

Revised

LUNCHEON DATE: Monday, 20 December 1982

HOST: DCI XX DDCI _____ Executive Director _____

GUEST LIST: Mr. Casey
Mr. William Prince
Mr. David Abshire
Dr. Amos Jordan
Dr. Robert Byrnes
Ms. Aileen Masterson

[Redacted]

Mr. Robert Gates
Mr. Stanley Moskowitz

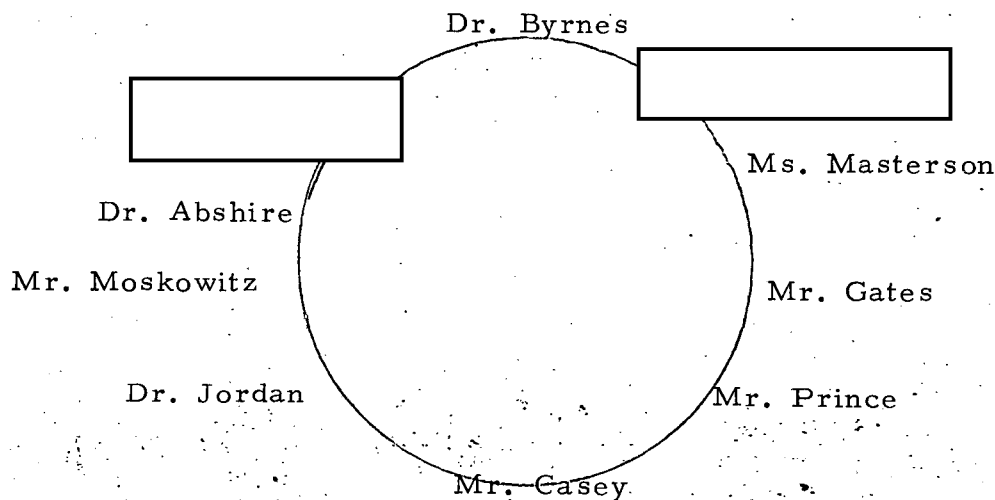
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MENU: Tomato Juice
Filet of Sole with Lemon/Butter Sauce
Peas with Mushrooms
Tossed Salad with Choice of Dressing
White Wine with Meal
Coffee
Apple Pie with Vanilla Ice Cream

SEATING ARRANGEMENT:



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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

20 December 1982

The Honorable William P. Clark
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

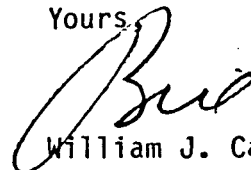
Dear Bill,

I have an idea which strikes me as a good one and one which may appeal to you. It is that you consider Dr. Robert Byrnes of Indiana University as a candidate to succeed Dick Pipes as the Soviet expert on your staff. I don't know whether Byrnes would be interested, but I'm quite sure that his qualifications, orientation and preparation for such a task are outstanding.

I had him out to lunch today along with Dave Abshire to be briefed on the Soviet project on which some 30-odd of the outstanding Soviet scholars in the world have been working over the last 18 months under Dr. Byrnes' direction. It seems like an outstanding piece of work, almost certainly by far the finest private sector estimate on the Soviet Union and where it stands for at least a decade. I judge this on the quality of the participants and a description I received today on the conclusions to which it arrives, as well as the depth and the range of aspects of Soviet life which have been treated.

I suggest that you peruse the attached sheets which summarize the project and list the names and affiliations of those responsible for this work.

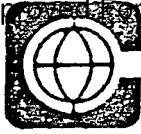
Yours,


William J. Casey

Enclosure

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Georgetown University / 1800 K Street Northwest / Washington DC 20006 / Telephone 202 / 887-0200

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THE SOVIET UNION IN THE 1980s: PROJECT SUMMARY

Background

The Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies is conducting a major examination of the significant trends and developments within the Soviet Union that will shape Soviet foreign policy over the next decade. The Soviet Union is facing critical choices in the political, economic, military, demographic, technological and social spheres, all of which will affect its behavior in the international arena. Of these many factors, seven broad areas stand out as particularly important.

Key Issues

1. The Political Succession

At the recent 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, no major changes were made in the Soviet leadership. This development suggests that when the succession occurs, it will be dramatic. What will be the effects on Soviet foreign policy? Will the so-called generational change in leaders make a dramatic impact?

2. Economic Developments: The Military, Industry, Agriculture and Energy

The basic problems of the Soviet economy are fairly well known: a decline in overall growth rates, in productivity, in investment, and in the working age population; a lagging agricultural sector; and a large share of resources dedicated to national defense. What are the policy alternatives for the Soviet Union? Can it have both guns and butter? If not, what are the implications of the Soviet choice? What will and/or should be the role of external economic relations? Can or will the Soviet Union continue to pursue an economic strategy that gives a high priority to external credits, trade, technology? How will the Soviet Union's agricultural performance affect its foreign policy behavior and goals?

Although there are differing assessments about the severity of the Soviet Union's energy problem, energy policy is also a clear priority in Moscow. How dependent on imported oil is the Soviet

Union likely to become? What will be the impact of developments in the energy sphere on Soviet policy?

3. Demographic Trends and Social Tensions

The balance of the Soviet population is so changing that ethnic Russians will soon be a minority. Nevertheless, they remain in the majority of the key decision making roles in the Soviet hierarchy. How will the Soviet Union adapt to its changing demographic character? To what extent will the non-Russian and non-European elements of the Soviet population play a greater role in Soviet policy-making? What are the prospects for minority unrest in the Soviet Union? What will be the likely impact on Soviet economic and military structures, and what tradeoffs between them are probable, in light of the much smaller age groups which will be joining the labor pool? How will Soviet leaders meet rising consumer demands and dissatisfaction?

4. Developments in Eastern Europe

Unlike earlier crises in Eastern Europe, the current crisis in Poland does not stem from a disloyal or "misguided" Communist leadership, but a weak leadership confronting social unrest. To what extent does this crisis reflect a more general systemic crisis that could be repeated elsewhere in Eastern Europe? To what extent is it a harbinger of development in the Soviet Union itself?

5. The Military

Unlike the political leadership, the military has largely experienced its succession already, although little is known about these new leaders. What are their goals, tactics and strategies? How do they view relations with the West? What level of technological skill does their weaponry indicate, and how does such weaponry compare with its Western counterparts in numbers and quality?

6. Intellectual and Cultural Life

Soviet society is undergoing considerable changes that bear on future policy problems. How will the growth of modern communications technology necessary for development affect the Soviet leadership's imperative of a closed society? What are the effects of external contacts, with both the West and the Third World? Will the status of Marxism-Leninism change? What is the state of art, religion, and intellectual life in the Soviet Union today?

7. External dynamics

Just as in the United States, the distinction between domestic politics and foreign policy in the Soviet Union is increasingly difficult to draw. External factors will interact with the above mentioned internal elements to shape Soviet policy creating dilemmas for the Soviet leadership. Among the external sources influencing Soviet policy are perceptions (and facts) of the future balance of power, especially with the United States, questions of political and military opportunity, relations with the People's Republic of China, developments in Western Europe and the evolution of NATO,

military developments, technological change, and arms control considerations. How are these external factors likely to influence Soviet policy in light of domestic developments?

Methodology

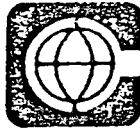
This 18-month program will be built around in-house and commissioned research from the top experts in the Soviet field, seminars and briefings for the executive and legislative branches of government, a major international conference, and a series of publications designed to reach the widest possible audience.

In addition to the Project Director, Dr. Robert Byrnes, and a Steering Committee of CSIS experts and advisors, the Center has commissioned a number of authorities in the Soviet field to cover the various facets of the project. Each broad area outlined above will be covered in depth by a working group of three or four scholars under the leadership of a group chairman. The chairmen, all of whom represent the most substantive and up-to-date scholarship in their respective specializations, are responsible for delineating the boundaries of their research, choosing their group members, and writing a definitive monograph based on their findings. Group members will stimulate discussion and write commentaries and critiques of the chairmen's papers.

Communications

CSIS will communicate the findings of its study to the widest possible audience, not only in government but in the business and academic communities as well. The Center will use a variety of publication vehicles, including articles in the Washington Quarterly, pieces in the nation's leading newspapers and a special series of monographs produced by the chairmen and the working groups. The culmination of the project will be a major volume drawing chapters from each working group into a cohesive entity under the editorship of the Project Director.

In addition, the Center will sponsor Congressional meetings, CSIS roundtable discussions in various cities, special corporate briefings, and a variety of other forums for participants to share their findings.



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FACTORS AFFECTING SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY
IN THE 1980s

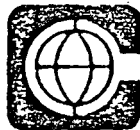
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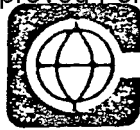
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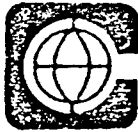
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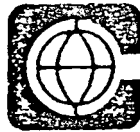
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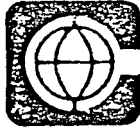
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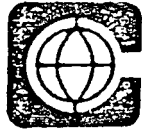
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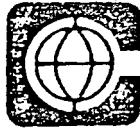
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November 9, 1982

Mr. Stanley Moskowitz
NIO for USSR
Room 7 E 62
CIA Headquarters
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Moskowitz:

In connection with the December 20 luncheon which has been scheduled for Mr. Casey, Dr. Abshire, and Mr. Wood Prince, I am enclosing a brief summary of the CSIS Soviet Project, a list of participants, and a Who's Who excerpt on Mr. Wood Prince. If you need any additional information or material, please let me know.

We understand that the Director will be available from 12 to 1 on the 20th. We shall appreciate your forwarding information on where the gentlemen are to meet, and whether passes must be obtained, as well as the procedure.

For your information, Dr. Abshire will be accompanied by Dr. Robert Byrnes, the Director of the Soviet Project, and Aileen Masterson, the Coordinator.

Sincerely yours,

Lee Agree
Lee Agree
Project Assistant

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Page Denied

Luncheon with Mr. Casey, Monday, 20 December, 1200

Attendees:

Dr. David M. Abshire

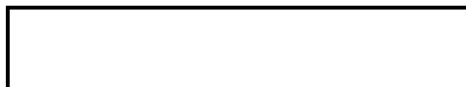
Dr. Amos A. Jordan, Jr.

Dr. Robert Byrnes

Ms. Aileen Masterson

Mr. William Wood Prince, guest of honor

CIA



Mr. Robert M. Gates

Mr. Stanley M. Moskowitz



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