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File Folder USSR (3/29/82-3/31/82)

FOIA

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243

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170306	MEMO	W. CLARK TO VICE PRESIDENT RE SOVIET DECREE ON ATHEISM	1	3/29/1982	B1
170307	MEMO	C. LORD TO CLARK RE RESPONSE TO VICE PRESIDENT	1	3/25/1982	B1
170308	MEMO	G. BUSH TO CLARK RE SOVIET DECREE ON ATHEISM	1	3/15/1982	B1
170309	CABLE	MOSCOW 1968 R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-26-1-4	5	2/18/1982	B1
170310	MEMO	D. GREGG TO W. CLARK RE BREZHNEV SPEECH R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-26-2-3	1	3/29/1982	B1
170311	MEMO	RE BREZHNEV'S MAR. 23 SPEECH R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-26-3-2	2	ND	B1
170318	CABLE	BEIJING 3724 R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-26-4-1	1	3/27/1982	B1

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

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

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B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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170312	MEMO	N. BAILEY TO W. CLARK RE GRAIN SANCTIONS R 4/8/2013 CREST NLR-748-22-26-5-0	1	3/30/1982	B1
170313	MEMO	N. BAILEY TO W. CLARK RE FINDLAY LETTERS	1	3/5/1982	B1
170316	CABLE	RE USSR	1	2/12/1982	B1
170317	CABLE	RE USSR	5	2/18/1982	B1
170314	CABLE	RE USSR	2	2/2/1982	B1
170315	CABLE	RE USSR	2	2/12/1982	B1

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

170306 MEMO

1 3/29/1982 B1

W. CLARK TO VICE PRESIDENT RE SOVIET
DECREE ON ATHEISM

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

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170307 MEMO	C. LORD TO CLARK RE RESPONSE TO VICE PRESIDENT	1	3/25/1982	B1

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170308 MEMO

1 3/15/1982 B1

G. BUSH TO CLARK RE SOVIET DECREE ON
ATHEISM

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

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 MOSCOW 01968

MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE
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E.O. 12065: GDS 2/18/88 (MCCALL, SHERROD B) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PROP, SCUL, UR
SUBJECT: SOVIET "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE:" WHAT
- THE DELEGATES WILL NOT SEE
REF: MOSCOW 1603

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS ARE USING THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH TO TELL THE WORLD HOW PEACE-LOVING IS THE REGIME IN MOSCOW; AT THE SAME TIME THE DOMESTIC SOVIET AUDIENCE IS BEING TOLD THAT RELIGION IS A THREAT TO SOVIET MILITARY POWER AND THAT THE INTEREST OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE CHURCH IS THE RESULT OF WESTERN SUBVERSIVE EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE SOVIET WAR-MAKING ABILITY. WE HAVE RECENTLY GIVEN ADDRESSEES BACKGROUND

INFORMATION ON THE CHARACTER OF THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE" TO BE HELD IN MOSCOW IN MAY (REFTEL). IN THIS MESSAGE WE ARE PROVIDING SOME INFORMATION ON THE OTHER FACE OF SOVIET POLICY ON RELIGION WHICH PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT SEE. MOST, BUT NOT ALL, OF WHAT FOLLOWS HAS BEEN REPORTED TO THE DEPARTMENT ALREADY; WE ARE HERE EXTRACTING FROM OUR EARLIER REPORTS FOR THE INFORMATION AND USE OF POSTS WHICH MAY BE IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS THE "PEACE CONFERENCE" WITH GOVERNMENT OR RELIGIOUS FIGURES IN THEIR HOST COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

3. ATTACKS ON RELIGION AND THE CHURCH ARE BY NO MEANS A RECENT ASPECT OF SOVIET INTERNAL POLICY; INDEED, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST "SPIRITUAL REMNANTS" IN SOVIET SOCIETY HAS BEEN AN INTEGRAL PART OF STATE AND CPSU POLICY THROUGHOUT THE SOVIET PERIOD, VARYING ONLY IN TACTICS AND INTENSITY. THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN IS NOT NOW AT ANYTHING LIKE THE BLOODBATH LEVEL OF THE LENIN AND STALIN YEARS OR THE FEVER PITCH OF THE KHRUSHCHEV ERA. NEVERTHELESS, THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES IN THE FORM OF OVERT LEGAL CONTROLS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF BELIEVERS, ARRESTS OF PERSONS ACTIVELY SPREADING RELIGION, INDOCTRINATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN SCHOOLS AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS, MASSIVE USE OF ALL FORMS OF MEDIA TO DISCREDIT RELIGION, AND OFFICIALLY-CONDONED VIOLENCE AGAINST BELIEVERS WHO WILL NOT ADHERE TO STATE RESTRICTIONS. IN THE PAST YEAR, HOWEVER, WE HAVE OBSERVED A GROWING EMPHASIS ON ONE THEME IN THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN: A DIRECT LINKING OF RELIGION WITH A WESTERN-INSPIRED THREAT TO THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET UNION. THIS ATTEMPT TO LINK, AND JOINTLY DISCREDIT, GROWING RELIGIOUS INTEREST AND NASCENT PACIFIST

TENDENCIES AMONG SOVIET YOUNG PEOPLE HAS TAKEN PLACE CONCURRENTLY WITH THE WORLDWIDE SOVIET PEACE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN.

4. THE OFFICIAL CONCERN ABOUT PACIFIST TENDENCIES AMONG SOVIET YOUTH SEEMS EXAGGERATED TO US, BUT IS CLEARLY A REAL WORRY FOR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT BT

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INFO USICA WASHDC 0895
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 1684
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AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 2419
AMEMBASSY BERLIN 3425
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1938
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 1114
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 2867
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 1472
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL 0121
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 0509
AMEMBASSY JIDDA 1885
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 6084
AMEMBASSY LONDON 4228
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 1501
AMCONSUL MUNICH 6004
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 2160
AMEMBASSY PARIS 1290
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 7552
AMEMBASSY ROME 6683
AMEMBASSY SALISBURY 0060
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 6872
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OFFICIALS. THE MOST RECENT PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF THIS CONCERN WAS IN A JANUARY 27 ARTICLE IN "IZVESTIYA" WHICH CONDEMNED FAMILIES WHO DISCOURAGE THEIR SONS FROM APPROACHING MILITARY SERVICE WITH ENTHUSIASM. SAYING THAT "WE MUST KEEP OUR POWDER DRY" THE AUTHOR CALLS FOR MORE MILITARY THEMES IN LITERATURE (WHICH WE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT ALREADY OVERLY ABUNDANT). IN THE PAST YEAR CPSU THEORETICAL JOURNALS AND MILITARY PUBLICATIONS HAVE CONDEMNED THE NOTION THAT "ANY KIND OF PEACE IS GOOD AND ANY KIND OF WAR IS BAD" AND CRITICIZED THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN STYLES AND IDEAS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE NEEDED FOR MILITARY SERVICE. THESE CONCERNS HAVE GROWN SINCE THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE UNDERSTANDABLE UNEASE OF MANY FAMILIES WITH SONS OF MILITARY AGE WHO HEAR RUMORS ABOUT SOVIET

LOSSES IN THAT CONFLICT. THE REACTION WE HAVE SEEN IN THE THEORETICAL JOURNALS DEMANDS MORE EMPHASIS ON THE HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN MILITARY AND EFFORTS TO COMBAT INFLUENCES WHICH UNDERMINE THE PATRIOTISM AND DEDICATION OF SOVIET YOUTH, INCLUDING RELIGION.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT A GENUINE REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS INTEREST AMONG SOVIET YOUTH IN RECENT YEARS AND A MINISCULE TENDENCY TOWARDS EMULATING THE PEACE MOVEMENTS OF WESTERN EUROPE HAVE INSPIRED THIS NEW ROUND IN THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS EFFORTS OF PARTY AND STATE. WE ALSO KNOW WHAT PARTICIPANTS IN THE MAY "PEACE CONFERENCE" WILL BE TOLD BY SOVIET OFFICIALS AND LEADERS OF THE OFFICIALLY-RECOGNIZED CHURCHES: THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION GUARANTEES FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE; THERE IS NO PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS IN THE SOVIET UNION; ONLY "HOOLIGANS" AND CRIMINAL ELEMENTS MASQUERADING AS BELIEVERS ARE SUBJECT TO PROSECUTION; ANY STATEMENTS TO THE CONTRARY ARE MERELY WESTERN ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA.

6. THE REALITY OF THE CURRENT INTENSIFICATION OF THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN IS EVIDENT FOR THOSE WISHING TO LOOK BEHIND THE BLAND OFFICIAL ASSURANCES. THE PUBLIC KEYNOTE FOR THE PRESENT ROUND WAS A MAJOR, FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL IN "PRAVDA" OF AUGUST 8, 1981, WHICH CONDEMNS CURRENT ANTI-RELIGIOUS EFFORTS AS INADEQUATE, ESPECIALLY AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE. IT CALLS FOR MORE AND BETTER PERSONNEL TO BE DEVOTED TO STEMMING THE RISE IN RELIGIOUS INTEREST AMONG YOUTH AND FOR MORE VIGOROUS USE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF "ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA." (THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION GUARANTEES FREEDOM OF BELIEF AND NON-BELIEF; IT GUARANTEES ONLY ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA.) WE HAVE BEEN TOLD OF THE ADOPTION BY THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF A SECRET DECREE ON ATHEISTIC EDUCATION WHICH IS DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY AGAINST ISLAMIC INFLUENCE IN CENTRAL ASIA AND CATHOLICISM IN MOLDAVIA, THE UKRAINE AND LITHUANIA. THE DECREE HAS BEEN KEPT SECRET DUE TO SENSITIVITY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT ABOUT THE REACTION IN THE ISLAMIC BT

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 2158

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 6857

AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2872

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1939

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 1115

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 2868

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 1473

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL 0122

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 0510

AMEMBASSY JIDDA 1886

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 6085

AMEMBASSY LONDON 4229

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 1502

AMCONSUL MUNICH 6005

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 2161

AMEMBASSY PARIS 1291

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WORLD IF IT WERE MADE PUBLIC. WE ALSO BELIEVE THE
SOVIETS DO NOT WISH TO PUBLISH SUCH A DECREE BEFORE
THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE."

7. THE RESPONSE TO THE "PRAVDA" EDITORIAL

AND THE SECRET DECREE HAS BECOME EVIDENT IN THE

INCREASING STRIDENCY OF ANTI-RELIGIOUS LECTURES

AND AGITATION PROPAGANDA. THE PRINCIPLE THEMES WE
HAVE HEARD ARE:

-- ATTEMPTS TO USE THE GUARANTEES OF THE SOVIET
CONSTITUTION TO PROPAGATE RELIGION ARE BOTH ILLEGAL
AND DANGEROUS;

-- RELIGIOUS INTEREST AMONG YOUTH IS NOT COMPATIBLE
WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ARMY. IN AN ERA OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PACIFISM IS NOT MERELY AN IDEOLOGICAL

PROBLEM BUT A GENERAL THREAT TO THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST
SOCIETY.

-- ENCOURAGEMENT FOR RELIGION COMES FROM "WESTERN
BOURGEOIS CIRCLES THROUGH LEGAL AND ILLEGAL CHANNELS,"
SUCH AS WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS WHICH ARE FUNDED
BY THE CIA AND THE VATICAN AND THE SMUGGLING OF
RELIGIOUS CONTRABAND INTO THE SOVIET UNION BY
TOURISTS;

-- WESTERN SLANDERS OF LACK OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE INTENDED AS A COVER FOR
SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES;

-- THE CONTACTS OF SOME PRIESTS AND BELIEVERS WITH
FOREIGNERS PROVES THE ANTI-SOVIET CHARACTER OF THEIR
PROSELYTIZING EFFORTS;

-- THE SITUATION IN POLAND SHOWS HOW WESTERN
SUBVERSION AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH CAN
UNDERMINE A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, STRIKING ESPECIALLY
AT YOUNG MEN OF DRAFT AGE;

-- RELIGION IN WESTERN COUNTRIES IS USED BY THE
UNITED STATES TO WHIP-UP ANTI-SOVIETISM AND TO COUNTER
SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVES;

-- THUS, RELIGION IN BOTH EAST AND WEST IS A FORM
OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE, INSPIRED AND ENCOURAGED
BY THE CIA AND THE VATICAN;

-- "A RELIGION-LESS MASS IS THE BEST DEFENSE
AGAINST IMPERIALIST AND CAPITALIST AGGRESSION;"

-- ANTI-RELIGIOUS EFFORTS IN SCHOOLS AND YOUTH
ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE IMPROVED AS A DEFENSE OF THE
ARMED MIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION.

8. PARALLEL WITH OVERT EFFORTS TO UNDERCUT
SPIRITUAL TENDENCIES IN THE SOVIET POPULATION IS
A CAMPAIGN TO REPLACE THE CEREMONIAL AND CULT ASPECTS
OF RELIGION WITH NEW SOCIALIST RITUALS. THE
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OFFICIAL IMPRIMATEUR OF "IZVESTIYA" FOR AN

INTENSIFICATION OF THIS PROGRAM WAS GIVEN ON

OCTOBER 8, 1981, IN A LONG ARTICLE DECRYING THE

"FASHIONABLENESS" OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AMONG

PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY THE YOUNG, WHO SEE THESE AS

PART OF THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL TRADITION. RECENT

OFFICIAL LECTURERS HAVE FOCUSED ON THE NEED FOR

SOCIALIST RITUALS TO PREPARE YOUNG MEN FOR MILITARY

SERVICE. LECTURERS HAVE NOTED THE "MANIPULATIVE

PSYCHOLOGY" OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, REFINED

OVER "TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF PRACTICE," WHICH MUST

BE REPLACED WITH NEW TRADITIONS TO STRENGTHEN THE

PROLETARIAN CHARACTER OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND FAMILY

AND SOCIAL TIES. SPECIAL EMPHASIS HAS BEEN GIVEN

TO HISTORICAL HOLIDAYS OF A MILITARY CHARACTER

AND TO YOUTH CEREMONIES PRECEDING AND CULMINATING

9. SOVIET AUTHORITIES ARE NOT AVERSE TO TAKING THE GLOVES OFF IN THE STRUGGLE WITH RELIGION IF THE OPPOSITION PROVES TOO SUCCESSFUL OR INTRACTABLE. IN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN A SPATE OF ARRESTS OF RELIGIOUS FIGURES, PARTICULARLY IN THREE AREAS: ORTHODOX PRIESTS WHO ARE TRYING TO MAKE THEIR CHURCH MORE RESPONSIVE TO PEOPLES' REAL NEEDS, UNREGISTERED PROTESTANT SECTS WHICH HAVE SPREAD WIDELY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND WHICH OFTEN ADVOCATE PACIFISM, AND ROMAN CATHOLICS IN AREAS NEAR POLAND.

-- THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST AMONG RUSSIANS IN THEIR NATIONAL RELIGIOUS HERITAGE HAS MADE THE EFFORTS OF SOME PRIESTS TO BREAK AWAY FROM THE STIFLING POLICIES OF THE STATE-APPROVED HIERARCHY DANGEROUS IN THE EYES OF THE AUTHORITIES. THE ARREST OF FATHER GLEB YAKUNIN AND THE PUBLIC RECANTATION OF FATHER DMITRI DUDKO ARE ONLY THE BEST KNOWN OF NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF PRESSURE BY BOTH THE ORTHODOX LEADERSHIP ITSELF AND THE STATE TO KEEP THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY AND CONGREGATIONS WITHIN VERY TIGHT DISCIPLINE.

-- MANY PROTESTANT SECTS, WHICH DO NOT DEPEND ON AN ORGANIZED CLERGY OR RITUAL, HAVE SPREAD WIDELY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE IN ATTRACTING WORKING CLASS AND YOUTHFUL ADHERENTS. THE STATE HAS RESPONDED WITH REPEATED JAILINGS AND VIOLENT ATTACKS ON UNREGISTERED CHURCHES. THE INSTANCES WHICH HAVE BECOME KNOWN IN THE WEST ARE NUMEROUS BUT CERTAINLY DO NOT REPRESENT MORE THAN A FRACTION OF THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN FACT TAKEN.

-- IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, PROBABLY DUE TO CONCERN ABOUT EVENTS IN NEIGHBORING ROMAN CATHOLIC POLAND, THERE HAS BEEN A CLEAR CRACKDOWN ON CATHOLICS, PARTICULARLY IN LITHUANIA. THIS HAS TAKEN THE FORM OF VIOLENT INTERRUPTIONS OF RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS AND ARRESTS OF PRIESTS AND NUNS WORKING IN THE LARGE UNDERGROUND CATHOLIC CHURCH. IN ADDITION, THERE HAS BEEN A RASH OF MURDERS OF PRIESTS IN LITHUANIA WHICH MANY BELIEVERS THINK IS BEING OFFICIALLY INSPIRED OR CONDONED.

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECALLED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 1968 DTG: 181654Z FEB 82 PSN: 020828
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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 2163
AMEMBASSY PARIS 1293
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 7555
AMEMBASSY ROME 6686
AMEMBASSY SALISBURY 0063
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 6875
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 1351
USMISSION USNATO 1148

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 MOSCOW 01968

MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE
ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE
MUNICH FOR RFE/RL

10. THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN IS NOT RESTRICTED TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. THE BEST COMMENTARY ON ANTI-JEWISH TENDENCIES IN THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN THE MASS MIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS TO THE WEST IN RECENT YEARS. THE PROBLEM OF ISLAM IS MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS. IT PRESENTS THEM WITH A FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEM, AS WITNESS THE SECRET CHARACTER OF THE PARTY ANTI-RELIGIOUS DECREE AND STRIDENT EFFORTS TO CONVINCE PEOPLE IN THE MOSLEM WORLD THAT THEIR BREATHREN IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE NOT PERSECUTED. AT THE SAME TIME, SOVIET PUBLICATIONS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE DUAL CHARACTER OF ISLAM AS BOTH A RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL SYSTEM MAKES ISLAM MORE DIFFICULT TO ERADICATE AND A MORE SENSITIVE INTERNAL PROBLEM. AT THE SAME TIME, THE INTERTWINING OF SPIRITUAL

AND SECULAR TRADITIONS IN ISLAM MAKES IT A FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGE TO THE BUILDING OF A SOVIET SOCIETY IN THE CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. THE ABSENCE OF AN ORGANIZED CLERGY MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT TO CO-OPT ISLAM AFTER THE FASHION OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. THEREFORE, SOVIET EFFORTS SEEK TO LINK THE SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF ISLAM WITH ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL BACKWARDNESS WHILE ALTERING THE SOCIAL MORES TO FIT THE REQUIREMENTS OF "SOCIALIST MAN." HOWEVER, IN ISLAMIC AREAS ALSO THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO USE IMPRISONMENT AS A COUNTER TO PARTICULARLY DEDICATED PROPAGATORS OF RELIGION.

11. COMMENT: WE HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO STAGE-MANAGE THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE" IN MAY TO PREVENT ANY UNPLEASANTRIES OF SOVIET REALITY COMING TO THE ATTENTION OF FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS. THE EXAMPLE OF THE 1980 OLYMPICS SHOULD GIVE PAUSE TO ANY DELEGATE WHO IMAGINES HE WILL BE ABLE TO GET BEYOND THE FACADE OF THE POTEMKIN PEACE CONFERENCE TO SEE HOW BELIEVERS OF ALL FAITHS IN THE SOVIET UNION REALLY LIVE. WE PROVIDE THIS VERY SKETCHY SUMMARY OF RECENT SOVIET ANTI-RELIGIOUS PRACTICE FOR THE USE OF ANY POSTS WHICH CAN BRIEF POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS WHO SHOULD AT LEAST BE AWARE THAT WHILE THE SOVIETS, THROUGH THE MOUTHPIECE OF THE OFFICIAL CHURCHES, ARE SHOUTING "PEACE, PEACE," A VERY DIFFERENT LINE IS BEING FOLLOWED WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. END COMMENT. HARTMAN
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

**National Security Council
The White House**

91

Package # _____

11 MAY 25 PG: 56

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
Judge Clark	<u>3</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
I-Information	A-Action	R-Retain	D-Dispatch
DISTRIBUTION			
CY To VP	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Meese	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Baker	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Deaver	_____	Show CC	_____
Other	_____		

COMMENTS

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 16 MAR 82 13

TO CLARK

FROM BUSH, G

DOC DATE 15 MAR 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

HUMAN RIGHTS

SUBJECT: SOVIET WORLD PEACE CONF & SOVIET DECREE ON ATHEISM

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK

DUE: 18 MAR 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

PIPES

STEARMAN

LORD

MYER

3/24/82
Transfr for Action to C. Lord
W

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSC/FID (C /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Pipes transferred action to C. Lord 3/24/82 in 26 Mar
Clark 3/25 for signature
C 3/29 Clark sig memo LO, RP, ST, KD

DISPATCH

✓ 3/29 cl

W/ATTCH

FILE

PA

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1900

MW
10

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

170310

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 29, 1982

INFORMATION

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 74822-262-3

BY 608 NARA DATE 11/9/85

MEMORANDUM TO WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: DONALD GREGG *reg*

SUBJECT: Brezhnev's Pitch to the PRC

Attached is a two-page analysis by State of Brezhnev's Tashkent speech, directed toward the PRC.

The analysis is worth skimming. In essence, it says that there is not much new in the speech, and that it is not likely to evoke much of a response from Peking.

Also attached is a cable from our Embassy in Peking, saying the same thing. The key phrase from that cable is "...Beijing sees nothing new in Brezhnev's statement, and perceives it as a propaganda ploy."

Attachments

Tab I State Memo dated 3/25/82 with attachment
Tab II Cable - Beijing 3724

cc: R. Childress
W. Stearman
R. Pipes

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Review on March 29, 1988

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-26-3-2

BY 608 NARA DATE 11/1/85

SUBJECT: Brezhnev's March 23 Speech in Tashkent

Brezhnev put the best possible public relations gloss on the Soviet approach to China at a moment of strain in US-China relations but without any hints of concession on the points which bother China most. They are unlikely to respond at a policy level; indeed the most the Soviets can probably hope for is small forward movement on academic and economic exchanges which they can then tout to the world as "relaxation."

In his first major reference to the PRC since February 1981, Brezhnev put his personal imprimatur on recent Soviet efforts to improve relations. Specifically, Brezhnev called for a resumption of border talks, actions to strengthen mutual trust on the borders, and efforts to broaden other areas of contact for mutual benefit. But it is clear from his gratuitous rejection of a "two Chinas" policy that Moscow's ploy was designed to capitalize on recent strains in US-PRC relations.

Brezhnev lamented the poor state of Sino-Soviet relations which the Soviet Union stated readiness to improve. He acknowledged that the Soviet Union was critical of "many aspects" of Chinese policy, but avoided any enumeration of Chinese shortcomings. The Soviet Union, he claimed, poses no threat to China nor does it harbor territorial claims.

Brezhnev's touting of Moscow's "admirable" relations with Mongolia, Vietnam and Afghanistan (in addition to its "model" relations with India) is indicative of the flaws in Soviet efforts to woo the PRC. It is precisely Moscow's policies vis-a-vis these countries which Beijing finds so repugnant. And, there is no indication in his speech that the Soviets are prepared to rethink any of these policies. China for its part considers Moscow's presence in Afghanistan, its troops on the Chinese border, and its support for Hanoi in Indochina

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GDS 3/24/88

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

as major areas which must be addressed before any improvement in relations is possible.

Moreover, Brezhnev's reiteration of last September's offer to resume border talks, which the Chinese have accepted in principle without agreeing to set dates, is devoid of any element which would satisfy the Chinese insistence that the Soviets must recognize the existence of disputed territory. Brezhnev mentioned "possible measures to strengthen mutual trust in the area of the Sino-Soviet frontier" but this alludes to the Asian CBMs which have already been scorned by both China and Japan.

One area of the speech which may find some resonance in Beijing is the reference to the desirability of taking steps to improve economic, scientific and cultural relations. Recent reporting indicates increased Chinese receptivity to such contacts (e.g., delegations of Chinese gymnasts and economists recently visited Moscow) and current talks are expected to expand the levels of Sino-Soviet trade, albeit still to rather modest levels.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED (UPON REMOVAL OF ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATTACHMENT)*11/2/15/16/17*

March 25, 1982

25 P10: 56

WT
SITUSE
ROOMMEMORANDUM TO WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Attached is our analysis of Brezhnev's March 23 speech in Tashkent in which he appealed to the PRC for improved bilateral relations.

L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachment: as stated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

170318

PAGE 01
EOB863

BEIJING 3724
AN000957

DTG: 270824Z MAR 82 PSN: 012688
TOR: 085/0909Z CSN: HCE438

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INFO CHINA POSTS COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BEIJING 03724

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 3/26/92 (FREEMAN, CHARLES W.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, CH, UR
SUBJECT: CHINESE RESPONSE TO BREZHNEV

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. MFA HAS PROVIDED TO THE FOREIGN PRESS THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S REMARKS ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.
BEGIN TEXT: WE HAVE NOTED REMARKS ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS MADE BY PRESIDENT BREZHNEV IN TASHKENT ON MARCH 23. WE FIRMLY REJECT THE ATTACKS ON CHINA CONTAINED IN THE REMARKS. IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WHAT WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO ARE ACTUAL DEEDS OF THE SOVIET UNION.
END TEXT. THE RESPONSE INDICATES THAT BEIJING SEES NOTHING NEW IN BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT AND PERCEIVES IT AS A PROPAGANDA PLOY.

3. WHILE ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE, HOWEVER, THE MFA RESPONSE, DOES AVOID DIRECT CRITICISM OF SOVIET POLICIES. WE MAY WELL SEE A MORE EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY IN CHINESE MEDIA.

4. THE SOVIET DCM IN A MARCH 25 CONVERSATION TOLD US WHILE THAT THERE WAS NOTHING NEW IN BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT THE TIME SEEMED RIGHT FOR AN AUTHORITATIVE AND FORTHCOMING STATEMENT OF SOVIET POLICY. THE SOVIET DCM OBSERVED THAT BREZHNEV'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT CHINA'S INTERNAL POLICIES ARE STILL SOCIALIST IS THE FIRST SUCH SOVIET PRONOUNCEMENT SINCE BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. HE DID NOT EXPECT ANY IMMEDIATE OR DRAMATIC RESULTS FROM BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT, BUT BELIEVED IT WOULD IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE.
HUMMEL
BT

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-26-4-1

BY 1008 NARA DATE 11/9/05

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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ID 8201900

15

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CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE

RECEIVED 26 MAR 82 10

TO CLARK

FROM BREMER

DOC DATE 25 MAR 82

KEYWORDS: CHINA P R

USSR

BREZHNEV, LEONID I

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF BREZHNEV MAR 23 SPEECH RE IMPROVED RELATIONS W/ PRC

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK

DUE: 29 MAR 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

GREGG

CHILDRESS

PIPES

MCGAFFIGAN

STEARMAN

MYER

COMMENTS

REF# 8208030

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ASSIGNED

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Clark ix 3/29 For Information RC, St, DP
C 4/2 noted by Clark DG

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MEMORANDUM

2100

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 30, 1982

170312

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NLRR 748-22-26-50

INFORMATION

BY CD NARA DATE 11/9/85

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

NOTED
NO

FROM: NORMAN A. BAILEY *NB*

SUBJECT: Grain Sanctions

There are several suggestions and ideas floating around concerning grain sanctions should the Soviets engage in some further outrageous action. Since we can no longer embargo foodstuffs alone without triggering full parity payments, most of these ideas involve the formation of a grain cartel.

There is no question such a cartel could be formed and would be very successful -- only five or six members would be necessary -- the U.S., Canada, Argentina, Australia, perhaps France and Brazil for soybeans. There are three objections to this:

- (1) Export taxes are unconstitutional.
- (2) We have spent the last nine years excoriating the very idea of cartels.
- (3) Perhaps 50-60 countries in the world, driven into abject poverty by OPEC would be plunged into physical starvation by a grain cartel.

There are ways that one can imagine around all these problems. However, there is an alternative to a full cartel which would be easier to establish. If wheat is left out of the picture, Canada, Australia and France are no longer necessary to an agreement. Feedstocks, namely corn and soybeans for export, are practically a monopoly of the U.S., Argentina and Brazil, and these foodstuffs are much more important to the Soviets than wheat. An agreement could perhaps be reached among these three countries to have government agencies purchase the feedstock to be sold to the Soviet Union and then charge that country above-market prices.

This would be an act of open economic warfare, of course, and I do not advocate it except in response to further Soviet provocation.

cc: Tom Reed

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Review March 30, 1988

1 95

17

National Security Council
The White House

Package # 2100

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>M</u>	
Jacque Hill	<u>3</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Judge Clark	<u>4</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>I</u>
John Poindexter			
Staff Secretary	<u>5</u>		
Sit Room			
I-Information	A-Action	R-Retain	D-Dispatch
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CY To Deaver		Show CC	
Other			
COMMENTS			

NSC/S PROFILE

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ID 8202100

18

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES
11/2/15 COB

RECEIVED 30 MAR 82 19

TO CLARK

FROM BAILEY

DOCDATE 30 MAR 82

KEYWORDS: SANCTIONS

GRAINS

USSR

FOOD

INTL TRADE

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FORMATION OF GRAIN CARTEL TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE:

STATUS IX FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

REED

PIPES

COMMENTS

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National Security Council
The White House

51

19A

RECEIVED

Package # 1307

82 MAR 5 P 3:02

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bud McFarlane		<u>m</u>	
Jacque Hill	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Judge Clark	<u>3</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter	<u>4</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Staff Secretary	<u>5</u>		
Sit Room			

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch

DISTRIBUTION

CY To VP		Show CC	
CY To Meese		Show CC	
CY To Baker		Show CC	
CY To Deaver		Show CC	

*Norman.
Please go
see Findley.
John*

Other

COMMENTS

Judge - Rather than a meeting,
you might want to consider
a call in which you offer
to have Norman go up
and brief him.

~~Send~~ Call and offer to send Norman
to see him when he gets back from Europe on
20 Mar.

APPROVE ✓

OTHER

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

19

3/31

SECRETARIAT--

For the files.

Bailey met with Congressman
Findley on March 24 & 29.

No further action necessary.

pb

National Security Council
The White House

- 1

Package # 1307 ²⁶

82 MAR 2 P 2: 35

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	<u>m</u>	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	<u>11</u>	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
I-Information	A-Action	R-Retain	D-Dispatch
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CY To Meese	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Baker	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Deaver	_____	Show CC	_____
Other	_____		

Norman
Provide back-up reports of
Fiat-Allen circumventions pls.

COMMENTS

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170313 MEMO	N. BAILEY TO W. CLARK RE FINDLAY LETTERS	1	3/5/1982	B1

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

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

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

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

22

February 23, 1982

The Honorable William P. Clark
National Security Advisor
to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Judge Clark:

This morning's Washington Post reports that the Japanese government has now agreed to permit Komatsu to sell 500 more pipelaying tractors to the Soviet Union, in addition to the 400 Komatsu had originally planned to sell. What this means, of course, is that our Japanese ally is purposefully undercutting U.S. sanctions against the Soviet Union and taking jobs away from Fiat-Allis and Caterpillar Tractor Companies. Komatsu is filling the gap created by the December 29 United States decision to block the export by Fiat-Allis and Caterpillar of 200 pipelaying tractors each to the USSR.

The impact of this event on the people of the 20th Congressional District of Illinois will be devastating. They are good patriots who support the security interests of the United States. However, they understandably fail to comprehend the rationale for economic sanctions which do not hurt the Russians but cost Americans their jobs. Indeed, the concentration of Fiat-Allis and Caterpillar in central Illinois has meant that it has been the one segment of the American population which has had to bear the brunt of the U.S. sanctions of December 29.

I, therefore, bring to you the same appeal I have laid before Secretaries Haig, Weinberger and Baldrige: Approve a license for Fiat-Allis to transfer 41B crawler tractor design data and manufactured kits to the Soviet Union. This technology was, I believe, mistakenly included on the sanctions list. In no way can it be classified as oil and gas equipment. The technology involved was designed in 1965, first produced in 1970, and is today considered obsolete in the U.S. market.

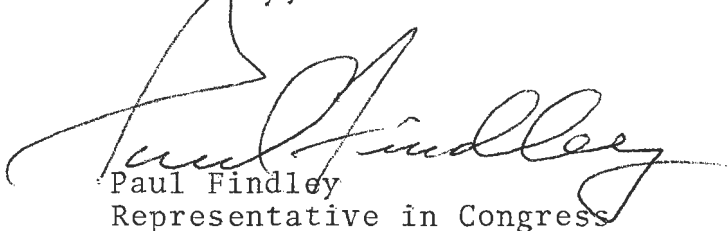
Hon. William Clark
Page 2

I urgently request your assistance in further review of the export license for the Fiat-Allis 41B crawler tractor design data and manufactured kits to the Soviet Union. There are reports that Fiat-Allis may close its doors in Springfield, Illinois, if this export license is not approved. This will mean the loss of at least 1,400 more jobs in an already economically troubled area.

In addition, in view of Japan's decision to ignore the U.S. sanctions and undercut U.S. sales of pipelayers to the Soviet Union, I ask that the National Security Council review and rescind the ban on the sale and export of these tractors by Fiat-Allis and Caterpillar. If the ban is kept in place, the United States is simply shooting itself in the foot -- not the Russians.

I appreciate your help and look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Paul Findley
Representative in Congress

P.S. Just this morning I met with Secretary Weinberger on this matter. He stated his concern that the 41B crawler tractor or the huge Ceboxara plant might be converted to military use once production commenced.

Actually, just the opposite is the case. Today, an enormous facility in the Soviet Union stands empty. It could be fitted with machine tools and equipment to produce tanks and other military equipment. But, once production equipment for 41B crawler tractors is installed, that will be much more difficult. To produce tanks, it would then be necessary to strip the plant of all the newly installed machine tools for the tractors and reinstall new tools for the production of tanks.

Nor can it be argued that the machine tools used in the production of 41B crawler tractors can be converted to the production of tanks. That simply cannot be done. Again, it

~~SECRET~~
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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES
11/9/15 EDS

RECEIVED 26 FEB 82 13

TO CLARK

FROM FINDLEY, PAUL

DOCDATE 25 FEB 82

27

KEYWORDS: EXPORT CONTROLS

USSR

SANCTIONS

GAS

OIL

CCO

~~Get - call
Findley +
make apppt.~~

3/29

SUBJECT: WANTS LICENSE FOR FIAT-ALLIS TO EXPORT TO SOVIET UNION 41 B CRAWLER
TRACTOR DESIGN DATA IN VIEW OF APPROVAL OF GE ROTORS TO EUROPE

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK

DUE: 09 MAR 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BAILEY

WEISS

PIPES

FRENCH

STEARMAN

NAU

POINDEXTER

FEITH

HILL

COMMENTS

~~Get - send back with
Fiat-Allis reporting
cables - 3 in all~~

T.T.

REF#

LOG

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(D /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Clark	X 3/2	for decision		
	- 3/4	Noted by McFarlane w/ comment		
Bailey	S 3/4	further action	2/6	
Clark	4 3/5	for decision	3/9	

Bailey	X 3/13	Clark disapproved		
DISPATCH	S 3/13	for further action		

W/ATTCH FILE (C) ~~SECRET~~

NB C 3/31 No further action necessary (PA)

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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>
170314 CABLE		2	2/2/1982	B1
	RE USSR			

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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170315 CABLE		2	2/12/1982	B1
	RE USSR			

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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170316 CABLE		1	2/12/1982	B1
	RE USSR			

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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170317 CABLE		5	2/18/1982	B1
	RE USSR			

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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