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Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KDB 11/16/2015

File Folder USSR (4/30/82-5/11/82)

FOIA

F03-002/5

Box Number 22

SKINNER

252

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170437	CABLE	MOSCOW 5256	4	4/30/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-1-4		
170439	CABLE	MOSCOW 5282	4	5/1/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-2-3		
170440	CABLE	STATE 121305	2	5/5/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-3-2		
170442	CABLE	MOSCOW 5387	2	5/5/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-4-1		
170445	CABLE	STATE 124577	4	5/7/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-5-0		
170447	CABLE	MOSCOW 5621	1	5/8/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-6-9		
170448	MEMO	W. CLARK TO REAGAN RE MAY 11 LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET DISSIDENTS	1	5/10/1982	B1
	R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-7-8		

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

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KDB 11/16/2015

File Folder USSR (4/30/82-5/11/82)

FOIA

F03-002/5

Box Number 22

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252

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
170451 MEMO	R. PIPES THROUGH C. TYSON TO W. CLARK RE MAY 11 LUNCHEON (W/EDIT)	1	5/6/1982	B1
170452 MEMO	R. PIPES TO W. CLARK RE BACKGROUND OF 5/11/82 LUNCH	2	5/11/1982	B1
R	4/8/2013	CREST NLR-748-22-35-9-6		

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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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

170437

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5256
SIT153 DATE 05/03/82

DTG: 301328Z APR 82 PSN: 008287
TOR: 120/2220Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

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EOB:
WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

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DE RUEHMO #5256/01 1201331
O 301328Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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NLRR 748 22-35-1-4

BY KOB NARA DATE 11/16/15

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4267

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 7066
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 05256
EXDIS
DEPT FOR EUR/SOV
E.O. 12065: RDS-3 4/30/02 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M
TAGS: SREF, SHUM, UR, US
SUBJECT: SOVIET ATTITUDE TO PENTECOSTAL PROBLEM -- NO
- SOLUTION SOUGHT
REF: (A) MOSCOW 1773, (B) MOSCOW 4108, (C) STATE 50841
- (2) MOSCOW 4759

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~, ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SOVIET RESPONSE TO EMBASSY'S APRIL 29
DEMARCHÉ ON THE EMIGRATION OF LIDIA VASHCHENKO STRONGLY
SUGGESTS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT REPEAT NOT SEEKING
A RESOLUTION OF THE PENTECOSTAL PROBLEM IN THE NEAR
FUTURE. PARAGRAPH 8 RECOMMENDS ACTION WE BELIEVE IS
URGENTLY REQUIRED IF RAPIDLY DIMINISHING U.S. LEVERAGE
IS TO BRING SOVIET MOVEMENT ON THIS ISSUE. END
SUMMARY.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

3. POLITICAL COUNSELOR RAISED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
LIDIA VASHCHENKO CASE DURING MEETING WITH MFA/USA
DIVISION DEPUTY CHIEF MYSHKOV APRIL 29. POLCOUNS
RECALLED THAT LIDIA VASHCHENKO, FOLLOWING ADVICE
WHICH THE MFA HAD REPEATEDLY URGED AS THE WAY TO
PROCEED IN SEEKING TO EMIGRATE, HAD LEFT THE EMBASSY
AND RETURNED TO CHERNOGORSK IN FEBRUARY. HOWEVER,
MONTHS HAD PASSED AND SHE HAD STILL NOT BEEN INFORMED
WHETHER SHE MAY APPLY FOR EMIGRATION. POLCOUNS
REFERRED TO REPORTS THAT 12 MEMBERS OF THE VASHCHENKO
FAMILY HAD BEEN BEATEN BY MILITIAMEN DURING A PEACEFUL
DEMONSTRATION IN CHERNOGORSK APRIL 23, AND HE ASKED
THAT THE MFA RELAY TO THE APPROPRIATE SOVIET AUTHORITIES
THE CONCERNS OF TENS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS THAT
THE VASHCHENKO/CHMYKHALOV FAMILIES BE ALLOWED TO
EMIGRATE FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS.

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4. MYSHKOV RESPONDED WITH A SHOW OF ANGRY INDIGNATION, SAYING THAT IT WAS NONE OF THE EMBASSY'S BUSINESS AND THAT IT WAS TOTALLY IMPROPER FOR THE EMBASSY TO RAISE THE MATTER. POLCOUNS OBJECTED THAT IT WAS ENTIRELY PROPER FOR THE EMBASSY TO RAISE LIDIA'S CASE, AS THE EMBASSY HAD RELAYED TO HER THE MFA'S ADVICE, WHICH SHE WAS FOLLOWING. HOW THAT ADVICE PROVED ITSELF IN PRACTICE WAS OF CONCERN TO THE EMBASSY, AND RELEVANT TO A RESOLUTION OF THE SITUATION OF THE PENTECOSTALS REMAINING IN THE EMBASSY. RELENTING A BIT, MYSHKOV SAID THAT LIDIA VASHCHENKO HAD LIVED AT THE U. S. EMBASSY FOR A LONG TIME AND HAD JUST RETURNED TO HER LEGAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE WHERE REQUIREMENTS, INCLUDING TIME OF RESIDENCE, HAD TO BE MET.

5. POLCOUNS ASKED FOR AN INDICATION OF THE TIME REQUIREMENT FOR LIDIA'S RESIDENCE IN CHERNOGORSK BUT MYSHKOV SAID THIS WAS BEYOND THE COMPETENCE OF THE MFA. POLCOUNS OBSERVED THAT THE MFA COULD NOT STAND ALOOF FROM THE ADVICE IT HAD GIVEN IN THE MATTER. HE ASKED AGAIN THAT THE MFA RELAY THE CONCERN OF THE EMBASSY TO THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES. MYSHKOV SAID HE HAD TAKEN NOTE OF WHAT THE POLCOUNS HAD SAID, BUT THAT IT WAS GOOD THAT THE DEMARCHE HAD BEEN MADE ORALLY. HAD THE EMBASSY'S REMARKS BEEN MADE IN THE

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

FORM OF A DIPLOMATIC NOTE, HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO HAND IT BACK AS UNACCEPTABLE.

6. COMMENT: THE RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT HAS NEVER BEEN A SERIOUS BASIS FOR DENYING LIDIA VASHCHENKO PERMISSION TO APPLY FOR EMIGRATION: HER FAMILY MEMBERS OF CHERNOGORSK, WHO HAVE VALID LETTERS OF INVITATION AND HAVE LIVED CONTINUOUSLY IN THAT CITY, HAVE ALSO BEEN PREVENTED FROM APPLYING. WE HAVE SEEN A SHIFT IN SOVIET THINKING SINCE EARLY FEBRUARY WHEN SOVIET CHURCH/STATE OFFICIALS SHOWED GENUINE CONCERN THAT THE PENTECOSTALS WOULD INTERFERE WITH THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE" (REF A). BY THE TIME OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED PENTECOSTAL CHURCH MET WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS ON APRIL 1, THE LATTER EXPRESSED FULL CONFIDENCE THAT THE PENTECOSTAL ISSUE COULD BE CONTAINED AND HANDLED AT THE CONFERENCE (REF B). AS AN EXTRA MEASURE, THE SOVIETS HAVE BY INCREMENTS POSTPONED MAKING A FORMAL DECISION ON WHETHER LIDIA MAY APPLY FOR EMIGRATION UNTIL AFTER THE CONFERENCE ENDS IN MID-MAY.

7. MYSHKOV'S REACTION CONFIRMS AN IMPRESSION BUILDING FOR SOME TIME: THE SOVIETS JUDGE THAT THE PENTECOSTALS POSE LONG TERM AT LEAST AS GREAT

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PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5256
SIT152 DATE 05/03/82

DTG: 301328Z APR 82 PSN: 008288
TOR: 120/2221Z

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EOB:
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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHMO #5256/02 1201333
O 301328Z APR 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4268

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 7067
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 05256
EXDIS

A PROBLEM FOR THE UNITED STATES (PARTICULARLY THE EMBASSY) AS FOR THEMSELVES. THE EXPECTED HIGH-LEVEL AMERICAN PARTICIPATION AT THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE" SEEMS TO HAVE CONVINCED THEM THAT THE ISSUE WILL NOT DISRUPT THE CONFERENCE. THEY ARE BETTING THAT WESTERN PUBLIC INTEREST WILL STEADILY DECREASE FROM THE HUNGER STRIKE PEAK. THE SOVIETS KNOW OF THE TENSION BETWEEN THE VASHCHENKOS AND CHMYKHALOVS AT THE EMBASSY AND OF THEIR STRONG DESIRE TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR FAMILY AND END THE UNCERTAINTY OF THEIR SITUATION. THESE MANY FACTORS ARGUE, FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, FOR AN UNCOMPROMISING STANCE. THE USSR HAS HELD OUT FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS AND SHOWS A WILLINGNESS TO WAIT YEARS MORE FOR A LONG-TERM SOLUTION ON ITS TERMS -- DEPARTURE OF THE SIX PENTECOSTALS FROM THE EMBASSY WITHOUT ANY ASSURANCE OR INDEED LIKELIHOOD OF EMIGRATION. END COMMENT.

8. ACTION RECOMMENDED:
WHILE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS SERIOUSLY DESIRE A NEAR-TERM SOLUTION TO THE PENTECOSTAL

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

PROBLEM, WE DO SEE SOME POSSIBILITIES FOR TURNING THEIR VIEW AROUND. ONLY TEN DAYS REMAIN UNTIL THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE." BEFORE U.S. LEVERAGE LARGELY DIMINISHES, WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT STRONGLY URGE ADDRESSEES OF REF D TO IMMEDIATELY APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS WITH A REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL DEMARCHES ON THE PENTECOSTALS, AS OUTLINED IN PARA 16. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT COMPLEMENT SUCH APPROACHES WITH A DEMARCHE TO THE HIGHEST AVAILABLE LEVEL OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZING THAT MFA'S CREDIBILITY AS A SPOKESMAN FOR THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS AT STAKE NOW THAT LIDIA VASHCHENKO HAS ATTEMPTED WITHOUT SUCCESS TO FOLLOW THE COURSE MFA ADVISED. (COMMENT: MYSHKOV SHOWED GREAT SENSITIVITY TO THIS APPROACH IN HIS

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MEETING WITH POLCOUNS.) EMBASSY PROPOSES TO UNOBTRUSIVELY ENCOURAGE MAXIMUM PUBLIC AND PRESS ATTENTION TO THE PENTECOSTALS AS THE "WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE" APPROACHES, BRIEFING RESIDENT U.S. AND FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS ON THE EVENT AND CONTRASTING SOVIET CLAIMS ON RELIGION WITH SOVIET BEHAVIOR TOWARDS THE PENTECOSTALS. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS REDOUBLED EFFORTS AT PERSUADING WESTERN CHURCHMEN WHO WILL BE ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE TO VISIT THE PENTECOSTALS WHILE IN MOSCOW AND TO BRING THEIR SITUATION UP AT OR ON THE PERIPHERIES OF THE CONFERENCE.
HARTMAN

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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170439

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5282
SIT155 DATE 05/03/82

DTG: 011151Z MAY 82 PSN: 008176
TOR: 121/1204Z

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EOB:
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NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHMO #5282/01 1211154
O 011151Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4299

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 7082
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 7612
AMEMBASSY BERLIN 3724
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 8028
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 7132
AMCONSUL MUNICH 6181
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 7827
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 7140
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 9213
AMEMBASSY BONN 2699
AMEMBASSY LONDON 4620
AMEMBASSY PARIS 1676
AMEMBASSY ROME 7065
USMISSION USNATO 1638
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 3060
BT

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NLRR 748-22-35-2-3
BY 1603 NARA DATE 14/14/15

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 05282
E.O. 12065: RDS-4 5/2/02 (MCCALL, SHERROD) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, UR
SUBJECT: JUMBLED LEADERSHIP LINE-UP ON MAY DAY AND
KIRILENKO REAPPEARANCE

1. SUMMARY: THIS YEAR'S MAY DAY LINE-UP SHOWED
CHERNENKO TAKING THE PLACE USUALLY RESERVED FOR
BREZHNEV. IT ALSO MARKED THE REAPPEARANCE OF
KIRILENKO. THE ONLY MEMBER OF THE LEADERSHIP

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ANNOUNCED BY THE TELEVISION COMMENTATOR WAS BRESHNEV
AND HE WAS ANNOUNCED AS "GENERAL SECRETARY." WE
ARE THEREFORE UNCERTAIN WHAT SIGNIFICANCE TO ATTACH
TO CHERNENKO'S "SWITCH" WITH BREZHNEV, EXCEPT THAT,
AT A MINIMUM, IT WOULD APPEAR TO BURNISH CHERNENKO'S
IMAGE. CHERNENKO HAS NEVER RANKED HIGHER THAN FIFTH
PLACE AT A MAY DAY FESTIVITIES. KIRILENKO APPEARS
TO HAVE LOST GROUND TO GRISHIN. ANDROPOV'S POSITION
IS UNCHANGED. THIS NEW "JUMBLING" OF THE LEADERSHIP
LINE-UP IS CERTAIN TO LEAD TO NEW SPECULATION ON
LEADERSHIP CHANGES, AS THE REPORTED UPCOMING
CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM NEARS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE KEY FEATURE OF THIS YEAR'S LINE-UP WAS THAT
CHERNENKO STOOD IN THE PLACE USUALLY RESERVED FOR
BREZHNEV. IN THE PAST, THE ORDER FOR MAY DAY AND

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REVOLUTION DAY LINE-UPS BEGAN WITH USTINOV AND BREZHNEV, FOLLOWED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO. THIS PERMITTED JUDGEMENTS AS TO THE RELATIVE STANDING OF ALL LEADERS EXCEPT USTINOV. THIS YEAR'S LINE-UP DEPARTS FROM THIS PATTERN: USTINOV, AS USUAL, LED THE MILITARY ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE MAUSELEUM, BUT HE WAS FOLLOWED ON THE LEFT, NOT BY BREZHNEV, BUT BY CHERNENKO AND TIKHONOV. BREZHNEV OCCUPIED POSITION NUMBER THREE. THE FOLOWING TABLE SHOWS THE USUAL, RECENT PATTERN:

MAY 1982:

USTINOV CHERNENKO, TIKHONOV, BREZHNEV, GRISHIN, KIRILENKO,
PEL'SHE, GROMYKO, ANDROPOV, GORBACHEV

NOV 1981:

USTINOV BREZHNEV, TIKHONOV, SUSLOV, KIRILENKO, PEL'SHE,
GROMYKO, CHERNENKO, ANDROPOV, GORBACHEV

MAY 1981:

USTINOV BREZHNEV, TIKHONOV, SUSLOV, KIRILENKO, CHERNENKO,
GRISHIN, GROMYKO, ANDROPOV, GORBACHEV

MAY 1980:

USTINOV BREZHNEV, TIKHONOV, SUSLOV, KIRILENKO, PEL'SHE,
GRISHIN, GROMYKO, CHERNENKO, ANDROPOV, GORBACHEV

MAY 1980:

OGARKOV BREZHNEV, KOSYGIN, SUSLOV, KIRILENKO, GRISHIN,
GROMYKO, CHERNENKO, ANDROPOV

3. A SECOND STRIKING FEATURE OF THE MAY DAY LINE-UP WAS THE REAPPEARANCE OF KIRILENKO, WHO LAST APPEARED

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ON MARCH 1 AND WHO WAS RUMORED TO BE SO SERIOUSLY ILL THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN TO POLITBURO DUTIES. ALTHOUGH WE HESITATE TO JUDGE FROM THE LIMITED TELEVISION EXPOSURE, KIRILENKO LOOKED TO US TO BE ABOUT AS FIT AS IN PREVIOUS APPEARANCES. HIS REAPPEARANCE IS LIKELY TO FUEL SPECULATION CONCERNING THE CAUSES OF HIS DISAPPEARANCE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AT LEAST THE LAST TWO YEARS, KIRILENKO RANKS BEHIND GRISHIN.

4. WHILE THE NEW LEADERSHIP LINE-UP ADVANCES GRISHIN SOMEWHAT, WE ARE UNCERTAIN ON HOW TO INTERPRET CHERNENKO'S NEW POSITIONING. ON THE ONE HAND, IT FUZZES THE QUESTION OF SUSLOV'S SUCCESSOR BY CREATING DOUBTS AS TO WHETHER "THE NUMBER THREE SLOT" IN THE PAST RESERVED FOR SUSLOV IS TO THE RIGHT OR LEFT OF BREZHNEV. AT THE SAME TIME, THE NEW LINE-UP COULD BE READ

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5282
SIT154 DATE 05/03/82

DTG: 011151Z MAY 82 PSN: 008178
TOR: 121/1205Z

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MESSAGE:

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DE RUEHMO #5282/02 1211155
O 011151Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4300

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 7083
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 7613
AMEMBASSY BERLIN 3725
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 8029
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 7133
AMCONSUL MUNICH 6182
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 7828
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 7141
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 9214
AMEMBASSY BONN 2700
AMEMBASSY LONDON 4621
AMEMBASSY PARIS 1677
AMEMBASSY ROME 7066
USMISSION USNATO 1639
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 3061
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 05282
AS A NEW PROMINENCE FOR CHERNENKO, WHO IN THE
PAST NEVER RANKED HIGHER THAN FIFTH PLACE AT
MAY DAY FESTIVITIES. (MICROFILM COPIES OF PREVIOUS
LEADERSHIP LINE-UPS ARE TOO FUZZY TO BE RELIABLE,
BUT WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT IN THE 1970S
KOSYGIN OR PODGORNYY SOMETIMES STOOD AHEAD OF
BREZHNEV. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, NO OTHER POLITBURO
MEMBER DID THAT.)

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

5. A RUMOR HAD BEEN CIRCULATING HERE IN RECENT
WEEKS THAT BREZHNEV MIGHT RESIGN IN THE NEAR FUTURE
AND BE REPLACED BY CHERNENKO. TODAY'S SHOWING ON
THE MAUSELEUM COULD WELL INCREASE THAT LINE OF
SPECULATION, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT
ANDROPOV'S POSITION IS UNCHANGED. WE WOULD NOTE
IN REGARD TO THE BREZHNEV RESIGNATION SPECULATION
THAT SOVIET TELEVISION SHOWED BREZHNEV ENTERING ON
TO THE TRIBUNE FIRST AND THAT THE COMMENTATOR
ANNOUNCED HIS TITLE AS "GENERAL SECRETARY." THE
NAMES OF OTHER LEADERS WERE NOT GIVEN. THIS INDICATES
THAT, AT LEAST FOR NOW, BREZHNEV STILL HEADS THE
PARTY.

6. THE NEW LINE-UP WILL INEVITABLY FOCUS GREATER
ATTENTION ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WHICH IS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DTG: 011151Z MAY 82 PSN: 008178

RUMORED TO BE SCHEDULED FOR MAY. THE YUGOSLAV DCM
REPORTS THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS WORKING FEVEROUSLY
ON A FOOD PROGRAM TO BE UNVEILED AT A MAY 24-25
PLENUM. UNTIL THERE IS AN AUTHORITATIVE SORTING OUT
OF A NEW LEADERSHIP ARRANGEMENT, WE EXPECT INTENSIFIED
SPECULATION AS A RESULT OF TODAY'S JUMBLING IN
LEADERSHIP LINE-UP.
HARTMAN

MOSCOW 5282

DTG: 011151Z MAY 82 PSN: 008178

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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170440

PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 1305
SIT836 DATE 05/11/82

DTG: 050546Z MAY 82 PSN: 013797
TOR: 125/0930Z

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WHSR COMMENT: CHECKLIST

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MESSAGE:

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DE RUEHC #1305 1250621
O 050546Z MAY 82
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 3720

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6166
CNO WASHDC IMMEDIATE
CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI IMMEDIATE
BT

~~SECRET~~ STATE 121305
EX015 MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE
E.O. 12065: RDS-3 (5/4/82, H. ALLEN HOLMES)
TAGS: MPOL, UR, US
SUBJECT: LOCKWOOD INCIDENT
REF: MOSCOW 5387

1. ~~S~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DAO WILL BE RECEIVING IN A SEPARATE CHANNEL DETAILS DESCRIBING A FURTHER INCIDENT INVOLVING THE USS LOCKWOOD, IN WHICH THE SOVIETS ARE THREATENING TO DESTROY ONE OF THE USS LOCKWOOD'S HELICOPTERS IF IT QUOTE VIOLATES SOVIET TERRITORIAL WATERS UNQUOTE. DOD INTENDS TO PROTEST THIS LATEST SOVIET PROVOCATIVE ACTION IN NORMAL INCIDENTS AT SEA CHANNELS TO THE SOVIET NAVAL ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT. IN VIEW OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIS INCIDENT, THE US NAVY WILL ALSO BE INSTRUCTING THE US NAVAL ATTACHE TO PROTEST THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS WITH HIS SOVIET COUNTERPARTS IN MOSCOW.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

3. CHARGE SHOULD MAKE SUPPORTING DEMARCHE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES WITH US DEPARTMENT CHIEF KOMPLEKTOV:

-- WE HAVE LOOKED INTO THE ALLEGATIONS OF IMPROPER ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE USS LOCKWOOD RAISED BY KOMPLEKTOV ON MAY 4.

--OUR RECORDS ESTABLISH UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THE USS LOCKWOOD HAS NEVER VIOLATED SOVIET TERRITORIAL WATERS, AND IT IS CARRYING OUT NORMAL SHIP'S EXERCISES. AS OF 2141Z MAY 4 THE VESSEL WAS LOCATED WELL OUTSIDE OF SOVIET TERRITORIAL WATERS AT APPROXIMATELY 42 DEGREES, 19.2 MINUTES NORTH LATITUDE AND 132 DEGREES 30.5 MINUTES EAST LATITUDE.

-- DESPITE THIS FACT THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONTINUED TO CARRY OUT PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE

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NLRR 748-22-35-3-2

BY LCB NAR DATE 14/14/5

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 1305

DTG: 050546Z MAY 82 PSN: 013797

VESSEL. THE MOST FLAGRANT OF THESE HAS INVOLVED ACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET KASHIN CLASS DESTROYER SPOSNOBNIY WHICH HAS REPEATEDLY THREATENED TO DESTROY A US HELICOPTER ABOARD THE USS LOCKWOOD IF IT CARRIES OUT ITS ROUTINELY ASSIGNED FUNCTIONS.

-- THE PROPER FORUM TO DISCUSS THESE PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE INCIDENTS AT SEA FRAMEWORK AND THE USG HAS RAISED THE MATTER IN THIS CHANNEL BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND IN MOSCOW.

-- WE WISH TO UNDERScore, HOWEVER, THAT ANY ACTION BY THE SOVIET SIDE DIRECTED AGAINST THE USS LOCKWOOD IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR US-SOVIET RELATIONS, FOR WHICH THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE SOVIET UNION ALONE, WILL BEAR COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY.

HAIG

SECSTATE WASHDC 1305

DTG: 050546Z MAY 82 PSN: 013797

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

11

170442

PAGE 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 5463
SIT829 DATE 05/11/82

DTG: 051451Z MAY 82 PSN: 014296
TOR: 125/1612Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: WPC MCF WHLR JP VP SIT EOB
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT: CHECKLIST

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHMO #5463 1251452
O 051451Z MAY 82
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-35-4-1

BY KOB NARA TE 11/16/15

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4441

~~SECRET~~ MOSCOW 05463
EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 5/5/02 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M
TAGS: MPOL, UR, US
SUBJECT: LOCKWOOD INCIDENT
REFS: A) STATE 121305, B) MOSCOW 5387

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHARGE MADE DEMARCHE REF A TO USA DEPARTMENT CHIEF MAY 5 AND HANDED OVER TEXT AS NONPAPER. HE ALSO NOTED OTHER DISCUSSIONS WE WERE HAVING OVER THIS ISSUE. KOMPLEKTOV FIRST SEIZED ON MAY 4 DATE IN OUR DEMARCHE, SAYING THEIR NOTE HAD PROTESTED THE LOCKWOOD'S VIOLATION OF SOVIET TERRITORIAL WATERS ON MAY 3. HE THEN ADDED THAT THE VIOLATION HAD ALSO CONTINUED THE NEXT DAY. CHARGE RESPONDED THAT THE LOCKWOOD HAD NEVER VIOLATED SOVIET WATERS.

3. KOMPLEKTOV THEN SAID THAT VIOLATION OF SOVIET WATERS HAD DEFINITELY TAKEN PLACE, THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD ITS INFORMATION FROM COMPETENT SOVIET AUTHORITIES, THAT THE MFA'S NOTE HAD GIVEN THE COORDINATES OF THE INCIDENT, AND THAT THE VIOLATION HAD CONTINUED THE NEXT DAY. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD MADE ITS STRONG PROTEST. SAYING HE WOULD TRANSMIT THE U.S. VIEW TO HIS

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

SUPERIORS, HE THEN LAUNCHED INTO A REHASH OF YESTERDAY'S COMPLAINTS IN THE SOVIET NOTE THAT THE LOCKWOOD DID NOT RESPOND TO SIGNALS OR IMMEDIATELY LEAVE SOVIET TERRITORIAL WATERS. HE REPEATED THE DEMAND THAT THE U.S. AUTHORITIES TAKE SUITABLE MEASURES TO ASSURE THAT THE INCIDENT IS NOT REPEATED IN THE FUTURE. KOMPLEKTOV SUMMED UP BY SAYING HE HOPED THAT THE SHIP WAS NOT NOW IN SOVIET TERRITORIAL WATERS, ADDING THAT THIS KIND OF PROBLEM WAS NOT NEEDED BY EITHER SIDE.

4. THE CHARGE RESPONDED BY REITERATING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SOVIET SIDE IN THIS MATTER, ADDING THAT WE REJECTED BOTH THE SOVIET FACTS ON THE INCIDENT AND THE CONCLUSIONS THE SOVIETS DREW FROM THOSE ERRONEOUS FACTS.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 5463

DTG: 051451Z MAY 82 PSN: 014296

5. DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT IMMEDIATE TO SECDEF,
CNO, AND CINCPACFLT. ZIMMERMANN

MOSCOW 5463

DTG: 051451Z MAY 82 PSN: 014296

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

13

170445

PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 4577
SIT777 DATE 05/11/82

DTG: 071607Z MAY 82 PSN: 017872
TOR: 127/1614Z

DISTRIBUTION: REPT /001

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: RDTG
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHC #4577/01 1271612
O O 071607Z MAY 82 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT IMMEDIATE 3814

INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7532
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 124577

NODIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-3 5/6/02 (HAIG, ALEXANDER M., JR.)
TAGS: PARM, PEPR, UR, US
SUBJECT: REAGAN-BREZHNEV LETTER ON START

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. CHARGE SHOULD DELIVER TO HIGHEST AVAILABLE MFA OFFICIAL LATE AFTERNOON, MAY 7, FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV. CHARGE SHOULD NOTE THAT THE LETTER PROPOSES OPENING START IN GENEVA BY THE END OF JUNE AND THAT A SPECIFIC DATE AND OTHER PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS WILL BE DISCUSSED IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

3. (BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO ADDRESS A QUESTION OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND TO THE WORLD --

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

NEGOTIATIONS TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE BURDEN OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS. IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE THAT THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN ONE OF THE CENTRAL ISSUES IN THE U. S. - SOVIET RELATIONSHIP THROUGHOUT THE POST-WAR PERIOD. INDEED, THE AWESOME

DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IMPOSES ON OUR TWO COUNTRIES BOTH THE PRACTICAL NECESSITY AND THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO REDUCE AND EVEN ELIMINATE THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR USE IN WAR. THIS HAS BEEN THE THRUST OF MY COUNTRY'S APPROACH TO NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PAST THIRTY-FIVE YEARS.

AS WE LOOK BACK OVER ALMOST THREE DECADES OF U. S. - SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, WE

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR 748-22-355-0
BY KDB NARA DATE 11/16/03

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 4577

DTG: 071607Z MAY 82 PSN: 017872

CAN IDENTIFY A NUMBER OF NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS, SUCH AS THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY, THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, AND THE ABM TREATY. THESE AGREEMENTS HAVE LAID THE BASIS FOR NEW EFFORTS IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL PROCESS. WE CAN TAKE CONSIDERABLE INSPIRATION FROM THE STATESMANSHIP OF LEADERS IN BOTH COUNTRIES, WHICH MADE THESE AGREEMENTS POSSIBLE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL EVENTS, SUCH AS THE INVASIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AFGHANISTAN, HAVE UNDERMINED PROSPECTS FOR REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR ARMS.

WE NOW STAND AT ANOTHER HISTORIC JUNCTURE IN THE EFFORT TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE BURDEN OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS. ONE OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITIES OF MY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN TO UNDERTAKE A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THESE ISSUES IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT OUR APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS IS FAIR, EQUITABLE, AND UNDERSTANDABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE HAVE PROCEEDED DELIBERATELY TO AVOID THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST. WE ARE NOW PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD. THEREFORE, I PROPOSE THAT U. S. -SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR ARMS BEGIN IN GENEVA BY THE END OF JUNE, AND THAT WE IMMEDIATELY BEGIN EXCHANGES IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS TO FIX AN EXACT DATE.

OUR OBJECTIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY TO REDUCE THE NUMBERS AND DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF

SECSTATE WASHDC 4577
MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

DTG: 071607Z MAY 82 PSN: 017872

STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IN THE FRAMEWORK OF EQUAL AND VERIFIABLE LIMITATIONS ON BOTH SIDES. AS YOU KNOW, IT IS MY VIEW THAT OUR PREVIOUS EFFORTS AT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS DID NOT ADEQUATELY MEET THE STANDARDS OF REDUCTIONS, EQUALITY, AND VERIFIABILITY. I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY THE FAILURE OF PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS SUFFICIENTLY TO LIMIT THE DEPLOYMENT OF THOSE SYSTEMS THAT, BECAUSE OF THEIR CAPABILITY TO DESTROY THE OTHER SIDE'S LAND-BASED SYSTEMS, HEIGHTEN THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR. AN IMPORTANT TASK IN START MUST BE TO ADDRESS MORE EFFECTIVELY THE PROBLEM OF

THESE DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS.

IN POINTING OUT THESE DEFICIENCIES, I DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT THERE IS NOTHING POSITIVE THAT CAN BE LEARNED FROM PREVIOUS SALT AGREEMENTS. IT DOES MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT WE MUST GO WELL BEYOND THOSE EFFORTS IN START. IF WE SET OUR SIGHTS TOO LOW, WE WILL FAIL TO MAKE A MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE GOALS OF ENHANCING STRATEGIC STABILITY AND REDUCING THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CONGRESS FOR A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT. WE OWE IT TO BOTH OUR PEOPLES, AND TO THE WORLD AT LARGE, TO DO BETTER.

I BELIEVE THAT THE GOALS SET FORTH ABOVE PROVIDE A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS FOR PROGRESS IN THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 4577
SIT776 DATE 05/11/82

DTG: 071607Z MAY 82 PSN: 017874
TOR: 127/1615Z

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WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: RDTG
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHC #4577/02 1271612
O O 071607Z MAY 82 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT IMMEDIATE 3815

INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 7533
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 STATE 124577
NODIS

LESSONS OF THE PAST TEACH US THAT THE ARMS CONTROL
PROCESS CANNOT BE INSULATED FROM THE OVERALL STATE OF
RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND THE
INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE IN GENERAL. THIS IS A REALITY
OF POLITICAL LIFE.

OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEGUN A DIALOGUE ON A NUMBER OF
SENSITIVE REGIONAL PROBLEMS. WHAT IS NOW NEEDED, IF WE
ARE TO MOVE TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS, IS
CONCRETE ACTION ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION
INDICATING THAT IT IS PREPARED TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT.
ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN AN ENVIRONMENT CONDUCTIVE TO
PROGRESS ON STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS BE CREATED AND
SUSTAINED.

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO REITERATE THAT MY
ADMINISTRATION HAS NO HIGHER PRIORITY THAN REDUCING THE
THREAT OF WAR. I WILL PERSONALLY SPARE NO EFFORT TO
ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, AND I HOPE THAT I CAN COUNT ON
A SIMILAR PERSONAL COMMITMENT FROM YOU. NOTHING LESS
WILL MEET THE OBLIGATIONS IMPOSED UPON US BY
RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERSHIP IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

SINCERELY,

RONALD REAGAN

MAY 7, 1982 END TEXT.

4. SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL BE POUCHED. HAIG

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 4577

DTG: 071607Z MAY 82 PSN: 017874

SECSTATE WASHDC 4577

DTG: 071607Z MAY 82 PSN: 017874

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

17

170447

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 5621
SIT535 DATE 05/11/82

DTG: 081323Z MAY 82 PSN: 019385
TOR: 128/1438Z

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WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:

SIT: WPC MCF JP SIT
EOB:
WHSR COMMENT: RED TAG

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE
DE RUEHMO #5621 1281323
O 081323Z MAY 82 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 748-22-35-6-9

BY EOB NARA DATE 11/14/05

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4554

~~SECRET~~ MOSCOW 05621

~~NO DIS~~

DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATELY
E.O. 12065: RDS-3 5/8/02 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M
TAGS: MNUC, PARM
SUBJECT: REAGAN-BREZHNEV LETTER ON START
REF: STATE 124577

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. ON MAY 8 CHARGE CALLED ON FIRST DEPUTY
FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO AND DELIVERED
THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO BREZHNEV. AFTER
READING THE LETTER CAREFULLY, KORNIYENKO MADE
THREE COMMENTS:

--THE LETTER WILL BE REFERRED APPROPRIATELY.
I WILL NOT COMMENT ON ITS CONTENTS SINCE IT IS
NOT ADDRESSED TO ME.

--WE WILL EXAMINE THE LETTER AND GIVE AN ANSWER
TO IT. YOUR PROPOSAL REGARDING DISCUSSIONS IN
DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS RAISES WITH US NO DOUBTS
OR OBJECTIONS.

--SO FAR AS WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE LETTER,
WHAT IS PROPOSED ARE NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

ARMS. THE LETTER CONTAINS NO IDEAS ON INTEGRATION
WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS ALREADY UNDERWAY IN GENEVA.
WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THIS? IN RESPONSE TO THE LAST
POINT, THE CHARGE SAID THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER
WOULD HAVE TO SPEAK FOR ITSELF.

3. KORNIYENKO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE PRESIDENT
WOULD MAKE AN ADDRESS SOON AND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE
CONTENT. CHARGE CONFIRMED THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD
SPEAK ON SUNDAY, AND THAT HE WOULD DEAL WITH THE
SUBJECT OF STRATEGIC ARMS. KORNIYENKO SAID,
"WE WILL LISTEN CAREFULLY TO WHAT HE SAYS PUBLICLY."
ZIMMERMANN

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3118

18

JMS
170448

THE WHITE HOUSE

DECLASSIFIED

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NLRR 748-22-35-7-8

INFORMATION

BY 1001 NARA DATE 11/16/15

May 10, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

WILLIAM P. CLARK *wpc*

SUBJECT:

Your May 11 Luncheon for Soviet Dissidents

On Tuesday, May 11, at noon, you are scheduled to hold a luncheon for a group of distinguished dissidents from the Soviet Union. The purpose of this meeting is for you to familiarize yourself with the human rights movement in the USSR and to signal publicly your concern with the suppression of political, religious and ethnic freedoms there by honoring some outstanding dissidents. (C)

The nine guests represent diverse trends in the dissident movement. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, with whom you have scheduled a separate ten-minute meeting just prior to the lunch, is the outstanding spokesman of the Russian national cause. The other participants represent the Helsinki Monitoring Group, Soviet Baptists, as well as Ukrainian, Jewish and Moslem groups. (C)

You should bear in mind that nearly all these guests have spent long years in prisons and concentration camps, and in one case in a psychiatric ward. They tend to be emotional and very passionately concerned for the fate of their associates persecuted in the USSR. They will likely try to take advantage of this unique opportunity to press on you their respective causes. You should also consider that these groups do not always see eye to eye: Solzhenitsyn, in particular, is something of a loner who has attacked several of your guests (verbally) for being too Western in their orientation and not sufficiently patriotic. (C)

Attached at Tab A are talking points for your meeting with Solzhenitsyn; Tab B are talking points for the luncheon; and at Tab C is a list of participants giving brief biographic sketches of the guests. (C)

Attachments:

Tab A	Talking points for meeting with Solzhenitsyn
Tab B	Talking points for lunch
Tab C	List of participants
Tab D	Luncheon Remarks

Prepared by:
Richard Pipes~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review May 6, 1988

cc: The Vice President
Ed Meese
Jim Baker
Mike Deaver~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

19

1. NSC STAFF SECRETARY

2. NSC SECRETARIAT

Closed today
5/11

3. BRIAN MERCHANT

Please add to
3118- Mary W
said that this
had already been
taken care of.

INTERNAL NSC ROUTING

BAILEY	MCFARLANE
BERTA	MORRIS
BLAIR	MYER
CHILDRRESS	TEICHER
CLARK	NAU
	NORTH
DEGRAFFENREID	O'LEARY
DOBRIANSKY	PIPES
FEITH	POINDEXTER
FONTAINE	REGER
GOLD	RENTSCHLER
GREGG	RUSSELL
GUHIN	SHOEMAKER
JENNINGS	STEARMAN
KEMP	TANTER
KIMMITT	TYSON
KRAEMER	WEISS
LEVINE	WETTERING
LINHARD	WHEELER
LORD	ADMIN



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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add-on
20

May 10, 1982

82 M

PIO 07

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

VI
SBU 1 R 1

SUBJECT: Interpreters for Presidential Luncheon with
Emigre Soviet Dissidents

Enclosed is the list of interpreters whom the Department will provide for the May 11 luncheon hosted by the President for emigre Soviet dissidents. Mr. Dimitry Zarechnak will serve as interpreter for the President. As per instructions, Mr. Zarechnak will arrive in the West Lobby of the White House at 11:15 a.m. on Tuesday, May 11. As requested, the remaining interpreters will arrive at the West Lobby of the White House at 11:30 a.m.

L. Paul Bremer, III
L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:
As stated.

INTERPRETERS FOR PRESIDENTIAL LUNCHEON
FOR EMIGRE SOVIET DISSIDENTS
May 11, 1982

From the Department of State, Language Services:

Mr. Dimitry ZARECHNAK (interpreter for the President)

Mr. Cyril MUROMCEW

Mr. Dimitri ARENSBURGER

Ms. Galina TUNIK-ROSNIAANSKY

From the Department of State, Office of Soviet Union Affairs:

Mr. Edward HURWITZ, Deputy Director (Exchanges)

Note: All interpreters are regular employees of the Department of State and carry Department of State identification cards. Interpreters provided by the Office of Language Services have appropriate security clearances from Department of State. Mr. Hurwitz (from the Office of Soviet Union Affairs) is a career Foreign Service officer and has appropriate security clearance.

TALKING POINTS FOR OLZHENITSYN

22

- ADMIRATION FOR HIM AS MAN AND WRITER
- GREAT ROLE OF GULAG ARCHIPELAGO IN DESTROYING SOVIET MYTH
- HOW IS LIFE IN VERMONT? ANY RESEMBLANCE TO RUSSIA?
- HOW IS YOUR WORK ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION PROGRESSING?

TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH
ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN AT 12:00 NOON -- MAY 11, 1982

Prior to your lunch with nine dissidents from the Soviet Union, you are scheduled to meet privately for 10 minutes with one of them, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. This brief private meeting is a sign of recognition of Solzhenitsyn's achievements as a dissident and as a writer.

Solzhenitsyn is a very controversial figure in Russian dissident circles and has many enemies (some of whom will be represented at the lunch). He is a Russian nationalist who believes that Communism was imported to his country from the West and is fundamentally alien to Russian national spirit. He tends to romanticize pre-Revolutionary, tsarist Russia. He is extremely vocal in his condemnation of all compromises with the Soviet regime whether inside the USSR or outside. (His opponents, by contrast, argue that Communist despotism in the USSR is rooted in Russian history and made possible by the low level of culture of the Russian masses: Russia, in their opinion, must be Westernized before it can become a fit place to live and a peaceful member of the world community.)

During your meeting with Solzhenitsyn you may want to:

- Express admiration for him as a great writer of novels and historical documentaries and as a courageous fighter for human rights;
- Say what a great impression his three-volume historical account of Stalin's concentration camp empire, Gulag Archipelago, has made on world opinion and how much it has contributed to undermining illusions about the Soviet Union;
- Ask him about his life in Cavendish, Vermont, and whether he finds New England similar to his native Russia;
- Ask about his current work on the history of the Russian Revolution.

TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR -- MAY 11, 1982

- This is a most unusual, historic occasion: never before has a President of the United States honored a group of distinguished fighters for human rights from the Soviet Union.

You may want to speak briefly to each of the guests who represent diverse trends in the Soviet dissident movement (their biographies are attached under Tab C):

- Alexander Solzhenitsyn has courageously stood up against Communist oppression and through his writings revealed Soviet reality.
- Ludmilla Alexeeva has played a key role in starting the Helsinki Monitoring Movement in the USSR to check Moscow's compliance with the Final Act.
- Valerii Chalidze has published the Chronicle of Soviet repression.
- General Peter Grigorenko has given up a prestigious life in the Soviet Army to defend the rights of Soviet minorities for which he was declared "insane" and confined to a psychiatric ward.
- Father Georgii Vins is a Baptist minister who has fought and suffered for the rights of Christians in the USSR.
- Mark Azbel has distinguished himself fighting for the rights of Soviet Jews.
- Andrei Siniavskii is a distinguished Russian writer whose novels published anonymously brought him a long jail sentence.
- Ayshe Seitmuratova is a heroic figure in the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for restitution of their homeland.
- Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of a Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, suffered punishment for the daring act of protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Many others, equally distinguished, are presently languishing in Soviet jails and camps: there are thousands of them, among whom three should be specially mentioned: Andrei Sakharov, the great fighter for democracy and arms control, now under house arrest; Yurii Orlov, the founder of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Moscow; and Anatolii Shcharanskii, a man who fought both for the right to emigrate to Israel to join his wife and for general human rights and who now is in prison.

As the lunch ends, you may want to say in conclusion that the struggles which the guests at the luncheon and their associates in the Soviet Union have urged demonstrate that:

- The peoples of the Soviet Union have not been intimidated.
- That they share the same values as we.
- That the words and deeds of the Soviet regime are not representative of the people whom it rules.
- This is the best guarantee that some day the peoples of the Soviet Union will become peaceful and law-abiding members of the community of nations.

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
FOR THE PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR

MAY 11, 1982

NOTE: Without exception, all the participants have demonstrated unusual civic courage while in the Soviet Union, standing up for human rights in its many aspects for which they suffered imprisonment and other forms of abuse.

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA: A founding member of the Russian Helsinki Watch Group, who had travelled widely around the USSR to investigate abuses of human rights until expelled in 1977.

Mark AZBEL: A Soviet Jewish physicist who organized in Moscow illegal scientific seminars of refuseniks. Helped edit the samizdat publication, Jews in the Soviet Union. Resides in Israel but presently teaches as guest professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He left the Soviet Union in 1977.

Valerii CHALIDZE: A scientist, he was one of the earliest to get in trouble with the authorities in the struggle for human rights. Left in 1972. Presently publishes Russian political literature in New York.

General Peter GRIGORENKO: A distinguished Soviet Army general and once an ardent Communist, he took up in the 1960s the cause of the Crimean Tatars whom Stalin had expelled from their homeland in 1944; cashiered from the service, he was committed to psychiatric wards. An Ukrainian by origin.

Pavel LITVINOV: The grandson of Stalin's Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was arrested and tried for organizing in 1968 a demonstration in Red Square protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Ayshe SEITMURATOVA: A Muslim Tatar from the Crimea. In 1944 suffered with all her people mass deportations ordered by Stalin. Ever since has fought for the right of her people to return to the Crimea for which she was arrested numerous times.

Andrei SINIAVSKII: An eminent writer and editor, he published for years in the Soviet Union under the pen-name "Abram Tertz." Caught in 1965 he was given a prominent trial, served a long sentence in camp.

Alexander SOLZHENITSYN: The prominent writer and author of Gulag Archipelago, was expelled in 1975.

Father Georgii VINS: A Baptist minister, spent many years in camps for his Christian activities.

(Elliott/AB)
May 10, 1982
11:00 a.m.

27

REMARKS FOR LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET EMIGRES AND EXILES
MAY 11, 1982

I would like you to know, on behalf of our countrymen, how honored we are to welcome you to the White House -- the people's house in America.

I believe you are the first group of fighters for freedom and human rights in the Soviet Union ever to be received in the White House. And that, of course, is a source of great satisfaction to us.

But there is something even more important about your visit. You may come from different regions, represent different faiths and nationalities, but you are united by a bond every bit as strong as it is rare: You live for truth; you fight for truth, and you have proved you are willing to risk your lives for it.

The seemingly all-powerful Soviet state is still terrified of the brave voices and acts of courage like your own. With the sacrifices you have made, you redeem your national honor. Freedom itself is in your debt. You demonstrate that Russians and other national groups of the Soviet Union share our common ideals, and that the actions of the Soviet Government do not represent its peoples' real feelings and aspirations.

My only regret, is that we cannot look at these tables and see the faces of Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Yuri Orlov -- and all those others who have been deprived of their freedom for the crime of wanting freedom for their people.

We do not want them to have to leave their beloved countries, as you had to do. No, our hope, our challenge, is that someday, they may wake up knowing there will be no more persecution, no more pain, just because they love the truth, strive for a greater good, and believe in God.

Alexander Herzen wrote: "To shrink from saying a word in defense of the oppressed is as bad as any crime . . ." I pledge to you that the United States will speak out, will stand up for, and will defend the values we share.

Communists boast they will crush democratic freedoms. Well, let us tell them: you can imprison your people, you can close their schools, you can take their books, harass their priests and smash their unions. You can never destroy the love of God and freedom that burns in their hearts -- they will triumph over you.

Andrei Sakharov, imprisoned, but unbowed, told the West: "Everything is as it was under the system of power and economy created by Stalin." But he added: "I consider the United States the historically determined leader of the movement toward a pluralist and free society, vital to mankind."

We Americans must respond to that challenge. We must remember that freedom was not won here without the help of others; that people who turn their backs on friends often lose what they cherish most for themselves, and that freedom is never more than one generation from extinction.

Thank you again for coming today, for reminding us what we stand for, and what all of us, together, must do. God bless you all.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS
Luncheon with Distinguished
Soviet Immigrants
May 11, 1982

FROM: Muffie Brandon

muffie Brandon

11:45 p.m. Four translators are walked over from the West Wing to the Old Family Dining Room to find their places.

11:55 p.m. Dr. Richard Pipes escorts the Russian immigrants from the West Wing to the Red Room of the State Floor, via the Grand Staircase, and they are served refreshments.

White House staff will also be led to the Red Room when they arrive.

12:10 p.m. All guests are led to the Old Family Dining Room where they find their seats.

12:15 p.m. PRESIDENT REAGAN and Mr. Alexander Solzhenitsyn arrive the State Floor via the elevator and proceed into the Old Family Dining Room to be seated. (There will be an additional translator with them.)

Luncheon is served.

1:00 p.m. PRESIDENT REAGAN steps up to the Eagle lectern and makes brief remarks. (Recorded only; no PA.)

1:30 p.m. The PRESIDENT departs the Old Family Dining Room and proceeds to the Oval Office.

All guests depart the Diplomatic Reception Room.

LUNCHEON

Tuesday, May 11, 1982
 12:00 o'clock
 Private Dining Room

Mr. Chalidze

Ms. Seitmuratova

Mr. Meese

Ms. Alexeeva

THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Solzhenitsyn

The Secretary of State

Mr. Litvinov

Mr. Deaver

Mr. Siniavskii

Mr. Clark

Mr. Azbel

Mr. Baker

General Grigorenko

Dr. Pipes

The Reverend Georgi Vins

ENTRANCE

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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USSR (4/30/82-5/11/82)

FOIA

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SKINNER

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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>
170451	MEMO R. PIPES THROUGH C. TYSON TO W. CLARK RE MAY 11 LUNCHEON (W/EDIT)	1	5/6/1982	B1

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

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

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

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

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

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

32

5/10/82

Please note:

We attempted to include the original of the President's luncheon remarks with this package. However, Darman gave instructions to Ben Elliott (speechwriters) that the remarks are to go directly to him.


C. Tyson

Judge,
If you approve
Remarks at Tab D we should
send out to President so he
can read on way back.

108

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

Package # 3118

02 MAY 10 PM 12: 24

33

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	1	JK	
Bud McFarlane		Copy to Bud	
Jacque Hill	2	J	
Judge Clark	3		A
John Poindexter			
Staff Secretary			
Sit Room			

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

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver

Other _____

COMMENTS

Dick Pipes has discussed talking points and statement with State. Publicly the luncheon should be described as for "Soviet Emigres and Exiles." John

UNCLASSIFIED UPON
REVIEW OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
11/16/03 EDB

RECEIVED 10 MAY 82 16

34

TO CLARK

FROM PIPES

DOCDATE 06 MAY 82

TYSON

06 MAY 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

HUMAN RIGHTS

SOLZHENITSYN, A

AP

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR PRES LUNCHEON W/ SOVIET DISSIDENTS ON MAY 11 &
FOR MTG W/ SOLZHENITSYN

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE: 10 MAY 82 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8202344

NSCIFID

(C /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

Pres *IP 5/10* *info* *OP, Gen, JB and*
C 5/11 *Pres noted* *RP, CT*

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

(S)

MEMORANDUM

3315

35

170452

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 11, 1982

DECLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

NLRR 748-22-35-9-6

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

BY KDB NARA DATE 11/4/85

FROM: RICHARD PIPES

SUBJECT: Background of May 11, 1982 Lunch

Thanks, Dick -
ms

On short notice I cannot reconstruct with precision all the relevant facts, but here they are, in rough outline. (U)

In June 1981, Senator Jepsen met with Richard Allen to urge him to arrange for a Presidential meeting with Solzhenitsyn. I wrote a memorandum recommending that in view of Solzhenitsyn's identification with very controversial right-wing elements in the Russian emigration, the President not receive him but that, in recognition of his great attainments as a novelist and author of Gulag Archipelago, he send him a congratulatory message on a suitable occasion. (C)

Allen was not satisfied with this recommendation and requested that I meet with Stearman, Bailey and Lord to come up with another suggestion. On October 15, 1981, I wrote him that the four of us had discussed the matter and recommended that Solzhenitsyn be invited either with a group of internationally famous libertarians or with several Soviet dissidents representing diverse political currents. Allen approved the second of these recommendations, but no action was taken. (C)

In March 1982, under renewed prodding from Senator Jepsen (and Congressman Kemp), the idea of the meeting was revived. I cleared our proposal for a group lunch with State, which also was not happy with the prospect of a personal visit by Solzhenitsyn. In early April we began to put together a list of participants. At that time the date for the lunch was set for May 11. (C)

It seems that on April 6 the news of the Solzhenitsyn invitation leaked to the press. I was asked to contact Solzhenitsyn by phone and communicate the invitation. I talked to his wife and told her a formal invitation would be forthcoming and that in addition to her husband, other emigres would be present. She did not ask who they were. (C)

Subsequently, Russian emigres friendly to Solzhenitsyn let it be known that he was not happy with this arrangement. The idea then arose of a 10 or 15 minute private meeting with the President preceding the lunch. I was asked to communicate this proposal as well as the list of invitees to Solzhenitsyn. Mrs. Solzhenitsyn, however, refused to talk to me, requesting that any communication be put in writing. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review May 11, 1988.

CONFIDENTIAL

2

36

In response to a query from Senator Jepsen's office, I drafted a brief letter from the President to Solzhenitsyn informing him of the arrangement. The package with that draft was sent to the West Wing on April 30, but I understand it was never mailed. (C)

On May 3, Solzhenitsyn sent a letter (it arrived on May 7) explaining his reasons for not coming. I understand that a telegram containing the text of the unsent letter of April 30, was then dispatched to him. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3315
37

5/11

Dick,

Get together with Tyson
and prepare a chronology
of events (papers, telephone
calls, etc) on the lunch
for today with the Soviet
emigres and exiles. Be sure
and cover Congressional
interest. The Judge would
like this by noon.

John

170

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

Package # 3315 38

22 MAY 11 AM 11:25

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Bud McFarlane	2	RCM HAS SEEN	
Jacque Hill	3	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Judge Clark	4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	I
John Poindexter			
Staff Secretary			
Sit Room			

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

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver

Other _____

COMMENTS

Background on
Polzheritzyn

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)
14/6/15 607

RECEIVED 11 MAY 82 16

TO CLARK

FROM PIPES

DOCDATE 11 MAY 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

EMIGRATION

SOLZHENITSYN, A

AC

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PAPER FOR CLARK 11 MAY LUNCHEON W/ SOVIET EMIGRES

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE:

STATUS IX FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

TYSON

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8103872

NSCIFID

(H /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

C 5/12

Clark noted

RPL

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

(74)

(C) H.