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DATE 12/25/81

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

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WHSR COMMENT:

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

HIS EXCELLENCY

RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

YOUR ADDRESS ON THE DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS LINK HAS MADE ALL THE MORE PRESSING THE NECESSITY OF CALLING UPON YOU AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA TO END AT LAST THE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A SOVEREIGN STATE -- THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. THIS INTERFERENCE IN THE MOST DIVERSE FORMS -- OVERT AND COVERT -- HAS BEEN UNDERWAY FOR A LONG TIME, ALREADY.

ESSENTIALLY, IN YOUR CURRENT COMMUNICATION, YOU HAVE PLACED YOUR PERSONAL SIGNATURE UPON THE FACT THAT GROSS INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF POLAND IS THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE CONDEMNED AND CONTINUE TO CONDEMN SUCH A POLICY. WE CONSIDER IT UNACCEPTABLE.

ATTEMPTING TO CONCEAL THIS POLICY OF YOURS, YOU REFER, ENTIRELY BESIDE THE POINT, TO THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF OUR PARTY DATED 5 JUNE OF THIS YEAR, ADDRESSED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PZPR (POLISH UNITED WORKER'S PARTY). QUITE APART FROM THE FACT THAT IN SO DOING YOU DISTORT THE SENSE OF THIS LETTER, YOU AGAIN PROCEED FROM THE POSITION OF INTERFERENCE, IN THIS CASE INTERFERENCE IN THE MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO POLITICAL PARTIES -- THE CPSU AND THE PZPR, BETWEEN WHICH, AS BETWEEN THE OTHER PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THERE EXIST THEIR OWN COMPLETELY EQUAL AND FRIENDLY NORMS AND PRACTICE OF RELATIONS. THIS PRACTICE WAS BORN NOT YESTERDAY AND NOT TODAY.

IF A FRANK EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE EXPRESSIONS BY THEM OF THEIR OPINIONS TO EACH OTHER IS NOT

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS (CONTINUED):

PLEASEING TO SOMEONE IN THE UNITED STATES, THEN, IN RESPONSE, WE MUST FIRMLY SAY: THAT IS THE BUSINESS OF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES AND OF NO ONE ELSE, AND THEY HAVE NOT PICKED ANYONE ELSE AS A JUDGE TO IMPOSE HIS NORMS UPON THEM.

IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE.

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF OUR PARTY, ANTIPATHY HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE EXPRESSED IN RELATION TO THOSE IN POLAND WHO ARE ENEMIES OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM THERE AND WHO VIOLATE THE LAWS AND ORDER OF THE COUNTRY, WHO ARE PLUNGING IT INTO CHAOS.

YOU, YOURSELF, AS HEAD OF THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ARE SPEAKING OUT AGAINST THE EXISTING STATE SYSTEM IN POLAND-IN OTHER WORDS, CALLING FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THIS SYSTEM. THIS IS NOT AN IMAGINARY BUT A MOST GENUINE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER SOVEREIGN STATE.

AND THIS IS TAKING PLACE NOT ONLY IN RELATION TO POLAND. SIMILAR ATTEMPTS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN ALSO IN RELATION TO THE SOVIET UNION. AMERICAN OFFICIALS, YES, EVEN YOU PERSONALLY, ARE UNINTERRUPTEDLY REVILING OUR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUR INTERNAL ORDER. WE RESOLUTELY REJECT THIS.

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE AND MANY OTHER GENERALLY KNOWN FACTS WHAT THEN REMAINS OF YOUR ARGUMENTS CONCERNING OUR ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND? NOTHING WHATEVER.

YOUR COMMUNICATION CITES THE GOOD PROVISION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT UNDER WHICH IS AFFIXED BOTH MY SIGNATURE AND THE SIGNATURE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. INDEED THIS PROVISION, WHICH STIPULATES THE REFRAINING FROM ANY INTERFERENCE IN AFFAIRS WHICH COME UNDER THE INTERNAL COMPETENCE OF ANOTHER STATE, REMINDS ONE BETTER THAN ANYTHING ELSE OF THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES ADVANCING ANY SORT OF DEMANDS REGARDING THE INTRODUCT-

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS (CONTINUED):

ION IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY OF MARTIAL LAW BY THE HIGHEST POLISH ORGANS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STATE CONSTITUTION, IT REMINDS ONE OF THE INADMISSABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES ATTEMPTING TO DICTATE TO THE POLES WHAT THEY MUST AND MUST NOT DO.

NO ONE SHOULD INTERFERE WITH WHAT THE POLES AND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE DOING AND WILL BE DOING IN THEIR OWN HOME.

YOU CLAIM [TO HAVE THE RIGHT] TO DECIDE FOR THE POLES, INSTEAD OF THE POLES THEMSELVES, BY WHAT PATHS AND MEANS POLISH SOCIETY SHOULD DEVELOP IN THE FUTURE. BUT THE SOCIAL ORDER IN POLAND WAS CHOSEN NOT BY WASHINGTON, NOT BY MOSCOW, AND NOT BY ANY OTHER CAPITAL, BUT BY THE POLES THEMSELVES. NO ONE CAN DIRECT THE LEADERSHIP OF POLAND ON HOW TO CONDUCT ITS OWN AFFAIRS, OR BY WHICH METHODS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY FASTER AND BETTER.

ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE ONE'S WILL ON OTHER GOVERNMENTS GROSSLY VIOLATE THE ELEMENTARY NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. I WOULD GO FURTHER: THEY ARE THOROUGHLY AMORAL, AND NO SORT OF WORD GAME REGARDING THE RIGHTS OF MAN CAN CONCEAL THIS FACT.

THE SOVIET UNION REJECTS THE CLAIMS OF ANYONE TO INTERFERE IN THE EVENTS OCCURRING IN POLAND.

IN YOUR COMMUNICATION MENTION IS MADE OF MILITARY MANEUVERS NEAR POLAND. YOU CLEARLY WISH TO INTERPRET THESE MANEUVERS IN YOUR OWN WAY, CONNECTING THEM TO THE SITUATION IN POLAND. BUT THIS IS COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED CONJECTURE.

AND IF ONE IS TO TOUCH ON THE SUBJECT OF MILITARY MANEUVERS, THEN THE FOLLOWING QUESTION ARISES: HOW MANY MANEUVERS HAVE THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE COUNTRIES OF NATO, INCLUDING THE USA, CONDUCTED AND CONTINUE TO CONDUCT IN WESTERN EUROPE NEAR THE BORDERS FOR EXAMPLE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (EAST GERMANY) AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. COULD THEY NOT PRESENT TO THE UNITED STATES THEIR BILL IN THIS MATTER? COULDN'T, TOO, WE ASSESS SUCH MANEUVERS AS A THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES?

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PAGE 04

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS (CONTINUED):

SUCH IS THE VALUE OF YOUR REFERENCES TO MILITARY MANEUVERS.

YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, HINT THAT IF THE EVENTS IN POLAND SHOULD FURTHER DEVELOP IN A MANNER WHICH IS DISPLEASING TO THE UNITED STATES, THEN A BLOW MAY BE DELIVERED ALONG THE ENTIRE RANGE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

BUT IF WE ARE TO SPEAK WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION, IT IS YOUR ADMINISTRATION THAT HAS ALREADY DONE ENOUGH TO DISRUPT, OR AT THE VERY LEAST, UNDERMINE EVERYTHING POSITIVE WHICH, AT THE COST OF GREAT EFFORT, HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BY PREVIOUS AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. TODAY, UNFORTUNATELY, NOT THAT MUCH FROM THE PREVIOUSLY ATTAINED, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL, POLITICAL CAPITAL, REMAINS

WHAT CAN ONE SAY OF SUCH HINTS? SURELY, BEFORE HAVING RECOURSE TO THEM, ONE SHOULD MORE CALMLY TAKE EVERYTHING INTO ACCOUNT.

IN GENERAL IT WILL DO NO HARM TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATION: THE GENERAL TONE OF YOUR COMMUNICATION IS NOT QUITE THAT WHICH THE LEADERS OF SUCH POWERS AS THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ASSUME IN CONVERSATION WITH ONE ANOTHER, THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE CASE IF ONE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE WEIGHT AND THE POSITION THEY CARRY IN THE WORLD, THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STATE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. SUCH IS OUR VIEW.

IT WOULD NOT BE US, NOT THE SOVIET UNION, THAT WOULD BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE EVENT SOVIET - AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE TO SUFFER FURTHER DISINTEGRATION.

IT SEEMS THAT IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE USEFUL IF THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES RESPONSIBLY AND WITH COMPOSURE DISCUSSED PROBLEMS WHICH FOR THE PEOPLES ARE TRULY OF VITAL IMPORTANCE -- HOW TO SLOW DOWN AND STOP THE ARMS RACE WHICH FOR A LONG TIME ALREADY HAS ASSUMED A SENSELESS INTENSITY AND SCOPE, HOW TO PRESERVE PEACE ON EARTH. WE FAVOR PLACING PRECISELY THESE PROBLEMS IN THE CENTER OF AT-

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MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS (CONTINUED):

TENTION OF THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND HAVING THEM FIND AN INTELLIGENT SOLUTION. I ASSUME AND I'M EVEN CONVINCED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED THIS NO LESS THAN THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND OTHER NATIONS,

RESPECTFULLY,

L. BREZHNEV

MESSAGE:

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. B. says we are interviewing
I we know the Soviet are - maybe
we should tell him we want if he
want.

P. P. 3 he says we are
dictating to the Poles & that we
we should interfere with what
the Poles & Polish authorities are
doing in their own home.

It seems to me we are supporting
the right of the Polish people to
vote on the govt. they'd like to have.

Mr. B. is supporting the right of
the govt. to deny the Polish people
a voice in their govt.

Incidentally didn't the Yalta
Pact call for the people having
the right to vote on what govt. they
would have? The Soviets violated that
pact. RR

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 25, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *Bd*
SUBJECT: Letter from Brezhnev

Attached is a letter we have just received from Brezhnev over MOLINK. We have had it translated here in the NSC. As you will see, it is abrasive, and accuses you of gross interference in the internal affairs of Poland and Russia. However, the interesting part of the letter is that it is not as abrasive as some previously received from Brezhnev and asks that we talk. It tries to minimize our differences over Poland as being secondary to overall U.S./Soviet relations and the need for arms control agreements. He hints in response to your assertion we would be forced to take certain actions toward the Soviet Union if it persisted in pressuring Poland, that so little is left in U.S./Soviet collaboration anyway that your threat isn't very frightening. The tacit assumption of the letter is that an irreversible change has taken place in Poland's reverting to the Soviet model, that Poland therefore has ceased to be a "problem", and the U.S. and the Soviet Union should go on to other issues.

I have discussed the letter with Ed Meese and The Vice President. We are planning the following actions unless you direct otherwise.

1. I will prepare for you a complete list of actions we can take against the Soviet Union. This list will be graduated in severity, will afford you many options and will be predicated on the discussions we had during the NSC meetings.

587-007 #43
10/28/77
2. I have scheduled a meeting on Monday morning, with

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The Vice President chairing, in which we will discuss the list of options I will provide you. Participants in the meeting will be all the principles of the Special Situation Group (SSG).

3. Following the meeting, the Vice President and Ed Meese will call you with the recommendations from the SSG to obtain your approval. They will be speaking from the list of options I will provide you to assist you in making your decisions.

Should you desire any changes in our proposed plan of action, The Vice President and I will be readily available by phone.

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WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

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His Excellency
Ronald Reagan
President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President,

Your address on the Direct Communications Link has made all the more pressing ^{the} necessity ^{of} to call ^{ing} upon you and the government of the USA to ~~so~~ ^{end at least} ~~put a final end to~~ the interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state - the Polish People's Republic. This interference in ^{the most diverse} ~~its various~~ forms - overt and covert - has ^{been underway} ~~continued~~ for a long time, already.

^{Essentially,} ^{Communication}
In your current ~~appeal~~, you have placed your personal signature ^a upon the fact that gross interference in the internal affairs of Poland is the official policy of the United States. We have condemned and continue ^{to condemn} such a policy, ^{we} ~~and~~ consider it ~~an~~ unacceptable.

^{CONCEAL} ^{of yours, you refer, entirely beside}
Attempting to ~~mask~~ ^{conceal} this policy, ^{you did not address} the point, ^{to} ~~of~~ the letter of the Central Committee of our Party dated 5 June of this year, ^{addressed} ~~which was sent~~ to the Central Committee of the PZPR (Polish United Worker's Party). ^{Quite support from} ~~Not to mention about~~ the fact that in so doing you distorted ^{of this letter} the sense and you again ^{proceed} ~~and~~ ~~speak~~ from the position of interference ^{in this case interference} in the mutual relations between two political parties - the CPSU and the PZPR, between ^{which as between the other parties of socialist countries} whom, there exist their own completely equal and friendly norms and ^{practices of relations.} ~~kinds of contacts~~. Such

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Such a practice ^{was born} ~~is not new.~~ not yesterday ^{not today.}

If a frank exchange of opinions between communist parties and the expressions by them of their ~~opinions~~ to each other is not pleasing to someone in the United States, then, in ^{response} reply, we must firmly say: that is the business of the parties themselves and ^{of no one} ~~only them.~~ ^{else,} And they have not ^{chosen} placed themselves ^{picked} ~~in judgement~~ ^{anyone else as a judge} ~~over whoever would~~ ^{to impose} ~~force~~ his ^{norms upon} ~~values~~ on them.

It is especially important to emphasize ^{this matter of} such a principle ~~point.~~

From the standpoint of our party, antipathy has been and continues to be expressed in relation to those in Poland who are enemies of the existing system there and who violate ^{who are} the laws and ~~law and~~ order of the country, ~~and is~~ plunging it into chaos.

You, yourself, as head of the state and government of the United States, are speaking out against the existing state system in Poland ^{in other words, calling} ~~and otherwise speaking~~ for the overthrow of this system. This ^{is} ~~has~~ not ^{an imaginary} ~~been imagined~~ but ^a ~~is~~ the ^{genuine} ~~most real~~ interference in the internal affairs of another ^{of} ~~sovereign~~ state.

And this is taking place not only in relation to Poland. Similar attempts are being undertaken also in relation to the Soviet Union. American officials, yes, even you personally, are ^{uninterruptedly} ~~defaming~~ ^{continuing reviling} our social ^{political} and state system, our internal order. We resolutely ^{reject} ~~refute~~ this.

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~~SENSITIVE SPECAT~~

In the light of these and many other generally known facts what then remains of your ^{arguments} ~~discussions~~ concerning our alleged ^{involvement} ~~participation~~ in the internal ^{developments} ~~events~~ in Poland? Nothing ^{whatever.} ~~remains.~~

^{Communication sites}
~~Your address is quoted~~ the good provision of the Helsinki Final Act ^{under} ~~upon~~ which ^{is affixed both} ~~was placed not only~~ my signature ^{and the signature} ~~but also your~~ ^{of the President of the United States.} ~~signature.~~ ^{Indeed} ~~Yes,~~ this provision, which stipulates the refraining from any interference in ~~our~~ ^{Come under} affairs which ~~comprise~~ ^{reminds one better than anything else} the internal competency of another state, ~~which, by the way is the only way~~ to ~~refer~~ ^{or} to the unacceptability of the United States advancing any sort of demands regarding the introduction ~~of martial law by~~ ^{in their own country of martial law} the highest Polish organs, in accordance with the state constitution. ~~It and the attempt~~ ^{of the inadmissibility} of the United States to dictate to the Poles, what they ^{must} ~~should~~ and ^{must} ~~should~~ ^{attempting} do.

No one should ^{interfere} ~~intefere~~ with what the Poles and the Polish authorities are doing and will ^{be doing} ~~do~~ in their own home.

^{put this in brackets} [to have the right] ^{the Poles themselves,} You claim to decide for the Poles, instead of ~~them,~~ by what ^{paths} ~~means~~ and ^{mean} ~~how~~ the Polish society should develop ^{in the future.} ~~farther.~~ But the social order in Poland was chosen not by Washington, not by Moscow, and not by any other capital, but by the Poles themselves. No one can direct the leadership of Poland ^{on} how to conduct ^{its} ~~their own~~ affairs, ^{to stabilize the situation in the country faster and} and which methods ~~will more quickly and better stabilize the~~ ^{better} ~~situation in the country.~~

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Attempts to ~~dictate~~ ^{impose one's will on other governments grossly} to other states your will ~~are~~ ^{are in gross} ~~in gross~~ ^{violate} contradiction to the elementary norms of international law. I would ~~like to say~~ ^{go} further: they are thoroughly amoral. And no sort ~~of game with words~~ ^{word} regarding the rights of man can ~~hide~~ ^{conceal} this fact.

The Soviet Union ~~refutes~~ ^{rejects} the claims of anyone to interfere in the events occurring in Poland.

In your ~~letter~~ ^{communication} there is mentioned ~~the~~ ^{is made of} military maneuvers near Poland. You clearly wish ~~to make your own interpretation~~ ^{to interpret} ~~about~~ ^{of} these maneuvers, ~~and apply them to the situation in Poland.~~ ^{connecting} But this is ~~completely unfounded conjecture.~~ ^{of}

And if one is ~~touched on~~ ^{the subject} then the following ~~speaking~~ ^{speaking} of military maneuvers, ~~the~~ ^{the} question arises: how many maneuvers have the ~~NATO~~ ^{military forces of the} countries ^{of NATO,} including the USA, conducted and continue to conduct in western Europe near the borders ^{for example} of the ~~GDR, German Democratic Republic (East Germany)~~ and Czechoslovakia. Could they not ~~then~~ ^{then} present to the United States ~~their assessment~~ ^{their bill for} of this situation? ~~and could we not~~ ^{matter} assess such maneuvers as a threat to the Soviet Union and ~~to~~ ^{the} other socialist countries?

Such is the ~~assessment~~ ^{value} of your references to ~~the~~ military maneuvers.

You, Mr. President, hint that if ~~the further~~ ^{the} events in Poland ~~should~~ ^{should} ~~develop~~ ^{develop} in a manner, ~~unsatisfactory~~ ^{which is displeasing} to the United States, then a blow ~~will be inflicted~~ ^{may be delivered} along the entire range of Soviet-American relations.

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But if we are to speak ~~frankly~~, ^{without equivocation,} it is your administration that has already done enough, to disrupt, or at the very least, undermine everything positive which, at the cost of great effort, ^{has been} ~~was~~ achieved by previous American administrations in the relations between our countries. Today, unfortunately, ^{not that much} ~~little~~ remains from the ^{previously attained, mutually beneficial,} ~~reciprocal positive,~~ political gains ^{which were achieved earlier.} ~~earlier.~~

What can one say of such hints?

~~But what is the use of making allusions of this type?~~
^{Surely} ~~Perhaps,~~ ^{having recourse} ~~one should more calmly take~~ ^{everything calmly into account.} ~~it would be better to weigh~~

In general it will do no harm to make the following
~~But one cannot help but notice that the general tone of your~~
~~general observation:~~

~~letter is not the way in which leaders of such powers as the Soviet Union and the United States should talk with each other, especially considering their power and position in the world and their responsibility for the state of international affairs. This is our opinion.~~

It is not us, not the Soviet Union, which would bear responsibility should the further undermining of Soviet-American relations take place.

It seems that it would be much more useful if the ^{leaders of the} ~~problems which~~ are vitally important for peoples were ^{discussed by the leadership of} the Soviet Union and the United States objectively. Such problems as how to restrain and prevent the arms race, which has already acquired an ^{irration^{al}} ~~tempo and scale,~~ and how to preserve peace on earth.

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It is precisely these problems which should occupy the center of attention of the leadership of our countries and they should find a reasonable solution. I propose, and am even convinced, that the American people need this no less than the Soviet people and others.

Respectfully,

L. Brezhnev

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