

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

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The President's concluding remarks at the National Security Council meeting, Friday, June 18, 1982:

The President: You have not made it a damn bit easier. Let me point out: I am very conscious that we must not shoot ourselves in the foot, but a greater principle is involved. During the final days of Versailles, when endless speeches were being made, I could not resist making a plea to the Allies. Today, I said, the Soviet Union is more vulnerable than ever, especially economically because of their military outlays and foreign adventures. They are literally starving their people to keep this up. They have even resorted to food rationing. I asked the Allies why could they not adopt a policy of showing to the Soviet Union that if there ever is a chance that they will give up the ideology or the religious bent for global hegemony, or even their fear ... They don't have to do this in the open. We can use quiet diplomacy; we must not issue an ultimatum which will make it impossible for them to give in. Instead, sit around a table and tell the Russians quietly, find out whether there is no way of improving the lot of Soviet people and end the strain, take some concrete deeds so that we can come forward and show what you can get for rejoining civilized people. But I got no support. France would not cooperate. Trudeau later made some unkind remarks about me. The Soviet Union has given us nothing but words to show that they will abandon the global Marxist state. The time has come for someone to stand on principle. Maybe the Allies will go to the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union would only -- I said -- let Walesa out, and other Polish prisoners ... keep the military [in power], but open talks; that alone would be enough for us to make a complementary act. It would show them what happens when you are nice guys. But there were no takers. Not even Schmidt moved, and he has done as much close negotiating with the East as anyone. No one wanted to be a spokesman for this cause. So I have to say that we do have a recession, but we cannot retain credibility with our Allies who will say that we are all rhetoric and no action. The Soviet Union will say that my UN speech was all talk. Now in our arms talks with the Soviet Union, we are trying to get real reductions, we cannot fall back from this position. If they relent, for example, on emigration where they violate the Helsinki Accords (we have seven people living in the basement of the U.S. Embassy) ... So unless the Soviet Union takes action and shows us, then they can build their damn pipeline without our help. ... Stronger memo follows.

Casey: General Electric will get by in the world.

Clark: Stronger memo follows. We have three options: the one that tracks what you have just said Mr. President, I will read it out. Then Gergen will announce it in the next couple of hours to prevent leaks.

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[Judge Clark then read the prepared option paper.]

DECEMBER 30, 1981 SANCTIONS ON OIL AND GAS
EQUIPMENT EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET UNION

I have reviewed the sanctions on the export of oil and gas equipment to the Soviet Union imposed on December 30, 1981 and have decided to extend these sanctions to include subsidiaries and licensees of U.S. companies abroad.

The objective of the United States in imposing the sanctions has been and continues to be to advance reconciliation in Poland through concrete measures: the lifting of martial law, release of political prisoners, and the reopening of a dialogue with Solidarity and the Church. Since December 30, 1981, little has changed concerning the situation in Poland. Martial law remains in effect, human rights are being violated, Lech Walesa is still in jail, Solidarity remains virtually outlawed and forced underground. The burden of valuable business foregone by American companies as a result of the sanctions has not been adequately shared by competing firms in allied countries. Unless our sanctions are extended to include subsidiaries and licensees the principal cost of enforcing our sanctions will continue to fall on U.S. firms. We will in effect be exporting more American jobs, allowing others to profit from our restraint. Although we have taken an important first step with our allies on our initiative to restrain officially-supported credits to the USSR, there remains a need for substantial progress in forging a unified position on more defined measures to accomplish this objective. In addition, we will continue actively to encourage the allies participating in the Siberian gas pipeline project to pursue non-Soviet energy alternatives.

The President: I have one comment about the statement. The specific references as to what they have not done in Poland means that they cannot give in. Maybe this should be crossed out. Better say that nothing has changed; if we mention what should be done, we almost foreclose the possibility of it being done. This should not be mentioned in public.

Weinberger: Omit the specifics but tie our actions to Polish events.

Eagleburger: As concerns the decision to extend the sanctions, have the lawyers checked this out? Our lawyers have serious doubts.

Clark: There are many opinions but this certainly may involve high-level litigation.

The President: Let us put the burden on our Allies.

Clark: The legal moves cannot be contemplated now.

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67

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
10155	MINUTES	THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS AT NSC MEETING 6/18/1982 <i>R</i> 6/9/2011 <i>F2003-009/1</i>	3	ND	B1
10156	MEMO	DECISION RE NSC MEETING ON 12/30/81 SANCTIONS <i>R</i> 6/9/2011 <i>F2003-009/1</i>	1	6/16/1982	B1
10157	NSDD	DRAFT RE US POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE (DRAFT OF NSDD 54) <i>R</i> 6/9/2011 <i>F2003-009/1</i>	5	6/16/1982	B1
10158	MEMO	ROGER W. ROBINSON TO WILLIAM P. CLARK, RE RECIPROCAL... <i>R</i> 6/20/2008 <i>F2003-009</i> DOCUMENT PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233	1	6/22/1982	B1
10159	MEMO	CLARK TO THE PRESIDENT, RE NSC MEETING OF 6/18/82 <i>R</i> 6/9/2011 <i>F2003-009/1</i>	3	6/17/1982	B1
10160	TALKING POINTS	FOR 6/18/1982 NSC MEETING <i>R</i> 6/9/2011 <i>F2003-009/1</i>	1	6/17/1982	B1
10161	MEMO	CLARK TO PRESIDENT, RE EXTENSION... <i>R</i> 6/20/2008 <i>F2003-009</i>	2	6/22/1982	B1
10162	MEMO	ROBINSON TO CLARK, RE TALKING POINTS <i>R</i> 6/20/2008 <i>F2003-009</i>	1	6/22/1982	B1

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