTOV ALLOWED THAT THE EMBASSY CONSULAR OFFICER COULD ACCOMPANY LI AND REGULARLY VISIT HER THEREAFTER. IN VIEW OF LIDIA'S SERIOUS MEDICAL	ON OF PENTECOSTAL F A), CHARGE ION CHIEF KOMPLEKTOV ET PERMISSION TO , KOMPLEKTOV PROPOSED BOTKIN HOSPITAL DOCTOR AND A DIA TO THE HOSPITAL CHARGE NOTED THAT

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) :

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AMBULANCE UPON RECEIVING CHARGE'S CALL. KOMPLEKTOV SUBSEQUENTLY PHONED CHARGE IN THE EARLY EVENING TO STATE THAT BOTKIN HOSPITAL WOULD BE UNABLE TO RECEIVE LIDIA UNTIL PERHAPS SUNDAY OR MONDAY, IN VIEW OF THE UNIQUENESS OF HER CASE AND THE "SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES". CHARGE EXPRESSED HIS OUTRAGE AT SOVIET REFUSAL TO ALLOW TREATMENT OF A SERIOUSLY ILL PERSON IN EITHER WESTERN HOSPITALS EQUIPPED AND PREPARED TO ACCEPT HER OR A SOVIET INSTITUTION. END SUMMARY.

ACCEPT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AND PLANNED TO REQUEST A SOVIET AMBULANCE BETWEEN Ø83Ø AND Ø9ØØ SATURDAY,

JANUARY 30 MOSCOW TIME. KOMPLEKTOV AGREED TO SEND AN

3. AT 1600 JANUARY 29 CHARGE ZIMMERMANN AND CONSULAR OFFICER STRUBLE WERE RECEIVED AT MFA USA DIVISION BY DIVISION CHIEF KOMPLEKTOV. CHARGE ZIMMERMANN REFERRED TO HIS CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY DIVISION CHIEF MYSHKOV ON JANUARY 28 IN WHICH THE EMBASSY PROPOSED SEVERAL MODES TO MEDICALLY EVACUATE LIDIA VASHCHENKO FOR

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# - CONFLIDENTIAL - WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

#### PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 MOSCOW 12Ø8

DTG: 291831Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø51407

TREATMENT IN A WESTERN HOSPITAL. THE CHARGE NOTED THAT THE EMBASSY DOCTOR HAS DETERMINED LIDIA'S CONDITION NOW TO BE SERIOUS AND HAS RECOMMENDED THAT MEDICAL EVACUATION PROCEED NOT LATER THAN JANUARY 30. CHARGE REQUESTED THAT MEDICAL EVACUATION BE APPROVED FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS. IGNORING THE CHARGE'S STATEMENT, KOMPLEKTOV RESPONDED "WE PROPOSE THAT LIDIA VASHCHENKO BE HOSPITALIZED AT BOTKIN HOSPITAL." (COMMENT: BOTKIN BOTKIN HOSPITAL IS ONE OF MOSCOW'S BEST-EQUIPPED MEDICAL FACILITIES WHICH TREATS, INTER ALIA, THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND FOREIGNERS.) CHARGE ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIET SIDE WAS DENYING PERMISSION FOR MEDICAL EVACUATION. KOMPLEKTOV QUERIED RHETORICALLY "ARE YOUR MOTIVES HUMANITARIAN OR ARE THEY POLITICAL? IF THEY ARE HUMANITARIAN, SHE MUST BE HOSPITALIZED IN BOTKIN HOSPITAL." CHARGE RESPONDED THAT, IN VIEW OF THE SOVIET REFUSAL TO AUTHORIZE MEDEVAC, THE EMBASSY ACCEPTED HOSPITALIZATION AT BOTKIN WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT THE EMBASSY DOCTOR AND CONSOFF STRUBLE COULD ACCOMPANY LIDIA TO THE HOSPITAL AND VISIT HER REGULARLY THEREAFTER. KOMPLEKTOV AGREED TO THIS, EVEN ADDING THAT THE EMBASSY DOCTOR MIGHT PROVIDE USEFUL MEDICAL HISTORY. THE CHARGE ALSO STATED THAT LIDIA WOULD BE WELCOME TO RETURN TO THE EMBASSY ONCE CURED IF SHE SO DESIRED AND HE TRUSTED THIS WOULD BE ALLOWED BY THE SOVIETS. KOMPLEKTOV SAID THE EMBASSY HAD THE RIGHT TO WELCOME WHOM THEY WISHED -- THAT WAS NOT THE SOVIET UNION'S AFFAIR. WHEN CHARGE RESPONDED THAT SOVIET GATE

MOSCOW 1208

DTG: 291831Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø514Ø7

MESSAGE (CONTINUED) ;

KEEPERS AT THE EMBASSY MIGHT PLAY A ROLE IN SUCH A MATTER, KOMPLEKTOV SAID, "THIS IS A QUESTION FOR THE FUTURE."

4. KOMPLEKTOV ASKED HOW THE EMBASSY PROPOSED TO TRANSFER LIDIA TO BOTKIN HOSPITAL. CHARGE SUGGESTED THAT THE EMBASSY SUMMON A SOVIET AMBULANCE BETWEEN Ø83Ø AND Ø9ØØ ON JANUARY 3Ø. KOMPLEKTOV SUGGESTED, AND THE CHARGE AGREED, THAT THE EMBASSY CONTACT MFA WHICH WOULD UNDERTAKE TO SEND THE AMBULANCE AND ASSURE IT WAS NOT INTERFERRED WITH BY THE EMBASSY'S MILITIA GUARD.

5. THREE HOURS SUBSEQUENT TO THE MFA MEETING, KOMPLEKTOV PHONED CHARGE TO ADVISE THAT BOTKIN HOSPITAL WAS NOT PREPARED TO TREAT A HUNGER STRIKER, LACKING PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH SUCH CASES. IN VIEW OF THE "SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES" KOMPLEKTOV SAID NO SOVIET HOSPITAL WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE LIDIA UNTIL SUNDAY OR MONDAY AT THE EARLIEST. CHARGE

MOSCOW 12Ø8

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PAGE Ø1 MOSCOW 1208 DTG: 291831Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø514Ø9 SIT494 DATE Ø2/Ø2/82 TOR: Ø29/1855Z ------\_\_\_\_\_\_ DISTRIBUTION: <u>REPT</u> /ØØ1 \_\_\_\_\_ WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION: SIT: RDTG EOB: WHSR COMMENT: MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS: NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS MESSAGE: ' FLASH DE RUEHMO #1208/02 0291835 Z 291831Z JAN 82 ZFF-4 FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 1255 CONFIDENTIAL SECTION Ø2 OF Ø2 MOSCOW Ø1208

TO MEDICALLY EVACUATE LIDIA TO COMPETENT WESTERN EUROPEAN FACILITIES WITHIN 24 HOURS: THE SOVIETS HAVE REJECTED THIS. IT IS ABSURD TO MAINTAIN THAT NO FACILITY EXISTS IN THE CITY OF MOSCOW ADEQUATE TO TREAT LIDIA VASHCHENKO. THE CHARGE EMPHASIZED THAT WE CONSIDER LIDIA'S CONDITION TO BE SERIOUS AND WE ARE OUTRAGED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NEITHER PREPARED TO TREAT HER NOR ALLOW HER TO BE TREATED ELSEWHERE. KOMPLEKTOV WAS ABASHED BY THE CHARGE'S RESPONSE BUT DID NOT RETREAT FROM HIS POSITION. A JUNIOR MFA USA DIVISION OFFICIAL CALLED HALF AN HOUR LATER TO STATE HE WOULD BE AWAITING CHARGE'S CALL SATURDAY MORNING. ZIMMERMANN

INDIGNANTLY REBUTTED THAT THE EMBASSY IS PREPARED

CONFIDENTIAL

# CONFIDENTIAL WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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, DECLASSIFIED NLRR 748-22-15-5-2 BY COS NARA DATE U/S/18

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 1256

CONFIDENTIAL MOSCOW Ø12Ø9 NODIS E.O. 12065: RDS-3 1/29/Ø1 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M TAGS: SREF, SHUM, UR, US, AMED SUBJECT: MEDICAL EVACUATION OF PENTECOSTAL HUNGER - STRIKER

MY STRONG VIEW, CONFIRMED BY GUIDANCE APPROVED BY SECRETARY HAIG AND BY TELEPHONE CONVERSATION THIS EVENING WITH AMBASSADOR HARTMAN, IS THAT OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO PROTECT THE LIFE OF LIDIA VASHCHENKO. EMBASSY DOCTOR HAS DETERMINED THAT SHE IS IN IMMINENT DANGER OF IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO VITAL ORGANS, BEYOND HIS ABILITY TO TREAT. THE ONLY OPTION AVAILABLE TO US IS HOSPITALIZATION IN A SOVIET HOSPITAL. WE IN THE U.S. EMBASSY DO NOT HAVE THE MEDICAL MEANS TO PRESERVE LIDIA'S LIFE. BARRING A DECISION BY HER TO GO OFF THE HUNGER STRIKE (ON WHICH WE CANNOT COUNT) THE ALMOST CERTAIN ALTERNATIVE TO PUTTING HER IN A SOVIET HOSPITAL IS FOR HER TO DIE. ZIMMERMANN 170784

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# - CONFIDENTIAL - WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 MOSCOW 121Ø SIT493 DATE Ø2/Ø2/82	DTG: 291851Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø51421 TOR: Ø29/19Ø3Z
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DEPT FOR EUR/SOV E. O. 12065: GDS 1/29/88 (ZIMMERMANN, TAGS: SREF, UR, US SUBJECT: READING OF PRESIDENTIAL LET - HUNGER STRIKERS REF: (A) STATE (B) STATE 2029	
1. CONFIDENTIAL, ENTIRE TEXT.	
2. SUMMARY: MEMBERS OF THE VASHCHE WITH SUSPICION AND DISSATISFACTION T REAGAN'S LETTER TO THEM EXPRESSING H THEIR STRUGGLE TO EMIGRATE AND REQUE END THEIR HUNGER STRIKE. LIDIA AND STATED THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE THE H END SUMMARY.	O PRESIDENT IS SUPPORT FOR STING THAT THEY AUGUSTINA HAVE
3. AFTER BEING APPRIZED BY THE EMB THAT LIDIA VASHCHENKO'S CONDITION IS AND THAT LIDIA HAS BEEN UNSWAYED BY END HER HUNGER STRIKE, CHARGE ZIMMER READ PRESIDENT REAGAN'S MESSAGE TO T	GROWING SERIOUS All Appeals to Mann moved to
MESSAGE (CONTINUED):	· · ·
AS A LAST CHANCE MEASURE TO PERSUADE The hunger strike.	THEM TO END
4. AT 1500 THE VASHCHENKOS AND CHMY IN THE CHARGE'S OFFICE. AFTER THE C MESSAGE, FOLLOWED BY A RUSSIAN TRANS HIS HOPE THAT AUGUSTINA AND LIDIA WC CONSIDERATION TO THE PRESIDENT'S REC STOP THEIR STRIKE, AND ADDED THAT HE TO RELAY THEIR REPLY TO THE PRESIDEN OUT OF THE ROOM AFTER SAYING BITTERL LETTER ON THE TABLE. THE PRESIDENT TO SAKHAROV BY RADIO (LIDIA SUBSEQUE THAT THE LETTER TO HER SHOULD HAVE E I'M NOT GOING OFF OF THE STRIKE."	CHARGE READ THE SLATION, HE ADDED DULD GIVE CAREFUL QUEST THAT THEY WOULD BE HAPPY NT. LIDIA STORMED .Y, "PUT YOUR RELAYED HIS MESSAGE ENTLY COMPLAINED

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# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 MOSCOW 121Ø

DTG: 291851Z JAN 82 PSN: Ø51421

THE CHIEF AND DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE CONSULAR SECTION 5 FOLLOWED UP THE READING OF THE LETTER BY DISCUSSING IT WITH THE VASHCHENKOS IN THEIR ROOM, THE VASHCHENKOS WERE UNIVERSALLY SUSPICIOUS AND DISSATISFIED WITH THE MESSAGE: AUGUSTINA SUGGESTED THAT HER CONVERSATION WITH THE CHIEF OF THE CONSULAR SECTION TWO DAYS EARLIER HAD BEEN TAPED, SENT BACK TO WASHINGTON AND A LETTER WRITTEN BASED ON HER REMARKS. PYOTR ASKED "WHY IS THE PRESIDENT ONLY NOW JOINING OUR SUPPORTERS. HE SHOULD HAVE BEEN IN FRONT OF THEM, HELPING US TO EMIGRATE FOUR YEARS AGO. " LIDIA REMARKED, "WE HAVE BEEN ON A HUNGER STRIKE NOW FOR THIRTY DAYS AND THE PRESIDENT ONLY NOW EXPRESSES HIS SOLIDARITY WITH US. " . WHEN CONSOFFS REPLIED THAT STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN ROMBERG HAD ISSUED A STATEMENT EXPRESSING THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORT FOR THE PENTECOSTALS TWO WEEKS AGO, THE VASHCHENKOS REJECTED IT. ALL OF THE VASHCHENKOS MAINTAINED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD DONE NOTHING FOR THEM: OTHERWISE TWO GREAT POWERS WOULD HAVE FOUND A SOLUTION TO THEIR PROBLEM LONG AGO. WHEN CONSDFFS CITED PRESS REPORTS AND THE MESSAGE FROM AMBASSADOR HARTMAN (REF B) THAT THEIR CASE HAD BEEN RAISED AT THE HAIG-GROMYKO MEETING, THE VASHCHENKOS REMAINED UNSWAYED. LIDIA AND AUGUSTINA ENDED THE CONVERSATION BY DETERMINEDLY ANNOUNCING THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE THE STRIKE.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

6. THE EMBASSY SUBSEQUENTLY CONTACTED A NUMBER OF PENTECOSTAL SUPPORTERS, APPRIZING THEM OF LIDIA'S SERIOUS MEDICAL CONDITION AND IMMINENT NEED FOR HOSPITALIZATION. THE SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING KENT HILL/LYNN BUZZARD (CHRISTIAN LEGAL SOCIETY), OLGA HURBY (RELIGION IN COMMUNIST DOMINATED AREAS), JANE DRAKE (SAVE) AND MICHAEL ROWE (KESTON COLLEGE, COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE SIBERIAN SEVEN - LONDON) URGED LIDIA AND AUGUSTINA TO END THE STRIKE WITHOUT SUCCESS. ZIMMERMANN

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SUBJECT: PENTECOSTALS HUNGER STRIKE - PROPOSED HOSPITALIZATION OF LIDIYA VASHCHENKO

THE PRESIDENT, JANUARY 29, PERSONALLY APPROVED THE Ambassador's recommendation to hospitalize lidiya Vashchenko saturday morning. Stoessel **MEMORANDUM** 

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

70787

January 29, 1982

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SECRET

**DECLASSIFIED** NLRR 748-22-15-8-9 MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK BY LOD NAR WILLIAM L. STEARMAN

FROM:

SUBJECT: Hospitalization of Hunger Striker

At Tab I is a memo from you to the President explaining that we need a decision on whether or not to move hunger striker Lidiya Vashenko to a Moscow hospital in order to save her life.

If she is moved to a hospital, it will be against her will. State's legal people see the legal issue as one of removing her from the Embassy premises -- for which there is, they say, a legal basis. Once off Embassy premises, Lidiya will come under Soviet legal jurisdiction, and the applicability of U.S. law becomes moot. Walt Stoessel will be bringing State's legal brief on this to this afternoon's meeting with the President along with more details on the case.

The issue is essentially a moral one: Should we respect her wish to continue the strike or should we force her to leave the Embassy for hospitalization? As your memo points out, we must also consider the impact of our decision on world public opinion. Both the Embassy and State's Soviet desk favor hospitalization, and I would guess that would be Walt Stoessel's position.

#### RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve Disapprove

Attachment

Tab I Memo for signature

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Review on	1/29/88



# National Security Council The White House

Package # 554

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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]

# CONFIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MESSAGE CENTER

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3. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR AUGUSTINA AND LIDIYA: I WANT YOU TO KNOW OF MY DEEP PERSONAL CONCERN FOR YOUR HEALTH AND YOUR LIVES, WHICH NOW ARE PLACED IN EXTREME JEOPARDY BY THE HUNGER STRIKE YOU HAVE UNDERTAKEN. MY DISTRESS IS SHARED BY YOUR MANY OTHER FRIENDS AND WELL-WISHERS HERE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WHO JOTN ME IN URGING YOU TO ABANDON THIS COURSE BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT YOU AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE VASHCHENKO AND CHMYKHALOV FAMILIES ARE NOT ALONE AS YOU PURSUE YOUR BRAVE AND DETERMINED EFFORT FOR EMIGRATION. THOSE WHO WORK ON YOUR BEHALF, AND I HAVE LONG COUNTED MYSELF AMONG THEM, ARE MANY, AND THEIR EFFORTS ARE UNFLAGGING.

SINCE BECOMING PRESIDENT, I HAVE DIRECTED MY ADMINISTRATION TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ASSIST YOU IN REACHING YOUR GOAL. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS AT HIGH LEVELS TO SEEK RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION. I REMAIN COMMITTED TO SEEKING YOUR EMIGRATION, AS WELL AS THAT OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY AND THE CHMYKHOLOV FAMILY. I AM DETERMINED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS, AND AM HOPEFUL THAT A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND.

I ASK YOU NOT TO LOSE FAITH BUT TO TAKE HEART FROM THE SINCERE COMMITMENT OF YOUR MANY SUPPORTERS. I URGE YOU

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MESSAGE CENTER

### PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC Ø363

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TO ABANDON YOUR HUNGER STRIKE, AND TO CONTINUE YOUR COURAGEOUS COURSE, A STRUGGLE THAT IS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL WHO VALUE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS. SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN. END TEXT. STOESSEL BT

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#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C., 20526

### January 29, 1982

## MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Press Announcement and Guidance -Hospitalization of Pentecostal Hunger Striker

Following up the meeting at the White House on the question of the Pentecostals earlier this afternoon, attached is a proposed press announcement and set of Qs and As on the matter of hospitalization of the hunger strikers. Please note the revision to the proposed response on the question "Will the Soviets allow her to return to the Embassy?".

L. Paul Bremer, III

L. Paul Bremer, 111 Executive Secretary

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Attachments:

As Stated

### FOR CONTINGENCY USE ONLY

### PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT AND GUIDANCE

### January 28, 1982

### Hospitalization of Pentecostal Hunger Striker

This contingency press announcement and guidance is to be used ONLY if and when a Pentecostal Hunger Striker in Embassy Moscow is placed in a Soviet hospital.

### PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT follows:

Today at ( ) Lidiya Vashchenko was transferred from the American Embassy in Moscow to a Soviet hospital. She was accompanied to the hospital by the Embassy physician and a consular officer.

Lidiya Vashchenko and her mother, Augustina Vashchenko, had been on a liquids-only hunger strike since late December. On Saturday or Sunday (Jan 23-24) they began a total hunger strike; that is, no solid food and no liquids. On Tuesday, January 26, they informed the Embassy physician that they were going to return to a liquids-only diet. The Embassy and the Department have from the beginning been gravely concerned over the threat to the womens' health and their lives and did everything possible to persuade the Vashchenkos to cease their hunger strike. A parallel effort was made by leading supporters of the seven Pentecostalists in the United States and other countries. The matter has been repeatedly raised with Soviet authorities at high levels, focusing on the Vashchenkos' long-time desire to emigrate for reasons of religious freedom.

While these efforts were being made on their behalf, the

physical condition of the pair continued to be monitored carefully by the Embassy doctor. The primary objective of the Embassy has been and continues to be to safeguard the health, well-being and lives of the persons concerned. This objective was made clear to all members of the Vashchenko family from the outset of the hunger strike. In order to avoid a life-threatening situation from developing and in view of the limited medical facilities available to the Embassy, a determination was made that Lidiya Vashchenko had to be transferred to better equipped medical facilities.

Our Embassy asked the Soviet authorities to permit medical evacuation to a western country. This request was denied. Thus the Embassy had no alternative but to call for an ambulance to transfer Lidiya to a Soviet hospital. We have made it clear to the Soviet authorities that Lidiya Vashchenko will be welcome to rejoin her family in the Embassy upon her recovery and that we expect her to be allowed to do so.

The Embassy and the Department remain committed to assisting the Vashchenko and Chmykhalov families in their desire to emigrate and to practice their religion freely, and can only deplore the harsh, restrictive emigration policies of the Soviet Union that have brought about today's sad events.

Questions and Answers follow:

Q. Why was Lidiya Vashchenko moved out today? What was her state of health?

A. The Embassy acted to move Lidiya Vashchenko to a Soviet hospital when the Embassy physician judged it likely that irreversible damage to her body organs might soon occur.

Q. Who made the decision to move Lidiya Vashchenko?
A. The decision was made by the Principal Officer in accordance with standing Department of State authority to seek
Soviet medical assistance for the Pentecostalists in the event of a medical emergency.

Q. Why was the decision made? Did you not want her to die in the Embassy?

A. The principal concern of the United States Government in the three and one half years that the Pentecostalists have resided in refuge in Embassy Moscow has been to preserve the health, safety and lives of the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs.

Q. Will the other Pentecostalists be removed from the Embassy as well?

A. If a determination is made that Mrs. Vashchenko is approaching a life-threatening situation, then the same reasoning that led us to transfer Lidiya to a hospital would apply for Augustina. In addition, we have made clear to all members of the Vashchenko and Chmykhalov families that, health permitting, they are welcome to remain in refuge in the Embassy.

Q. What hospital is Lidiya Vashchenko in?

A. (Tell if known).

Q. Will the Soviets allow her to return to the Embassy? A. We have made it clear to the Soviets that Lidiya will be welcome to the Embassy once her health permits and that we expect them to allow her to do so. The Soviets have not given us a definitive reply.

Q. What efforts were made to stop the strike? A. President Reagan sent a message to the hunger strikers underlining his support for their cause and urging them to give up the strike. In addition, the Embassy physician, Embassy officers and prominent Americans, including former President Carter, appealed to the two hunger strikers to end their strike. The Embassy also facilitated contact between the families and their numerous supporters in the West so that family friends could add their voice to the calls for an end to the strike.

Q. What diplomatic contacts were made on the Pentecostalists' behalf?

A. Secretary Haig raised the issue of the Pentecostalists' desire to emigrate with Foreign Minister Gromyko at their meeting in Geneva on January 26. Other numerous diplomatic contacts with the Soviets were made at high levels on the Pentecostalists' behalf. We do not believe it would serve the interests of the Vashchenkos and the Chmykhalovs to characterize these diplomatic contacts, which continue and will continue until a resolution of this problem is found.

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1. CONFIDENTIAL, ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AT 1155 MOSCOW TIME, JANUARY 30, LIDIA VASHCHENKO DEPARTED CHANCERY GROUNDS EN ROUTE TO BOTKIN HOSPITAL IN MOSCOW. SHE RODE IN AN EMBASSY VEHICLE AND WAS ESCORTED BY A CONSULAR OFFICER AND THE EMBASSY PHYSICIAN. THE EMBASSY'S REQUEST FOR A SOVIET AMBULANCE HAD BEEN RULED OUT BY EARLIER CONTACT WITH MFA.

3. LIDIA DECLINED APPEALS TO END HER FAST FROM REV. CECIL WILLIAMSON OF SAVE, THE EMBASSY DOCTOR, AND FROM EMBASSY OFFICERS PRIOR TO HER TRANSFER. AFTER SAYING GOODBYE TO HER FAMILY SHE WILLINGLY WENT WITH CONSULAR OFFICERS TO THE WAITING VAN.

3. DETAILS AND STATUS REPORT FROM THE HOSPITAL TO FOLLOW SEPTEL. ZIMMERMANN

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 30, 1982

NOTE FOR FILE

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RE: File #504

The attached was tubed to John Poindexter this date. The LDX was cleared telephonically with State/Secretariat this date.

Kathy McGraw

MEMORANDUM

504

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Letter to Brezhnev on the Hospitalized Pentecostalist in Moscow

Pursuant to your direction on Friday, I have authorized the attached (Tab A) letter be sent to President Brezhnev in your name.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to President Brezhnev

# DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-15-13-3

Dear Mr. President: 37 (CDB NARA DATE 1/5/15

I once again draw your attention on an urgent basis to the tragic situation of Lidiya Vashchenko, who was hospitalized Saturday, January 30, in Moscow. The deterioration of her health brought on by her hunger strike caused the Embassy to seek emergency medical assistance for her in Moscow's Botkin hospital to prevent irreversible damage to her health.

I wish to ask you, Mr. President, on a humanitarian basis, to ensure that Lidiya Vashchenko receives the best possible medical attention to hasten her complete recovery. I look forward to receiving word from the Embassy of her improved health and trust there will be no difficulty for the Embassy in visiting her in the hospital and obtaining periodic reports on her condition.

I wish to emphasize that Lidiya is entirely welcome to return to our Embassy to rejoin her other family members upon her release from the hospital. I would also like to underscore my personal expectation that she will not be prevented from doing so if it is her wish. Let me reiterate, Mr. President, my strong feelings that Lidiya and her other family members, together with the Chmykhalov family, should be permitted to emigrate in order that these people can pursue what they have URGE FOR HUMANITARIAN L THAT sought for so long. Surely you would agree that this poses no KEASONS problem for Soviet authorities, and that quick and favorable action can be taken in their cases.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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1-705791

Dear Mr. President:

I once again draw your attention on an urgent basis to the tragic situation of Lidiya Vashchenko, who was hospitalized Saturday, January 30, in Moscow. The deterioriation of her health brought on by her hunger strike caused the Embassy to seek emergency medical assistance for her in Moscow's Botkin hospital to prevent irreversible damage to her health.

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> Sincerely, Ronald Reagan

MEMORANDUM

## THE WHITE HOUSE

### WASHINGTON

## INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Letter to Brezhnev on the Hospitalized Pentecostalist in Moscow

Pursuant to your direction on Friday, I have authorized the attached (Tab A) letter be sent to President Brezhnev in your name.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to President Brezhnev

DECLASSIFIED NLRR 748-22-15-13-3 BY (CMB NARA DATE 1/5/15

17044

Dear Mr. President:

I once again draw your attention on an urgent basis to the tragic situation of Lidiya Vashchenko, who was hospitalized Saturday, January 30, in Moscow. The deterioriation of her health brought on by her hunger strike caused the Embassy to seek emergency medical assistance for her in Moscow's Botkin hospital to prevent irreversible damage to her health.

I wish to ask you, Mr. President, on a humanitarian basis, to ensure that Lidiya Vashchenko receives the best possible medical attention to hasten her complete recovery. I look forward to receiving word from the Embassy of her improved health and trust there will be no difficulty for the Embassy in visiting her in the hospital and obtaining periodic reports on her condition.

I wish to emphasize that Lidiya is entirely welcome to return to our Embassy and rejoin her other family members upon her release from the hospital. I would also like to underscore my personal expectation that she will not be prevented from doing so if it is her wish. Let me reiterate, Mr. President, my strong feelings that Lidiya and her other family members, together with the Chmykhalov family, should be permitted to emigrate in order that these people can pursue what they have sought for so long. I urge that for humanitarian reasons quick and favorable action be taken in their cases.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

, DECLASSIFIEL NLRR<u>748-22-15-13-3</u> BY<u>KOB</u> NARA DATE<u>14 546</u>5

Dear Mr. President:

I once again draw your attention on an urgent basis to the tragic situation of Lidiya Vashchenko, who was hospitalized Saturday, January 30, in Moscow. The deterioration of her health brought on by her hunger strike caused the Embassy to seek emergency medical assistance for her in Moscow's Botkin hospital to prevent irreversible damage to her health.

I wish to ask you, Mr. President, on a humanitarian basis, to ensure that Lidiya Vashonenko receives the best possible medical attention to hasten her complete recovery. I look forward to receiving word from the Embassy of her improved health and trust there will be no difficulty for the Embassy in visiting her in the hospital and obtaining periodic reports on her condition.

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Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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ESSAGE DESCRIPTION Bremer-Clark: Letter from President Brezhnev on	
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NSC MICHAEL O. WHEELER - 3044	
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NLRR 148 22-15-12-4

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S/S 8202319

BY KOB NARA DATE 1/5705

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Wasnington, D.C., 20029

CONFIDENTIAL

January 30, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject:

-044

Letter from President to Brezhnev on the Hospitalized Pentecostalist in Moscow

Attached is a draft text of a letter from the President to Brezhnev, concerning the situation of hospitalized Pentecostalist hunger-striker Lidiya Vashchenko, as requested by the President in his meeting yesterday on the Pentecostalists.

We recommend this be delivered in Moscow through diplomatic channels.

L. Paul Bremer, III Executive Secretary

Attachment: As stated.



DECLASSIFIED NLRR <u>748-22-15-13</u>-3 BY <u>1000</u> NARA DATE <u>11/5</u>15

170794

Draft Letter from the President to Brezhnev

Dear Mr. President:

I once again draw your attention on an urgent basis to the tragic situation of Lidiya Vashchenko, who was hospitalized Saturday, January 30, in Moscow. The deterioration in her health brought on by her hunger strike caused the Embassy to seek emergency medical assistance for her in Moscow's Botkin hospital to prevent irreversible damage to her health. I was gratified to learn of the cooperation our Embassy received from the Soviet side in connection with her hospitalization.

I wish to ask you, Mr. President, on a humanitarian basis, to ensure that Lidiya Vashchenko receives the best possible medical attention to hasten her complete recovery. I look forward to receiving word from the Embassy of her improved health and trust there will be no difficulty for the Embassy in visiting her in the hospital and obtaining periodic reports on her condition.

I wish to emphasize that Lidiya is entirely welcome to return to our Embassy to rejoin her other family members upon her release from the hospital. I would also like to underscore my personal expectation that she will not be prevented from doing so if it is her wish. Let me reiterate, Mr. President, my strong feelings that Lidiya and her other family members, together with the Chmykhalov family, should be permitted to emigrate in order than these people can pursue what they have sought for so long. Surely you would agree that this poses no problem for Soviet authorities, and that quick and favorable action can be taken in their cases.

> Sincerely, Ronald Reagan

