

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

19 AUG 1982

Dr. David M. Abshire, President  
The Center for Strategic and International Studies  
Georgetown University  
1800 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Dr. Abshire:

I am delighted that the Center has undertaken to explore the outlook for the USSR in the 1980s. This is a subject of great interest to us in CIA and the Intelligence Community and of considerable importance to our country.

There has already been some informal contact between Agency personnel and some of the study participants, but I quite agree that a more formal exchange of views would be useful. I suggest that your office get in touch with Stan Moskowitz, National Intelligence Officer for the USSR and Eastern Europe, on the arrangements.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "JN McMahon".

John N. McMahon  
Acting Director of Central Intelligence

215

SUBJECT: CSIS Study Internal Factors of the Soviet Union (DDI/NIC #6699-82)

C/NIC:HSRowen:lm (17 Aug 82)

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6	DDA				
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Remarks:

Please coordinate with DDI and prepare  
reply for Acting DCI's signature.

Executive Secretary

12 Aug 82

Date



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August 9, 1982

Honorable William Casey  
Director  
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Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Bill:

As you are aware, CSIS has underway the largest nongovernmental study on the internal factors of the Soviet Union. I enclose an outline of our study.

As you will see from the list of people involved, we have assembled a first-rate team, some of whom have been with the Agency previously or have colleagues there now. Our participants are delighted at the prospect of pooling knowledge with their government counterparts.

We would be willing to have a representative group of scholars from our study meet with interested people at the Agency for an exchange of views on their findings and observations. Who should be our point of contact?

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

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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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The Soviet Union in the 1980s

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