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100212	CABLE	STATE 196842 R 10/10/2012 M323/1	1	6/27/1985	B1
100213	DRAFT CABLE	RE THEMES FOR ALLIED APPROACH TO HELSINKI MEETING (ANNOTATED) R 10/10/2012 M323/1	6	ND	B1

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 31, 1985

FILE CSCE Dobriansky
The President has

4243

Received SS

1985 MAY 31 PM 12:53

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE *RM*

SUBJECT: Summary: CSCE 18th Semiannual Report

We have received from the State Department the 18th Semiannual Report of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It surveys significant developments in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act during the period October 1, 1984 - April 1, 1985. This is the third Semiannual Report to stress compliance with the provisions agreed upon at the Madrid follow-up meeting. Key highlights of the Report include:

1. During the review period, the Soviet/East European record of compliance with CSCE commitments remained unsatisfactory.
2. The Soviet Union continued to violate both the letter and spirit of Helsinki Final Act principles guiding relations between states (i.e., respect for territorial integrity of states, self-determination of peoples). They persisted in supporting Vietnam's war against Kampuchean resistance and in occupying Afghanistan.
3. Soviet human rights performance remained abysmal. A harsh campaign was instituted against Hebrew teachers and Jewish cultural activists; repression in Ukraine was severe with dissidents and Eastern Rite Catholics subjected to mounting harassment and persecution. One of the most dramatic confrontations over basic rights occurred in the Soviet Far East when a community of Pentecostals held a two-month long hunger strike to protest the denial of their right to worship freely and to obtain exit visas to join relatives in the FRG.
4. Some positive developments in Eastern Europe's implementation of the Final Act included: Bulgaria's resolution of 16 (out of 18) divided family cases; Czechoslovakia's willingness to permit Western diplomatic representatives to attend a trial of a human rights case; and the GDR's continued modest improvement in emigration.
5. However, these improvements were offset by continued repression and stricter controls in each East European country. This period marked the most significant and large-scale violations of human rights in Bulgaria's recent history. Bulgaria conducted an aggressive campaign to assimilate ethnic Turks by forcibly changing their Turkish names to Bulgarian ones. Those who resisted reportedly were tortured or killed.

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

cc: Vice President

~~SECRET~~

VIA LDX
4228

CSCE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DOBRIANSKY

June 4, 1985

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Level of Attendance at Helsinki CSCE 10th
Anniversary Commemoration (S)

We have reviewed and concur with your recommendation that attendance at the Helsinki CSCE 10th anniversary commemoration be at the ministerial level. We also agree that the State Department should coordinate the final decision and announcement in conjunction with the spring North Atlantic Council (NAC) on June 6 - 7. (S)

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

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Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008
BY NARA *Cal*, DATE *11/12/10*

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

May 29, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ↗

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Level of Attendance at Helsinki CSCE 10th Anniversary Commemoration

The State Department has forwarded you a memorandum regarding the level of attendance at the Helsinki CSCE 10th anniversary commemoration (Tab II). State notes that in recent NATO consultations, a consensus has emerged that representation at the Ministerial level would be appropriate. Foreign Minister Genscher and other key Allied ministers have informed us they are prepared to go to Helsinki. During the May 14 bilateral in Vienna, Secretary Shultz and Gromyko discussed this issue and considered it "highly likely" that they would attend the Helsinki commemoration and continue their bilateral dialogue. Moreover, in a May 15 meeting with British Foreign Minister Howe, Gromyko specifically proposed that Foreign Ministers should attend.

State recommends supporting the consensus and has agreed to coordinate the final decision and announcement in conjunction with the spring NAC ministerial on June 6 - 7. I concur with State's recommendation given the intrinsic importance of CSCE, the strong European sentiment, and the need to maintain Allied unity. High-level U.S. attendance would underscore our belief in the continuing significance and viability of this forum. Skillful handling of this issue would also help avoid any adverse propaganda fallout. At Tab I is a Kimmitt memorandum to State noting our concurrence.

Matlock, Kraemer, Fortier, Manley and Sommer concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Bob Kimmitt to sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Proposed Kimmitt memo to State
 Tab II State's memorandum, May 24, 1985

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
 Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
 White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008
 DATE 11/12/08



~~SECRET~~

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Level of Attendance at Helsinki CSCE Tenth Anniversary Commemoration

In its February 11 memorandum on U.S. strategy for World War II anniversaries, the National Security Council requested the Department of State to recommend the level at which the United States should be represented at the tenth anniversary commemoration of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, which will take place July 30-August 1 in Helsinki, Finland.

NATO Foreign Ministers agreed at the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council that attendance should be at the "political level on the assumption that the international climate would make this appropriate."

Although there are a number of reasons within the CSCE context for representation at the ministerial level, the most decisive factors concern Alliance management and U.S.-Soviet relations. Both factors point to representation in Helsinki at the level of Foreign Ministers.

At their May 14 bilateral in Vienna, Secretary Shultz and Gromyko discussed the question at Gromyko's initiative, and considered it "highly likely" that they would attend the Helsinki commemoration and continue their bilateral dialogue. At his May 15 meeting with UK Foreign Secretary Howe, Gromyko specifically proposed that Foreign Ministers should attend.

Consultations within the Alliance indicate a consensus that representation at the ministerial level would be appropriate. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher and other key Allied Ministers have informed us they are prepared to go to Helsinki. We expect to go along with this consensus, and have agreed to coordinate the final decision and announcement in conjunction with the Spring NAC Ministerial, June 6-7.

B. McKelvey
for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~
DECL:OADR

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Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY CA NARA, DATE 11/2/00

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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AS 11/12/10

MESSAGE NO. 260 CLASSIFICATION Secret PAGES 1

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 Gf1/WW
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Level of attendance at Helsinki
CSCF NSC LOG # 4228

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
<u>B</u>	<u>Nicholas Platt</u>		

REMARKS _____

CSCE



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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 2977

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 OTTAWA 04587

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: TEXT OF WESTERN PROPOSAL AT HREM

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS MEETING ON JUNE 14 BY ALL NATO MEMBERS AND IRELAND:

JUNE 14, 1985

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS REPRESENTING THE PARTICIPATING STATES OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE, FORESEEN BY THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE MADRID MEETING OF THE CSCE, ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING RESPECT, IN THEIR STATES, FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS, AS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT.

1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE MADRID MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE, A MEETING OF EXPERTS REPRESENTING THE PARTICIPATING STATES TOOK PLACE IN OTTAWA, UPON THE INVITATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, FROM 7 MAY TO 17 JUNE 1985 ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING RESPECT, IN THEIR STATES, FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS, AS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT.

2. THE MEETING WAS PRECEDED BY A PREPARATORY MEETING WHICH WAS HELD IN OTTAWA STARTING ON 23 APRIL 1985.

3. AT THE OPENING SESSION, THE PARTICIPANTS WERE ADDRESSED BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOE CLARK PC MP, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.

4. THE FORMAL OPENING ON 7 MAY AND THE FORMAL CLOSURE ON 17 JUNE 1985, INCLUDING CONCLUDING STATEMENTS MADE BY DELEGATIONS WISHING TO DO SO, WERE HELD IN OPEN PLENARY MEETINGS.

5. THE PARTICIPANTS ADOPTED AN AGENDA AND HAD A FRANK DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. FORTY-FIVE PROPOSALS FOR RECOMMENDATIONS WERE SUBMITTED AND CONSIDERED BY THE PARTICIPANTS.

6. DURING THE DISCUSSION DIFFERENT, AND AT TIMES, CONTRADICTORY, OPINIONS WERE EXPRESSED AS TO RESPECT, BY THE PARTICIPATING STATES, FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS, AS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. WHILE CERTAIN PROGRESS WAS NOTED IN A FEW STATES, GRAVE CONCERN WAS EXPRESSED AT SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOME PARTICIPATING STATES. IT WAS CONFIRMED THAT THIS THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AIMED AT INCREASED RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS CONSTITUTED IN ITSELF A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CSCE PROCESS.

7. THIS DISCUSSION WAS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE FINAL ACT AND THEREFORE WAS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED TO BE CONTRADICTORY TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY STATE.

8. THE PARTICIPANTS REAFFIRMED THAT RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR THE PEACE, JUSTICE AND WELL-BEING NECESSARY TO ENSURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG THEIR STATES AS AMONG ALL STATES. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN THAT FAILURE TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS JEOPARDIZES THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS AS A WHOLE.

9. THEY THEREFORE EMPHASIZED THE CRITICAL NEED TO ASSURE IMMEDIATE AND TANGIBLE PROGRESS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ON THE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF CIVIL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND OTHER RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, THUS ENSURING THE BALANCED DEVELOPMENT OF THE CSCE PROCESS.

10. THE PARTICIPANTS RECOGNIZED THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH STATE TO TAKE PROMPT ACTION TO BRING THEIR
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INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 OTTAWA 04587

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: TEXT OF WESTERN PROPOSAL AT HREM

PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES INTO CONFORMITY WITH THEIR COMMITMENTS IN THE FINAL ACT AND MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AS WELL AS OTHER INTERNATIONAL DECLARATIONS AND AGREEMENTS BY WHICH THEY MAY BE BOUND, THUS ASSURING THE FULL EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS.

11. THEY ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE A POSITIVE AND INDISPENSIBLE ROLE TO PLAY IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE FULL EXERCISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. FURTHERMORE, THEY RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF CO-OPERATION WITH AND AMONG INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS ENGAGED AS A MATTER OF COMMON CONCERN IN THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR OWN STATES OR INTERNATIONALLY.

12. THEY STRESSED THE NEED, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, TO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT FULLY PRINCIPLE VII (RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF) OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE MADRID MEETING.

13. THE PARTICIPATING STATES, RECALLING THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO KNOW AND ACT UPON HIS RIGHTS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT AND FURTHER REAFFIRMED IN THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE MADRID MEETING, WILL TAKE NECESSARY ACTION TO REMOVE LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES SO AS TO ENSURE IN PRACTICE THE RIGHT OF ALL THEIR CITIZENS, INDIVIDUALLY

OR IN GROUPS, EFFECTIVELY TO MONITOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE DOCUMENTS. THEY WILL ENSURE THE RIGHT OF ALL THEIR CITIZENS FREELY TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON ANY QUESTION CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION, IN ORDER TO HELP ENSURE RESPECT IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY OR IN OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES FOR THESE RIGHTS.

14. FURTHER, THEY WILL, INTER ALIA, PUBLISH OR RE-ISSUE THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AS WELL AS THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY WHICH THEY MAY BE BOUND, DISSEMINATE THESE DOCUMENTS IN THEIR ENTIRETY, MAKE THEM KNOWN AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE AND RENDER THEM PERMANENTLY ACCESSIBLE TO ALL INDIVIDUALS IN THEIR COUNTRIES. THEY WILL BEAR IN MIND PARTICULARLY THE POSSIBILITY OF DRAWING ATTENTION TO THESE DOCUMENTS AND OTHER RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS ON SUCH OCCASIONS AS THE COMMEMORATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND FURTHER FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS.

15. THEY WILL FULFILL THEIR RESPECTIVE OBLIGATIONS CONCERNING THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN ALL ITS ASPECTS AS SET FORTH IN THOSE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS BY WHICH THEY ARE BOUND.

16. WITH A VIEW TO STRENGTHENING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT CONCERNING FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF, AND IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 18 OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ARTICLE 18 OF THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF INTOLERANCE AND DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RELIGION OR BELIEF, AND ANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS BY WHICH THEY ARE BOUND, THE PARTICIPATING STATES WILL PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE INDIVIDUAL BELIEVER AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES WHEREVER THIS OCCURS, ON THE GROUNDS OF RELIGION OR BELIEF SO AS TO ENSURE THE EQUAL EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHTS. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THEY WILL CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF TOLERANCE AND RESPECT FOR ALL MATTERS RELATING TO FREEDOM TO PROFESS AND PRACTICE RELIGION OR BELIEF, ALONE OR IN COMMUNITY WITH OTHERS, IN PUBLIC OR IN PRIVATE.

17. THEY WILL GRANT THE STATUS PROVIDED FOR IN THE IR
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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 OTTAWA 04587

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: TEXT OF WESTERN PROPOSAL AT HREM

24. THEY WILL RESPOND TO INQUIRIES AND REPRESENTATIONS FROM GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES AND FROM PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS ON MATTERS CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES. SUCH INQUIRIES OR REPRESENTATIONS MAY BE MADE TO FOREIGN MINISTRIES OR TO SUCH OTHER OFFICES AS THE PARTICIPATING STATE MAY DESIGNATE.

25. THE PARTICIPATING STATES, CONVINCED THAT TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT ARE AMONG THE MOST SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, AND BEARING IN MIND ALL RELEVANT PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS EMBODIED IN INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS BY WHICH THEY MAY BE BOUND, WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY STEPS TO ELIMINATE SUCH PRACTICE AND TAKE EFFECTIVE LEGISLATIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE, JUDICIAL, AND OTHER MEASURES TO PREVENT AND PUNISH SUCH ACTS IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION.

26. THEY WILL, TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE, RESPOND POSITIVELY TO REQUESTS TO OBSERVE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS. THEY WILL ADMIT OBSERVERS TO SUCH PROCEEDINGS OR PROVIDE COMPLETE EXPLANATIONS AS TO WHY SUCH OBSERVERS MAY NOT BE ADMITTED.

27. THEY WILL WORK TOWARD THE REDUCTION IN THE LENGTH OF INCOMMUNICADO DETENTION TO A MINIMUM.

28. THEY WILL ALSO IMPROVE AND INCREASE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO VISIT PRISONERS. WHERE

POSSIBLE, RESTRICTIONS CONCERNING THE REASONABLE ACCESS OF RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN PRIVACY TO INDIVIDUALS UNDER DETENTION OR INCARCERATION IN PRISONS OR OTHER PENAL INSTITUTIONS WILL BE PROGRESSIVELY REDUCED.

29. THEY WILL ENSURE THAT INDIVIDUALS ARE PROTECTED FROM PSYCHIATRIC PRACTICES WHICH VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS.

30. NOTING THAT TERRORISM ENDANGERS OR TAKES INNOCENT HUMAN LIVES AND IS AN INTOLERABLE VIOLATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY, THE PARTICIPANTS REAFFIRMED THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ON TERRORISM.

31. THEY WILL HOLD REGULAR MEETINGS IN ORDER TO DISCUSS QUESTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF, TO ENCOURAGE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE MADRID MEETING IN THIS FIELD.

32. THE PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED THEIR DEEP GRATITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA FOR THE EXCELLENT ORGANIZATION OF THE MEETING AND TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF CANADA FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY EXTENDED TO THEM DURING THEIR STAY. END TEXT. SCHIFTER.
ROBINSON
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 OTTAWA 04603

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE, EUR/RPM, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
 SUBJ: CLOSING STATEMENT BY U.S. AMBASSADOR RICHARD
 SCHIFTER TO HREM MEETING OF CSCE, OTTAWA, CANADA -- JUNE
 17, 1985

1. FOLLOWING IS THE PREPARED TEXT OF AMBASSADOR
 SCHIFTER'S CLOSING STATEMENT AT THE OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS
 EXPERTS MEETING. IF THERE ARE ANY DIFFERENCES, BETWEEN
 THIS TEXT AND HIS REMARKS AS DELIVERED, THAT WILL BE
 TRANSMITTED BY SEPTEL.

BEGIN TEXT:

ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF CIVILIZED GOVERNMENT IS
 THAT IT RESPECTS THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF ITS OWN CITIZENS.
 THAT MEANS THAT IT LETS THEM SPEAK THEIR MIND, PRACTICE
 THEIR RELIGION, AND COME AND GO FREELY. THERE IS, OF
 COURSE, MUCH MORE TO THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT
 THESE BASIC RIGHTS CAN PROPERLY BE REGARDED AS THE
 MINIMUM ESSENTIALS, FROM WHICH MUCH ELSE CAN BE DERIVED.

THE VALIDITY OF THE PRINCIPLE WHICH I HAVE JUST STATED
 IS TODAY ACCEPTED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT IS ENSHRINED
 IN IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS, TO WHICH
 PRACTICALLY EVERY GOVERNMENT PAYS AT LEAST LIP SERVICE.
 REGRETTABLY THERE ARE SOME GOVERNING ELITES WHO STOP AT
 THAT POINT, WHO HAVE FAILED TO TRANSLATE THEIR
 INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS INTO AN APPROPRIATE CODE OF
 CONDUCT. THAT GAP BETWEEN COMMITMENT AND CONDUCT HAS
 BEEN THE PRINCIPAL TOPIC OF THE OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS
 CONFERENCE.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD
 RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THEIR CITIZENS BECAUSE THAT
 IS INDEED A DUTY WHICH GOVERNMENTS OWE THEIR CITIZENS,
 EVEN IF THERE WERE NO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON THIS
 SUBJECT. WHAT THESE AGREEMENTS DO, IN EFFECT, IS
 UNDERLINE A PRE-EXISTING DUTY, RATHER THAN ADD A NEW ONE.

THERE WERE TIMES WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
 CONSIDERED THE ACTION OF A GOVERNMENT AGAINST ITS OWN
 PEOPLE A MATTER OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THAT COUNTRY
 AND NONE OF THE BUSINESS OF OUTSIDERS. THOSE TIMES ARE
 GONE AND THE HELSINKI ACCORDS RECORDED THAT FACT, NAMELY
 THAT A GOVERNMENT WHICH RESPECTS THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF
 ITS OWN CITIZENS WILL, IN TURN, EARN MORE INTERNATIONAL
 RESPECT AND, ABOVE ALL, CONFIDENCE THAN ONE THAT FAILS
 TO DO SO. AS THE ACCORDS PUT IT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN
 RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR PEACE AND THE
 DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS.

LET ME NOW GET TO THE ESSENCE OF THIS CONFERENCE. WHILE
 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN A NUMBER OF EAST EUROPEAN
 STATES WERE CRITICIZED, MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION HAS
 FOCUSED ON THE SHORTFALLS IN HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE BY
 THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAVE EXPRESSED
 OUR DEEP CONCERN OVER THE SEVERE PUNISHMENT METED OUT TO
 HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, SUCH AS ORLOV AND SHCHARANSKY,
 WHO HAD DONE NOTHING OTHER THAN REPORT ON FAILURES BY
 SOVIET BUREAUCRATS TO LIVE UP TO THEIR GOVERNMENT'S
 UNDERTAKINGS AT HELSINKI. WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR DEEP
 CONCERN ABOUT THE INTERFERENCE BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
 WITH THE FREE EXERCISE BY ITS CITIZENS OF THEIR
 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, ABOUT THE CULTURAL DEPRIVATION
 SUFFERED BY UKRAINIANS, ESTONIANS, LATVIANS, LITHUANIANS
 AND OTHER PEOPLES SUFFERING UNDER SOVIET REPRESSION. WE
 HAVE CALLED FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO LIVE UP TO ITS
 INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION TO LET THOSE PEOPLE GO WHO WANT
 TO GO AND WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR DEEP CONCERN OVER THE
 RECRUDESCENCE IN THAT COUNTRY OF VIRULENT
 GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED ANTI-SEMITISM.

WE ARE SADLY AWARE OF THE FACT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS
 VIOLATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE EVEN AS WE HAVE MET, TALKED,
 AND DELIBERATED. PRISON SENTENCES HAVE BEEN METED OUT
 TO LIS, FRASYNIUK AND MICHNIK IN POLAND. THE FATE OF
 DR. SAKHAROV AND HIS WIFE ELENA BONNER IS OMINOUSLY
 UNKNOWN. THE REPRESSION OF ETHNIC TURKS IN BULGARIA
 CONTINUES. AND CHARTER 77 ACTIVISTS, PEACEFUL PERSONS
 WHO EXERCISED THEIR RIGHTS TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION,
 REMAIN INCARCERATED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

AS A RESULT, QUESTIONS HAVE, UNDERSTANDABLY, BEEN ASKED
 BT

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 OTTAWA 04603

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE, EUR/RPM, PA

E. O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: CLOSING STATEMENT BY U. S. AMBASSADOR RICHARD
SCHIFTER TO HREM MEETING OF CSCE, OTTAWA, CANADA -- JUNE
17, 1985

AS TO WHETHER CONFERENCES OF THIS KIND DO ANY GOOD. THESE QUESTIONS CANNOT BE ANSWERED WITH CERTAINTY. YEARS FROM NOW HISTORIANS WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ACTIVITIES IN WHICH WE ARE NOW ENGAGED AND WILL BE ABLE TO PASS JUDGMENT AS TO WHETHER WE HAVE INDEED SUCCEEDED IN THE TASKS WE SET OUT TO DO. ALL THAT WE CAN SAY TODAY IS THAT OUR STUDY OF HISTORY SHOWS THAT IDEAS CAN HAVE CONSEQUENCES AND THAT IN ORDER FOR IDEAS TO HAVE CONSEQUENCES, THEY MUST BE EXPRESSED AND MUST BE EXPRESSED CLEARLY. AT THIS CONFERENCE WE HAVE SPOKEN UP FOR FREEDOM. WHEN I USE THE PRONOUN "WE" I DO NOT MEAN ONLY THE UNITED STATES. WHAT CAME CLEARLY INTO FOCUS IS THAT THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT OF CONCERN MERELY IN THE CONTEXT OF U. S. -U. S. S. R. RELATIONS, BUT IS A PROBLEM THAT BECLOUDS THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION WITH A GREAT MANY COUNTRIES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL ALLIANCES OR LACK THEREOF. WHAT WE HOPE, WHAT WE DEEPLY HOPE IS THAT RESPONSIBLE PERSONS IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WILL TAKE TO HEART THE MESSAGE WHICH EMANATES FROM THE OTTAWA MEETING AND WILL SEE TO IT THAT SOVIET PRACTICES ARE BROUGHT IN LINE WITH THE PROMISE OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. NO BETTER CONTRIBUTION COULD BE MADE TO THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION. AND NO BETTER WAY WOULD THERE BE TO CROWN THE OTTAWA MEETING WITH SUCCESS.
END TEXT. SCHIFTER.
BT

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 OTTAWA 04604

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE, EUR/RPM, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: FINAL PRESS STATEMENT BY U.S. AMBASSADOR RICHARD SCHIFTER AT HREM MEETING OF CSCE, OTTAWA, CANADA -- JUNE 17, 1985

1. TEXT OF STATEMENT AMBASSADOR SCHIFTER PLANS TO MAKE AT A PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING THE FORMAL CLOSING SESSION OF THE OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS MEETING. IF THERE ARE ANY DIFFERENCES, TEXT AS DELIVERED, WILL FOLLOW IN SEPTEL.

BEGIN TEXT.

NOW THAT THE OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS MEETING HAS COME TO AN END, THE TIME FOR ASSESSMENT AND ANALYSIS HAS ARRIVED. AS THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION SEES IT, THE MEETING HAS GONE AS WELL AS WE EXPECTED. LET ME EXPLAIN WHAT I MEAN.

AT THE OUTSET WE BELIEVED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT PHASE OF THE OTTAWA MEETING WOULD BE THE IMPLEMENTATION DEBATE IN WHICH EACH OF THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK ON THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS ANYWHERE WITHIN THE 35 STATES THAT SIGNED THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. OUR EXPECTATIONS WERE NOT DISAPPOINTED. WE SPENT CLOSE TO A MONTH IN SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF THE EGREGIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTED HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS. THOUGH SOME OF THE SMALLER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WERE MENTIONED FROM TIME TO TIME, THE FOCUS WAS PRIMARILY ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE UNITED STATES PRESENTATIONS EMPHASIZED VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, TO FREEDOM OF RELIGION, AS WELL AS DISCRIMINATION AND PERSECUTION ON GROUNDS OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OR ANCESTRY. WE ALSO STRESSED THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND SOME OTHER STATES ARE VIOLATING THEIR COMMITMENTS TO ALLOW EMIGRATION, AND, CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, WE CALLED

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT IN THE SOVIET UNION DISSIDENTS WHO ARE IN PERFECTLY GOOD MENTAL HEALTH ARE COMMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS FOR THE MENTALLY ILL, A PARTICULARLY ODIOUS FORM OF PUNISHMENT.

MOST OF THE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THOSE IDENTIFIED POLITICALLY AS NEUTRALS, SPOKE TO THE SAME THEMES. THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION AND A NUMBER OF OTHER DELEGATIONS EXPRESSLY NAMED SOME OF THE COUNTRIES IN WHICH WE SAID HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. OTHER DELEGATIONS FROM DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES DID NOT SPECIFY THE NAMES OF THE COUNTRIES THEY WERE CRITICIZING BUT WERE SO CLEAR IN DESCRIBING THE PHENOMENA AND EVENTS ABOUT WHICH THEY WERE COMPLAINING THAT THERE WAS NEVER ANY DOUBT AS TO THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED. WHAT WAS THUS CRYSTAL CLEAR WAS THAT THE PATTERN OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH WE HAVE WITNESSED AND CONTINUE TO WITNESS IN EASTERN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOVIET UNION, IS A MATTER OF DEEPEST CONCERN TO THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD.

THE RESPONSE WHICH WE RECEIVED, I REGRET TO SAY, WAS NOT CONSTRUCTIVE. ON THE CONTRARY. OUR REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE WERE EITHER DENIED OR DECLARED IMPROPER INTERFERENCE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTRIES IN QUESTION. THE SOVIET DELEGATION, IN WHAT IT OBVIOUSLY VIEWED AS A TIT-FOR-TAT APPROACH, RESPONDED WITH LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS OF PROBLEMS IN THE WEST REGARDING UNEMPLOYMENT, INADEQUATE HOUSING, POOR HEALTH CONDITIONS, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, ETC.

WITHOUT CONCEDED THAT THESE TOPICS WERE APPROPRIATE FOR DISCUSSION AT A HUMAN RIGHTS MEETING, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT AFRAID TO COMPARE THE UNITED STATES RECORD TO THAT OF THE SOVIET

UNION IN THE AREAS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS. WE THEN PRESENTED TO THE MEETING A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND OF THE SOVIET UNION'S EXTRAORDINARILY SERIOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS. ACCORDING TO WHAT A NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING HAVE TOLD US, OUR PRESENTATION MADE A DEEP IMPRESSION ON THE DELEGATIONS OF THE SMALLER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

AS THE MEETING APPROACHED ITS END, THE PARTICIPANTS
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 OTTAWA 04604

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE, EUR/RPM, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: FINAL PRESS STATEMENT BY U.S. AMBASSADOR RICHARD

ENTERED INTO DISCUSSIONS ON THE FORM THAT A FINAL DOCUMENT WOULD TAKE. THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS URGED THAT THE DOCUMENT CONTAIN DETAILED STATEMENTS ON FREEDOM OF RELIGION, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT (I.E., EMIGRATION) AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW AND ACT UPON ONE'S RIGHTS. THE SOVIET UNION URGED INCLUSION OF A DECLARATION ON PEACE, NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, HEALTH, EDUCATION, ETC. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF OUR GETTING TOGETHER ON AN AGREED-UPON MEANINGFUL TEXT.

IN ALL CANDOR I MUST SAY THAT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THIS CONFERENCE I FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO SIGN A MEANINGFUL FINAL DOCUMENT IN OTTAWA. SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD HAVE HAD TO BE NEGOTIATED AND AGREED TO IN MOSCOW BEFOREHAND, AT A FAIRLY HIGH LEVEL. THE DELEGATION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS MEETING WAS SIMPLY NOT AUTHORIZED TO AGREE TO WHAT WOULD CONSTITUTE IMPORTANT CHANGES IN SOVIET POLICY OR PERFORMANCE. ALL THAT THE DELEGATION COULD DO IS CARRY OUT THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH IT HAD RECEIVED BEFORE THE MEETING BEGAN AND THESE INSTRUCTIONS OBVIOUSLY WERE NOT DESIGNED TO CONCEDE A SINGLE POINT. IN FACT, THEY WERE DESIGNED TO DISTORT THE APPROACH TAKEN TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BY INJECTING INTO OUR DISCUSSIONS OF SUCH MATTERS AS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, FREEDOM OF RELIGION, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT THE EXTRANEIOUS MATTERS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAD OFFERED AS ITS OWN PRINCIPAL THEMES. THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES WERE UNIFIED IN THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO DILUTE THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION IN THIS MANNER.

THERE ARE SOME WHO WILL SAY THAT THE MEETING'S FAILURE TO COME UP WITH A MEANINGFUL FINAL DOCUMENT RAISES A QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER MEETINGS OF THIS KIND ARE ALTOGETHER USEFUL. MY RESPONSE WOULD BE, RECOGNIZING

THAT A MEANINGFUL FINAL DOCUMENT WAS SIMPLY AND CLEARLY UNATTAINABLE, THAT THE MEETING HAD NEVERTHELESS FOUR SIGNIFICANT RESULTS:

(1) THE WESTERN STATES SUCCEEDED IN FORMULATING A TEXT OF A PROPOSED FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH CLEARLY AND SUCCINCTLY SET FORTH THE HUMAN RIGHTS GOALS TO WHICH WE HAVE PLEDGED OURSELVES. THE TEXT, WHICH I NEED NOT SUMMARIZE HERE, DEMONSTRATES THAT OUR SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS TO THE SOVIET BLOC FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS ARE MODERATE AND COULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT WITHOUT REQUIRING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE SOVIET SYSTEM. THAT TEXT WILL SERVE AS AN EXCELLENT BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE CSCE PROCESS. I CANNOT OVERSTATE ITS IMPORTANCE. FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW IT IS THE HIGHLIGHT OF THIS CONFERENCE.

(2) THE LENGTHY DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS AS WELL AS THE SUMMARY IN THE WESTERN-PROPOSED FINAL DOCUMENT HAVE FOCUSED THE ATTENTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SMALLER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS. THERE IS GOOD REASON TO HOPE THAT THESE COUNTRIES WILL TAKE THE STATEMENTS MADE AT OTTAWA AND THE CONCLUSIONS CONTAINED IN THE PROPOSED FINAL DOCUMENT ENDORSED BY THE WEST INTO ACCOUNT IN REVIEWING THE MANNER IN WHICH THEIR GOVERNMENTS ABIDE BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

(3) WE CAN BE LESS CERTAIN ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE IMPACT OF THE OTTAWA MEETING ON HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE IN THE SOVIET UNION. YET, THERE IS AT LEAST SOME HOPE THAT THE UNANIMITY OF THE DEMOCRACIES REPRESENTED AT THE MEETING IN STATING THEIR DISAPPROVAL OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR, TOGETHER WITH THE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE OTTAWA MEETING

WILL OVER TIME BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY SOVIET POLICYMAKERS AS WELL.

(4) THE OTTAWA MEETING DEMONSTRATED THAT THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT AN ISSUE BETWEEN MILITARY BLOCs. AT THIS MEETING THE DEMOCRACIES, WHETHER MEMBERS OF NATO OR NEUTRAL, SPOKE UP FOR THEIR DEEPLY-HELD BELIEFS AND IN DOING SO EXPRESSED THEIR STRONG DISAPPROVAL OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNTRIES IN WHICH
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 OTTAWA 04604

FROM USDEL HREM

USIA FOR P/G, STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL CDE, EUR/RPM, PA

E. O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, CSCE
SUBJ: FINAL PRESS STATEMENT BY U.S. AMBASSADOR RICHARD

THESE VIOLATIONS ARE COMMONPLACE.

CAN WE BE SURE THAT OUR ACTIVITIES IN OTTAWA WILL HAVE BENEFICIAL RESULTS? THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS "NO". WE CAN'T BE SURE. BUT WHAT WE CAN DO IS NOTE THAT THROUGHOUT HISTORY GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN SWAYED BY IDEAS. AND WE KNOW THAT IDEAS MUST BE PROPAGATED IF THEY ARE TO TAKE HOLD. IN THE PAST THE IDEA THAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THEIR CITIZENS HAS BEEN PROPAGATED INTERNATIONALLY ONLY BY INDIVIDUALS AND BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS. GOVERNMENTS ARE RELATIVELY NEW ACTORS ON THIS STAGE. BUT IF INDIVIDUALS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE ADVOCATES OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS IDEA AND HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN THEIR ENDEAVORS, SO CAN GOVERNMENTS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY ACT IN UNISON. THAT IS WHY, THOUGH WE CANNOT BE SURE THAT THE OTTAWA MEETING WILL HAVE BENEFICIAL RESULTS, THERE IS SOUND REASON FOR HOPE THAT IT WILL INDEED CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORLDWIDE DRIVE AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. END TEXT.
SCHIFTER.
BT

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 20, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ^{PD}

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of CSCE

Attached at Tab II is a memorandum from Secretary Weinberger to you which recommends that the NSC chair an ad hoc interagency meeting to prepare for the forthcoming tenth anniversary of CSCE at Helsinki. While work is well underway, we agree with Defense's suggestion to intensify our efforts to ensure that consistent and clear themes are reflected throughout all of our public statements (Secretary of State's arrival statement, 20-minute address and toasts; White House statement) and that careful consideration be given to noncompliance issues. We also believe that a low key group chaired by NSC would be the most appropriate way of handling interagency coordination.

State has indicated that it would be glad to coordinate this issue with NSC but does take strong exception to DOD's involvement. Apparently, both Shultz and Burt feel very strongly that DOD should only be involved with CSCE military-related issues. In my view, State's concerns can be accommodated by appropriately structuring the ad hoc group's deliberations and underscoring State's primary role in the process.

At Tab I is a memorandum from Bill Martin to State, Defense (OSD/JCS) and USIA requesting their attendance at such a meeting. As the CSCE action officer, I would chair.

Jack Matlock, ^{SK} Sven Kraemer, Peter ^{PS} Sommer and Steve ^{SS} Steiner concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Bill Martin to forward the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab I Proposed memo to State, Defense and USIA.
- Tab II Memorandum from Secretary Weinberger, June 18

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COLONEL DAVID R. BROWN
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. C. WILLIAM LaSALLE
Chief of the Executive Secretariat
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of CSCE

While State has primary responsibility for CSCE, the NSC would like to help facilitate the integration of other agencies' views (DOD, USCIA) to ensure that comprehensive, consistent and clear themes are articulated in all of our public statements concerning the 10th anniversary of CSCE. The NSC will chair an ad hoc interagency group to coordinate this effort. The first meeting will be held in Room 248 of the Old Executive Office Building at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, June 27. As soon as possible, please notify Paula Dobriansky's office at 395-3912, who will attend from your agency.

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary



WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

18 JUN 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act

As you know, August 1, 1985, will mark the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. I understand that plans are being developed for a gathering of Foreign Ministers at Helsinki to commemorate this event and that we and our allies are in agreement that the meeting should emphasize the human rights aspects of the Final Act.

I thought it unfortunate that the recent Human Rights Experts Meeting in Ottawa, despite the outstanding work of Ambassador Schifter, failed to get more public attention than it did, and I would hope the session in Helsinki might avoid a similar fate. I am convinced that we and our allies should keep the spotlight on the failure of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries to live up to their Helsinki undertakings. Non-compliance with the Final Act has itself important national security implications, as recognized in those provisions relating respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms to the development of friendly relations and cooperation among states. But it has even greater national security implications when placed in the broader context of Soviet non-compliance with existing arms control agreements. Those implications were clearly stated by the President when transmitting his January 23, 1984, report to the Congress on Soviet Non-Compliance with Arms Control Agreements.

You might want to have the NSC establish and chair an ad hoc interagency committee to prepare for the August Foreign Ministers meeting in Helsinki and to develop appropriate actions to be taken in the period leading up to that event. I think this would be a very good plan.

cc: Secretary of State
Director, Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency
Director, United States
Information Agency

CSCE

Dobriansky

4931

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX

June 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COLONEL DAVID R. BROWN
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. WILLIAM B. STAPLES
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Department of State

MR. C. WILLIAM LaSALLE
Chief of the Executive Secretariat
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of CSCE

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William F. Martin

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

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Subject: Tenth Anniversary of CSCE

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_____ Mr. Cox	_____ Mr. R. Lehman	_____ Ms. Reger	_____ Mr. Steiner	_____
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DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: BT MERCHANT, SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 20, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ⁷⁷

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of CSCE

Attached at Tab II is a memorandum from Secretary Weinberger to you which recommends that the NSC chair an ad hoc interagency meeting to prepare for the forthcoming tenth anniversary of CSCE at Helsinki. While work is well underway, we agree with Defense's suggestion to intensify our efforts to ensure that consistent and clear themes are reflected throughout all of our public statements (Secretary of State's arrival statement, 20-minute address and toasts; White House statement) and that careful consideration be given to noncompliance issues. We also believe that a low key group chaired by NSC would be the most appropriate way of handling interagency coordination.

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At Tab I is a memorandum from Bill Martin to State, Defense (OSD/JCS) and USIA requesting their attendance at such a meeting. As the CSCE action officer, I would chair.

Jack Matlock, Sven Kraemer, Peter Sommer and Steve Steiner concur. ^{SK} ^{SS}

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Bill Martin to forward the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab I Proposed memo to State, Defense and USIA.
- Tab II Memorandum from Secretary Weinberger, June 18



WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

18 JUN 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act

As you know, August 1, 1985, will mark the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. I understand that plans are being developed for a gathering of Foreign Ministers at Helsinki to commemorate this event and that we and our allies are in agreement that the meeting should emphasize the human rights aspects of the Final Act.

I thought it unfortunate that the recent Human Rights Experts Meeting in Ottawa, despite the outstanding work of Ambassador Schifter, failed to get more public attention than it did, and I would hope the session in Helsinki might avoid a similar fate. I am convinced that we and our allies should keep the spotlight on the failure of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries to live up to their Helsinki undertakings. Non-compliance with the Final Act has itself important national security implications, as recognized in those provisions relating respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms to the development of friendly relations and cooperation among states. But it has even greater national security implications when placed in the broader context of Soviet non-compliance with existing arms control agreements. Those implications were clearly stated by the President when transmitting his January 23, 1984, report to the Congress on Soviet Non-Compliance with Arms Control Agreements.

You might want to have the NSC establish and chair an ad hoc interagency committee to prepare for the August Foreign Ministers meeting in Helsinki and to develop appropriate actions to be taken in the period leading up to that event. I think this would be a very good plan.

cc: Secretary of State
Director, Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency
Director, United States
Information Agency

CSCE

100212



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE 01 SECSTATE WASHDC 6842 DTG: 271006Z JUN 85 PSN: 015362
EOB226 AN010605 TOR: 178/1019Z CSN: HCE230

YESTERDAY'S CSCE COMMISSION HEARINGS ON OTTAWA HREM.

DISTRIBUTION: STEI-01 DOBR-01 RAY-01 KRAM-01 MALY-01 SOMM-01
LENC-01 /007 A2

. -- SOME CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS ARGUED THAT WE ARE ONLY LEGITIMIZING SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY CONTINUING TO PARTICIPATE WITH THEM IN CSCE, WHEN SOVIETS SO OPENLY AND BLATANTLY DISREGARD COMMITMENTS THEY MADE IN HELSINKI AND MADRID.

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:
SIT:
EOB:

. -- EVEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN CSCE PROCESS ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO U.S. AGREEING TO DOCUMENTS WHICH CLEARLY WILL BE DISREGARDED BY SOVIETS.

OP IHMED /ROUTINE
DE RUEHC #6842 1781008
O R 271006Z JUN 85 ZEX
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

. -- SOME ARE QUESTIONING WHETHER SECRETARY SHULTZ SHOULD EVEN GO TO HELSINKI.

TO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE 0000

. -- OPPOSITION TO AGREEING TO DOCUMENTS THAT WILL BE IGNORED IS SHARED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THIS GOVERNMENT, IT IS NOT JUST INFORMAL STATE DEPARTMENT POSITION.

INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 196842

3. FOR HELSINKI: EMBASSY SHOULD CONVEY OUR STRONG OPPOSITION TO PROPOSED COMMUNIQUE TO FINNS, DRAWING AS APPROPRIATE ON PALMER'S COMMENTS.

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: CSCE, PREL, FI
SUBJECT: HELSINKI COMMEMORATION - PROPOSED COMMUNIQUE

4. FOR USNATO: MISSION SHOULD DRAW ON PALMER'S COMMENTS AS APPROPRIATE IN DISCUSSIONS IN NATO COUNCILS ON ALLIED APPROACH TO HELSINKI, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY COMMUNIQUE, AND THAT WE HAVE CONVEYED THAT STRONG OPPOSITION TO FINLAND.

1. ~~(U)~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

5. BEGIN TEXT PROPOSED COMMUNIQUE:

2. FINNISH AMBASSADOR MULLER CALLED ON EUR DAS PALMER JUNE 26 TO PASS TEXT OF PROPOSED FINNISH COMMUNIQUE FOR THE CSCE TENTH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION. TEXT TRANSMITTED PARA 5 BELOW. MULLER MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) WAS COMMEMORATED IN HELSINKI FROM 30 JULY TO 1 AUGUST 1985 BY THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF AUSTRIA ... AND YUGOSLAVIA.

. -- FINNISH GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS IDEA OF COMMUNIQUE.

DURING THE OPENING SESSION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING THE PARTICIPANTS WERE ADDRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND ON BEHALF OF THE HOST COUNTRY AND BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS THEIR GUEST OF HONOUR.

. -- FINLAND IS NOT SEEKING FORMAL RESPONSE TO THIS DOCUMENT.

DURING THE MEETING, STATEMENTS WERE MADE BY THE MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES.

. -- UNLESS THERE WERE CLEAR OBJECTIONS, FINLAND AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CONCLUDING SESSION AUGUST 1 PLANNED TO REFER TO THIS AS THE AGREED COMMUNIQUE FOR THE COMMEMORATION.

THE MINISTERS STRESSED THE HIGH POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT FOR PROMOTING BETTER RELATIONS AMONG THEIR STATES AND FOR IMPROVING COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT.

IT WAS UNCLEAR FROM MULLER'S INSTRUCTIONS WHETHER FINNS WOULD CONSIDER READING THIS DOCUMENT AS CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT OR AS NATIONAL STATEMENT BY FINLAND IN ITS CAPACITY AS HOST AND CHAIR OF FINAL SESSION.

THE MINISTERS REAFFIRMED THE RESOLVE OF THEIR STATES TO PAY DUE REGARD TO AND IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND TO CONTINUE THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS INITIATED BY THE CSCE.

3. PALMER RESPONDED THAT IT IS CLEAR U.S. POLICY THAT WE DO NOT WANT A COMMUNIQUE OR OTHER AGREED STATEMENT AT HELSINKI, UNLESS SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD REFER CLEARLY TO SOVIET FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITMENTS. THEREFORE, U.S. OBJECTS TO PROPOSED COMMUNIQUE. PALMER MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

END TEXT. ARMACOST
BT

. -- WE VIEW HELSINKI PRIMARILY AS OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PARTICIPATING STATES TO MAKE STATEMENTS REVIEWING AND ASSESSING LAST TEN YEARS OF CSCE, AND POINTING TO NEED FOR CONCRETE PROGRESS AS OPPOSED TO MORE DOCUMENTS IN FUTURE. SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL ATTEND AND DELIVER MAJOR STATEMENT ALONG THOSE LINES.

. -- THERE IS SIGNIFICANT DISENCHANTMENT IN U.S. WITH OUR INVOLVEMENT IN CSCE PROCESS, DUE TO CONTINUED AND WORSENING SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. MANY FEEL CSCE HAS NOT WORKED, AND THAT CONTINUED U.S. PARTICIPATION IN IT PERPETUATES A SHAM. THIS WAS STRONGLY REFLECTED IN

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NLRR M323 #100212

BY KML NARA DATE 10/10/12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: NICK ^{Nick} KLISSAS / PAULA ^{PD} DOBRIANSKY

SUBJECT: Special Air Missions Aircraft Request for Secretary Shultz

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for Don Regan requesting that a Special Air Missions aircraft be provided for Secretary Shultz for his travel to the US/Mexico Binational Commission meeting in Mexico City and to the CSCE 10th Anniversary Commemoration in Helsinki (July 25 - August 2). A Second Special Air Missions aircraft has also been requested to transport necessary staff directly from Washington on July 28 to Helsinki, returning also on August 2.

Jack Madlock and Peter Sommer concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for Don Regan at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memo for Don Regan
- Tab II State Department request

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SUBJECT: Special Air Missions Aircraft Request for
Secretary Shultz

Secretary Shultz will head the U.S. Delegation to the US/Mexico Binational Commission Meeting in Mexico City and will then proceed to Helsinki for the CSCE 10th Anniversary Commemoration.

The State Department has requested Special Air Missions Aircraft for Secretary Shultz's travel between July 25 and August 2. State requests a C-9 to take the Secretary to Mexico City on July 25. On July 26 the C-9 will return to Washington with the Secretary's staff, but the Secretary will take a C-20 to San Francisco, returning to Washington on July 28. On July 29 the Secretary requests two C-135s (since a larger C-137 is unavailable) to go to Helsinki, with both returning to Andrews Air Force Base on August 2.

We recommend that the request for aircraft be approved and that the Department of Defense be notified.

cc: Christopher Hicks
Edward V. Hickey, Jr.



July 2, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

In the furtherance of the President's foreign policy, Secretary Shultz will head the U. S. Delegation to the U.S./ Mexico Binational Commission Meeting in Mexico City, after which he will proceed to Helsinki for the CSCE Tenth Anniversary Commemoration. He plans to leave Washington on July 25 and proceed to Helsinki on July 29 following a stop in California. He will return to Washington on August 1.

Since it will not be possible for Secretary Shultz to maintain his schedule before and after the proposed travel, the use of Special Air Missions aircraft is requested to transport the Secretary on the above itinerary as well as a second Special Air Missions aircraft to transport necessary staff directly from Washington on July 28 to Helsinki, returning also on August 1.

Thank you for your continued cooperation and assistance.

Nicholas Platt

Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: 8/10/85

DECLASSIFIED
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY Cal NARA, DATE 11/12/10

~~Confidential~~

CSCE

100213

Paula - Here is the draft we discussed on Wednesday. It is still to be reviewed.

Michael 7/5

DECLASSIFIED

REF M323 #100213

BY KNL NARA DATE 10/10/12

SUBJECT: THEMES FOR ALLIED APPROACH TO HELSINKI MEETING

3 8
7 8

REF: STATE 196842

1. {~~1~~ - ENTIRE TEXT}

2. SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS GUIDANCE FOR USE BY MISSION IN JULY 9 DISCUSSION OF WESTERN APPROACH TO HELSINKI CSCE TENTH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION. IT ADDRESSES THREE POINTS WHICH REQUIRE ALLIED CONSULTATION -- THEMES {PARA 4}, CONCLUDING DOCUMENT {PARA 5} AND PROPOSALS TO REPUBLISH THE FINAL ACT/MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. AS APPROPRIATE, INFO ADDRESSEES MAY USE THIS GUIDANCE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS. GIVEN CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN U.S. AND AUSTRIAN AND SWISS DELEGATIONS AT OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS MEETING MAY 7-JUNE 17, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR EMBASSIES BERN AND VIENNA TO REVIEW OUR APPROACH {PARAS 3-6} TO HELSINKI WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS AND TO REPORT THEIR PLANNED APPROACHES. END SUMMARY

3. U.S. APPROACH TO THE HELSINKI CSCE TENTH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION WILL EMPHASIZE A CLEAR-HEADED, REALISTIC AND

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SPECIFIC LOOK AT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT COMMITMENTS BY THE 35 PARTICIPATING STATES OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS. IT WILL CONCENTRATE WITHOUT ILLUSIONS ON THE PROMISE OF HELSINKI, AND ON THE FAILURE OF EASTERN STATES, PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION, TO LIVE UP TO THAT PROMISE, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS. IT WILL ALSO LOOK WITH GUARDED OPTIMISM TO THE NEXT TEN YEARS, WITH A PRESCRIPTION OF WHAT MUST BE DONE TO GIVE RENEWED MEANING TO THE CSCE PROCESS. IT WILL PLEDGE OUR READINESS TO WORK TOGETHER WITH ALL PARTICIPANTS TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF HELSINKI AND TO BUILD BETTER AND MORE STABLE RELATIONS WITH ALL. IN SUM, AS DISCUSSED AT THE LISBON NAC MINISTERIAL, WE AGREE THAT ALLIED INTERVENTIONS SHOULD STRESS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN ALL ITS PARTS. THE CHANCES FOR IMPROVED SOVIET PERFORMANCE -- AND THUS NEEDED IMPETUS IN THE CSCE PROCESS -- WILL BE GREATLY ENHANCED IF THE ALLIES SPEAK WITH A COMMON VOICE.

4. THEMES: KEY SPECIFIC POINTS OF U.S. APPROACH ARE AS FOLLOWS:

PROMISE OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND MADRID DOCUMENT

- . -- AFFIRMED BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS;
- . -- CALLED FOR FREER FLOW OF INFORMATION, IDEAS AND PEOPLE;
- . -- OFFERED GREATER COOPERATION AMONG STATES AND PEOPLE;
- . -- REAFFIRMED BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS AMONG STATES;
- . -- AFFIRMED THAT SECURITY, ECONOMIC TIES, HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS ARE ALL EQUALLY IMPORTANT;
- . -- MADRID DOCUMENT ADDED PROVISIONS ON RIGHTS OF WORKERS TO ORGANIZE, RELIGIOUS RIGHTS, HUMAN CONTACTS, AND MEASURES AGAINST TERRORISM.
- . -- AS PRESIDENT FORD SAID IN 1975, U.S. SUBSCRIBES TO FINAL ACT BECAUSE WE SUBSCRIBE TO ALL ITS PRINCIPLES. HISTORY WILL JUDGE CSCE NOT BY PROMISES MADE IN 1975, BUT BY PROMISES KEPT IN FOLLOWING YEARS.

GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS HAVE RESULTED

- . -- JOURNALISTS TRAVEL MORE FREELY AND EASILY THAN BEFORE;
- . -- HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUES ARE, IN GENERAL, RESOLVED MORE EASILY WITH NON-SOVIET EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES;
- . -- REVIEW CONFERENCES HAVE KEPT ALIVE HOPES AND INTEREST IN CSCE ISSUES, PARTICULARLY HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS, AND HAVE PROVIDED A FORUM FOR HOLDING SOVIET UNION ACCOUNTABLE FOR FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS.

GAP BETWEEN PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

- . -- SOVIETS DO NOT YET RECOGNIZE THAT COMMITMENTS FORM INTEGRAL WHOLE, THAT GREATER COOPERATION AND SECURITY DEPENDS ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, ON FREER FLOW OF PEOPLE AND INFORMATION.
- . -- AS GERMAN THEN-FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL SAID IN 1973, KEY TO SUCCESS OF CSCE WOULD BE WHETHER LANGUAGE OF FINAL ACT MEANS SAME THING TO ALL PARTICIPANTS.
- . -- CLEARLY LANGUAGE OF COMMITMENTS MEANS SOMETHING ELSE TO EAST THAN IT DOES TO DEMOCRACIES.
- . -- LEVEL OF RESPECT DEMONSTRATED FOR OLD COMMITMENTS WILL AFFECT OUR APPROACH TO AGREEING TO NEW ONES IN CSCE.

EXAMPLES OF SOVIET, EASTERN FAILURES

- . -- REPRESSION, ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF HELSINKI MONITORS;
- . -- OVERALL SOVIET CAMPAIGN INCLUDING RESTRICTIVE NEW LAWS TO LIMIT CONTACTS BETWEEN SOVIET CITIZENS AND FOREIGNERS;
- . -- SOVIET TOURISM TO THE WEST CONTINUES TO FALL;
- . -- JEWISH, GERMAN AND ARMENIAN EMIGRATION HAVE DECLINED DRASTICALLY; EMIGRATION OF OTHER GROUPS ALMOST NON-EXISTENT;
- . -- SOVIET SPOUSES OF BINATIONAL MARRIAGES ARE ARBITRARILY DENIED EXIT PERMISSION;

- . -- SOVIET HEBREW TEACHERS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS, NATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVISTS ARE ARRESTED AND SENTENCED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES;
- . -- OFFICIALLY-SANCTIONED ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN CONTINUES UNABATED;
- . -- POLISH AND SOVIET FREE TRADE UNIONISTS ARE ARRESTED AND SENTENCED, IMPRISONED AND, IN USSR, CONFINED IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS;
- . -- SOVIET ARREST RATE REMAINS AT POST-1979 HIGH, AND DETERIORATING CONDITIONS FOR ESTIMATED 10,000 SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS;
- . -- SAKHAROV'S COMPLETELY ISOLATED AND OUT OF CONTACT WITH WEST.
- . -- CONTINUING SOVIET FAILURE TO RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY OF POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN;
- . -- DESPITE SOVIET CLAIMS, PLURALISTIC WESTERN MIXED-MARKET ECONOMIES HAVE DONE BETTER JOB MEETING BASIC HUMAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS;
- . -- EASTERN RECORD OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE SPIRIT (AND IN SOME CASES WITH THE LETTER) OF THE PROVISIONS OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT HAS GENERALLY BEEN POOR.

SOVIETS OPPOSE HEALING OLD WOUNDS

- . -- EVEN LEAVING ASIDE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, SOVIETS REFUSE TO ENMBARK ON NEW SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE;
- . -- OLD HOSTILE PROPAGANDA AND DISTORTION CONTINUES;
- . -- HELSINKI COMMITMENTS ROUTINELY IGNORED;
- . -- AS AT STOCKHOLM AND OTTAWA, SOVIETS PURSUE PROPAGANDISTIC DECLARATORY MEASURES BUT DEMONSTRATE LACK OF POLITICAL WILL TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION;
- . -- CYNICAL PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS AGAINST INF, SDI HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED;
- . -- STONEWALLING CONTINUES IN GENEVA.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

. -- WEST WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON BALANCED PROGRESS IN CSCE.

. -- OPPORTUNITIES EXIST FOR SOVIETS TO CHANGE DIRECTION IN ALL ASPECTS OF CSCE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN SECURITY FIELD, STOCKHOLM COULD ADOPT CONCRETE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES SUCH AS THOSE PROPOSED BY WESTERN COUNTRIES. THESE MEASURES -- INCLUDING INFORMATION, NOTIFICATION, OBSERVATION AND VERIFICATION -- ARE DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF SURPRISE ATTACK, MISCALCULATION OR MISUNDERSTANDING. SIMILAR PRACTICAL MEASURES POSSIBLE IN HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN CONTACTS, CULTURE, INFORMATION, ETC.

. -- SMALL STEPS QUIETLY GIVING FREEDOM TO SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS PERSECUTED BY SOVIET SYSTEM COULD OPEN WAY FOR NEW, MORE ACCOMODATING ATTITUDE TOWARD HELSINKI COMMITMENTS.

. -- WESTERN PROPOSAL AT OTTAWA MEETING {OME 47} CONTAINS AGENDA FOR NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS.

. -- AT SAME TIME, STEPS TO ENHANCE ECONOMIC AND OTHER EXCHANGES COULD BE UNDERTAKEN; NONE OF THESE STEPS WOULD HAVE TO THREATEN ANY EXISTING POLITICAL SYSTEM.

5. DRAFT COMMUNIQUE: U.S. IS ALSO STRONGLY OPPOSED TO FINNISH PLAN TO SEEK CONSENSUS ON A COMMUNIQUE {PARA 5, REFTEL}. WE HAVE MADE OUR OPPOSITION CLEAR TO FINNS {PARA 3, REFTEL}, AND WE URGE THAT ALLIES TAKE SAME POSITION WITH FINNISH GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE THE ALLIANCE MUST STAND FIRMLY ON THE CONSENSUS REACHED AT THE LISBON NAC MINISTERIAL, AS SUMMARIZED BY SYG CARRINGTON, THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO NEGOTIATION OF A DECLARATION. WE NEED TO REGISTER OUR VIEWS CLEARLY NOW SO THAT THE DRAFT DOES NOT SURFACE DURING THE COMMEMORATION.

6. REPUBLICATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT: A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES HAVE PROPOSED REPUBLICATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT IN CONNECTION WITH THE COMMEMORATION. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ALLIED VIEWS AND PLANS ON THIS POINT.

-- WE FAVOR IN PRINCIPLE THE PUBLICATION OF KEY CSCE DOCUMENTS IN ALL PARTICIPATING STATES, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE THIS REQUIRED PUBLICATION HAS OFTEN PROVIDED THE ONLY ACCESS FOR THE PUBLIC AT LARGE TO THE COMMITMENTS MADE BY THEIR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

| 6

GOVERNMENTS. ACCESS TO THE TEXTS OF THESE AGREEMENTS HAS AIDED THE DEVELOPMENT OF HELSINKI MONITORING GROUPS IN EASTERN COUNTRIES.

-- SINCE THE OTTAWA CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS MEETING DID NOT REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT, AND SOVIETS INSISTED ON UNACCEPTABLE FORMULA THAT ONLY "THOSE STATES WHICH HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO" REPUBLISH NOW, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ALLIED VIEWS ON A MECHANISM THROUGH WHICH REPUBLICATION COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED. TRYING TO REACH A CONSENSUS AT THE HELSINKI COMMEMORATION ON REPUBLICATION OPENS UP THE SAME PROBLEMS WE SEEK TO AVOID BY OPPOSING A NEGOTIATION OF A JOINT COMMUNIQUE.

-- IF THERE IS AN ALLIED CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF REPUBLICATION, WE MIGHT CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING APPROACH FOR GAINING EASTERN AGREEMENT WITHOUT AN NEGOTIATION. WE COULD INFORM THE EAST {AND NNA'S IN ADVANCE} THAT EACH ALLY WOULD ANNOUNCE THIS INTENT IN ITS SPEECH AT HELSINKI, WITH THE PROVISIO THAT THE WEST WOULD FOLLOW THROUGH IF THE EAST DEMONSTRATED SIMILAR INTENT. IF THE SOVIETS AND OTHERS ANNOUNCED THIS INTENT IN THEIR SPEECHES, WE WOULD PROCEED TO REPUBLISH THE FINAL ACT. IF THEY DID NOT, WE WOULD NOT. YYYYY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

July 10, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY ^{TV}

SUBJECT: Tenth Anniversary of CSCE: Public Diplomacy

Several weeks ago, I recommended that NSC set up an ad hoc interagency group to develop clear and consistent themes to be utilized in all of our public statements on the 10th anniversary of CSCE. I have chaired several successful meetings which were attended by representatives from State, ACDA, DOD, USIA, White House Public Liaison and NSC. These meetings were useful in helping to avert a potential State-DOD rift over the thrust of our CSCE diplomacy. The following key themes and public diplomacy activities have been identified and agreed upon by the interagency group:

Themes:

- Promise of Helsinki Final Act and Madrid Document.
- "History will judge CSCE not by promises made in 1975, but by promises kept in the following years."
- Some genuine improvements have resulted.
- Gap between promise and performance (examples of Soviet/East European failures; Soviets refuse to embark on a new spirit of cooperation in Europe).
- Looking to the future (the West will continue to insist on balanced progress in CSCE).

Public Diplomacy Events: The sober, non-celebratory nature of our approach to Helsinki restricts the level of public diplomacy which has been considered. We believe that we need to control carefully attention which is attracted to Helsinki lest the focus of our approach be lost in apparent celebration of the CSCE process. The activities below are tailored accordingly:

- Briefing at the Foreign Press Center prior to Secretary Shultz's departure to be conducted by a policy level EUR official and/or other officials familiar with our approach to the commemoration (i.e., Burt/Palmer/Amb. Goodby and Schifter).

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Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
 Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
 White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008
 BY NARA , DATE 11/12/10

- Presidential statement to be issued on July 30 keyed to our overall approach to CSCE process. (A statement was released by the White House at the close of the Madrid CSCE review conference in September 1983). The text will be forwarded for your review.
- Worldnet interview program with panel including State Department policy official and CSCE delegation heads. (This would help sensitize European journalists to U.S. approach to Helsinki).
- Release GIST and other appropriate publications highlighting our approach to Helsinki.
- Briefing of NGOs and interested ethnic groups to be organized by White House Public Liaison Office (July 25/26). (This will be useful in order to keep NGOs, the primary CSCE constituency, well briefed and on board with our policy).

U.S. Approach to Helsinki: Secretary Shultz will deliver a public statement at the Helsinki commemoration which will assess soberly the past 10 years of the CSCE process. It will discuss the problems which have arisen due to Soviet and East European failure to live up to CSCE commitments in the field of human rights. It will suggest areas where improvement is essential if relations are to improve.

For both U.S. and European audiences, our approach to the Helsinki commemoration is to stress that:

- The U.S. takes the CSCE process seriously, abides by its commitments, and expects other participants to do the same.
- CSCE has held great promise for opening up borders of Europe and improving relations, but the Soviet/East European refusal to take commitments seriously has greatly damaged ability to fulfill this promise.
- Soviet human rights abuses have worsened in recent years and these abuses must not be ignored or papered over in CSCE meetings.
- Nevertheless, our commitment to the CSCE process remains.

AM
Jack Matlock, Peter *CS* Sommer, Steve *57* Steiner and Dave *W* Wigg concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That we implement the above public diplomacy strategy.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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CONFIDENTIAL

July 20, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Statement on Tenth Anniversary of
the CSCE Final Act

The tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act will be commemorated by the 35 CSCE participating states at a three-day meeting (July 30-August 1) in the Finnish capital. As you know, Secretary Shultz will lead the U.S. delegation.

The Secretary will deliver his address to the Helsinki gathering on the afternoon of July 30. We also recommend that the President issue a statement here in Washington to mark the tenth anniversary (we would expect the heads of state of the other participating countries to do likewise). A Presidential statement would also be extremely valuable in placing the Secretary's speech in context and reinforcing the Secretary's message: that we are committed to the CSCE process but that the relevance and vitality of that process depend on a more serious Soviet and Eastern effort to live up to their CSCE undertakings, particularly in the area of human rights.

Although the Final Act was actually signed on August 1, 1975, we suggest that the President's statement be issued on July 30, the first day of the commemoration. Attached is a draft statement for your consideration.

B. McKinley
for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED

Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1987
BY CU NARA DATE 11/12/00

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

July 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*

SUBJECT: Special Air Missions Aircraft Request for Secretary Shultz

Secretary Shultz will head the U.S. Delegation to the US/Mexico Binational Commission Meeting in Mexico City and will then proceed to Helsinki for the CSCE 10th Anniversary Commemoration.

The State Department has requested Special Air Missions Aircraft for Secretary Shultz's travel between July 25 and August 2. State requests a C-9 to take the Secretary to Mexico City on July 25. On July 26 the C-9 will return to Washington with the Secretary's staff (Shultz himself will travel privately to California). On July 29 the Secretary requests two C-135s (since a larger C-137 is unavailable and a single C-135 cannot accommodate the entire delegation) to go to Helsinki, with both returning to Andrews Air Force Base on August 2.

We recommend that the request for aircraft be approved and that the Department of Defense be notified.

cc: Christopher Hicks
Edward V. Hickey, Jr.

*OK
JH*

*Ironically the
2-135s are cheaper
than 1 137!!*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 18, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *Mike Jon*

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Special Air Missions Aircraft Request for
Secretary Shultz

We have followed up on your PROFS note re your disapproval of the original request for Special Air Missions Aircraft by State and have clarified the facts concerning the request.


With regard to the Mexico City leg of Shultz's trip, State is requesting from the White House a C-9 to carry the delegation to and from Mexico City. State is not requesting from us a C-20 to take Shultz to California as mentioned in the earlier memo. They will contract directly with Defense for the C-20 since it is for Shultz's personal use.

Regarding the Helsinki leg of the trip, State has sent over a new memo to you (Tab II) with updated information. State originally sought a single C-137, but was advised by the Military Aide's Office that none were available for the trip to Helsinki. Since one C-135 could not accommodate the entire delegation, the WHMO offered State two C-135s as the only feasible substitute. Additionally, the two C-135's would also cost less (on an hourly basis) than one C-137.

In light of this, we believe that State's request is reasonable and fully consistent with White House regulations.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to Don Regan at Tab I.

Approve 

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo for Don Regan
 Tab II State's new request (7/18)
 Tab III State's original request (7/2)
 Tab IV Background papers



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 18, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Special Air Missions Aircraft for Helsinki

Secretary Shultz will lead the US delegation to the CSCE Tenth Anniversary Commemoration in Helsinki, July 29-August 1. During the trip he will meet for the first time with new Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. The Department July 2 requested the Special Air Missions aircraft necessary to transport the Secretary's party to and from Helsinki.

Due to the importance of the meeting with Shevardnadze (which will include discussion of the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit) and the emphasis the US places on the CSCE process, a large delegation is accompanying the Secretary. He has already urged you to join him, and also invited Jack Matlock to attend from your staff. Ambassadors Nitze and Kampelman will travel with the Secretary to provide guidance on arms control issues, in addition to his own staff and the Department's officers responsible for Soviet and CSCE affairs. Senator D'Amato, chairman of the CSCE commission, has also been invited and may bring other members of congress, and four members of the CSCE Commission staff will definitely attend.

The Department originally sought a single SAM C-137, which would have accommodated the principal members of the delegation and their staffs. No C-137 is available, however, and the Department has determined that one C-135 will not accommodate all of the principals involved when crew members, security personnel and a small press contingent are taken into account. Therefore, the Department requests the use of two C-135s, to allow the entire delegation to travel together. (Based on figures supplied by the Air Force, two C-135s are actually less costly than one C-137.)

The Department urges your cooperation in providing the transportation necessary to permit the delegation to travel as a group on this important foreign policy mission.

Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

Dept. of State Guidelines, July 27, 1987
BY NARA, DATE 11/12/10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR



July 2, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

In the furtherance of the President's foreign policy, Secretary Shultz will head the U. S. Delegation to the U.S./ Mexico Binational Commission Meeting in Mexico City, after which he will proceed to Helsinki for the CSCE Tenth Anniversary Commemoration. He plans to leave Washington on July 25 and proceed to Helsinki on July 29 following a stop in California. He will return to Washington on August 1.

Since it will not be possible for Secretary Shultz to maintain his schedule before and after the proposed travel, the use of Special Air Missions aircraft is requested to transport the Secretary on the above itinerary as well as a second Special Air Missions aircraft to transport necessary staff directly from Washington on July 28 to Helsinki, returning also on August 1.

Thank you for your continued cooperation and assistance.

Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: 8/10/85

DECLASSIFIED
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY LN NARA DATE 11/12/00

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Mattest

July 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: NICK KLISSAS / PAULA DOBRIANSKY
Nick *PD*

SUBJECT: Special Air Missions Aircraft Request for Secretary Shultz

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for Don Regan requesting that a Special Air Missions aircraft be provided for Secretary Shultz for his travel to the US/Mexico Binational Commission meeting in Mexico City and to the CSCE 10th Anniversary Commemoration in Helsinki (July 25 - August 2). A Second Special Air Missions aircraft has also been requested to transport necessary staff directly from Washington on July 28 to Helsinki, returning also on August 2.

Jack
Jack MacLock and Peter *Peter* Sommer concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for Don Regan at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove *7/5/85*

Attachments

- Tab I Memo for Don Regan
- Tab II State Department request

MSG FROM: NSWRP --CPUA TO: NSSSB --CPUA
To: NSJFM --CPUA

07/17/85 10:58:32

NOTE FROM: BOB PEARSON

Subject: Plane requests

Please prepare asap a memo from Bud to Regan for the Shultz one aircraft as indicated in Bud's note. I will request that Bill Martin sign for Bud to get it to Chris Hicks asap for Regan. I will inform State that they will have to pay for all planes in addition to the one for the Secretary. Many thanks.

*** Forwarding note from NSRCM --CPUA 07/17/85 10:30 ***

To: NSWFM --CPUA

*** Reply to note of 07/17/85 09:53

-- SECRET --

NOTE FROM: ROBERT MCFARLANE

Subject: Plane requests

The following rules--which have been long established--ought to govern State's requests.

1. The Secretary's travel is almost always designated "Presidential" and I have no problem with that. They should request it and we will endorse it to Regan. In the Helsinki case, he should be authorized one aircraft to go first to Mexico City and then to California and ultimately to Helsinki. He has also requested a second aircraft to pick up delegation members in Mexico City and bring them to D.C. and another one to carry delegation members from D.C. to Helsinki. It seems to me that the one aircraft he is authorized for both legs can also handle the delegations to both places. Specifically, the delegation can accompany him to California. I am sure that the aircraft would return to Andrews at that point and so the delegation which had been in Mexico could return with it to D.C. Then when he is ready to depart for Helsinki, the aircraft could load the delegatin here and go to California where it would pick him up and go on to Helsinki. If, for some reason, they still want a second aircraft, they should pay for it on whatever legs they want to use it on.

2. On State visits, the visiting delegation is authorized one aircraft. They can use it for whomever they wish as far as I am concerned. In the case of Li Peng's separate schedule, if it cannot be worked out to use one aircraft then the second one will have to paid for by someone--probably by State. But, because Li Peng is being accompanied by Herrington, he may send a memo to us seeking to have his travel to Chicago declared a Presidential mission--as a Cabinet officer--and we will see whether it is approved. If it isn't however, then DOE would have to pay for it.

cc: NSWRP --CPUA
NSPBT --CPUA
NSKWZ --CPUA

NSJMP --CPUA
NSFEG --CPUA
NSWGH --CPUA

cc: NSSSB --CPUA

FYI: DOBRIANSKY

~~2192~~
ADD-ON

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 18, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Special Air Missions Aircraft Request for Secretary Shultz

We have followed up on your PROFS note re your disapproval of the original request for Special Air Missions Aircraft by State and have clarified the facts concerning the request.

With regard to the Mexico City leg of Shultz's trip, State is requesting from the White House a C-9 to carry the delegation to and from Mexico City. State is not requesting from us a C-20 to take Shultz to California as mentioned in the earlier memo. They will contract directly with Defense for the C-20 since it is for Shultz's personal use.

Regarding the Helsinki leg of the trip, State planned to travel all along with only one plane, but was advised by the Military Aide's Office that a C-137 would not be available for the trip to Helsinki. Two C-135's would be available, and would also cost less than one C-137. Additionally, one C-135 could not accommodate the entire delegation.

In light of this, we believe that State's request is reasonable and fully consistent with White House regulations.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to Don Regan at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memo for Don Regan
- Tab II State Department request
- Tab III Background papers