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Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev
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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Ermath, Fritz: Files European and Soviet Affairs Direc. **Archivist:** dlb

File Folder: ^{Briefings} [Background Book: The Meetings of Reagan/Gorbachev **Date:** 11/17/94
December 1987] (4 of 4) Box 92085- ~~RA~~ **BOYZ**

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. talking pts.	Human rights, 7 p. R 12/9/05 M03-1472 #4	n.d.	P1 P5
2. Point paper	Bilateral issues, 1 p.	n.d.	P1
3. talking pts.	Bilateral issues, 3 p.	n.d.	P1
4. Point paper	US-Soviet trade and economic issues, 1 p.	n.d.	P1
5. talking pts.	Economic issues, 2 p.	n.d.	P1
6. talking pts.	Trade and economic issues (contingency), 2 n.	n.d.	P1
7. Bio	2 p.	11/23/87	P1
8. Bio	2 p.	11/24/87	P1
9. Bio.	2 p.	11/25/87	P1
10. Bio	2 p.	11/25/87	P1
11. Bio	2 p.	11/23/87	P1
12. Bio	1 p.	11/25/87	P1
13. Bio	2 p.	11/25/87	P1
14. Bio	2 p.	11/24/87	P1
15. Bio	1 p.	11/25/87	P1
16. Bio	1 p.	11/27/87	P1
17. Bio	1 p.	11/30/87	P1
18. Bio	1 p.	11/23/87	P1

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Ermath, Fritz: Files European and Soviet Affairs Direc.

Archivist: dlb

File Folder: ^{Briefings} [Background Book: The Meetings of Reagan/Gorbachev
December 1987 (4 of 4) Box 92085 RAC Box 2

Date: 11/17/94

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
19. bio	1 p.	11/25/87	P1
20. Bio	2 p.	11/23/87	P1
21. Bio	2 p..	11/23/87	P1
22. Bio	2 p.	11/23/87	P1
23. Bio	2 p.	11/25/87	P1
24. Bio	1 p.	11/30/87	P1

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PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name ERMATH, FRITZ: FILES

Withdrawer

File Folder *Briefing*
[BACKGROUND BOOK: THE MEETINGS OF
REAGAN/GORBACHEV DECEMBER 1987] ~~(4)~~ (5)

CAS 4/4/2007

FOIA

M03-1472

Box Number ~~92085~~ *RAC BOX 2*

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date
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~~1 TALKING RE HUMAN RIGHTS (#4) *MVH 3/15/08* 7 ND.~~
~~POINTS~~



B. TALKING POINTS

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
NLS M03-1472 #4
BY CAJ, NARA, DATE 12/9/05

TALKING POINTS: HUMAN RIGHTS

WHY TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS?

- The INF agreement shows we can make progress even when our starting positions are far apart. But movement on arms control alone cannot provide a solid basis for our relations.
- Human rights is a central issue for us. There is a solid consensus in the US that a country's human rights performance should affect our policy toward it.
- In Geneva and Reykjavik I touched on some basic reasons for this.
 - o The personal ties to other lands enjoyed by many in the US -- a nation of immigrants.
 - o Belief in the principle that there are basic standards of decency all states should respect.
 - o Our conviction that countries which respect basic human rights are more trustworthy in international affairs.
- So human rights influence what is politically possible in our relations.
- This may well apply to our ability to obtain Senate ratification of the INF agreement or any other treaty.
- Also affects our trade relations. As you know, the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson Amendments have their origin in Congressional concerns about human rights, specifically emigration.
 - o Every single Senator of both parties signed separate letters to me and to you, asking us to put a discussion of human rights high on the agenda.

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

-- So human rights is a concern that will not go away until the problems are resolved. It would be a serious mistake to think progress in other areas can substitute for that.

HOW FAR HAVE WE COME?

- I take some satisfaction in what has been accomplished since we began our dialogue in Geneva in November 1985.
- o A number of individuals have been helped (Sakharov, Shcharansky, Feltsman and others).
 - o Emigration rates have increased.
- You have begun to experiment with greater openness in media and public discussion, and -- at least until recently -- greater tolerance of demonstrations and other expressions of dissent.
- We now have a US-Soviet dialogue on human rights. I hope it will become more meaningful, and accept the fact that it is a two-way street. We are prepared to examine issues raised by your side.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE?

- Dialogue, while valuable, is not an end in itself, and, in the human rights area, we sometimes seem to be talking about different things:
- o We raise violations of fundamental political and civil rights, but you focus on social and economic rights. You did this in your interview last Monday.
 - o We are also concerned about economic and social rights and we are willing to discuss them, but not to divert

the subject or confuse social well being with the fundamental rights addressed in the Helsinki Final Act.

o In fact, many Soviet citizens who have tried to exercise basic rights such as freedom of conscience, assembly, and movement have been deprived by your government of the economic and social benefits -- such as higher education -- that you speak about so often.

-- In the area of ensuring fundamental political and civil rights, much remains to be done.

-- We have the impression that sometimes high-level instructions to change procedures are not carried out by lower-level bureaucrats.

-- Emigration is up for Americans, Germans, and Jews. This is encouraging. But Jewish emigration (at 700-900 per month) seems to be held below natural levels by artificial barriers such as refusals for so-called security reasons. You have pointed out that a wait of five to ten years should be sufficient for someone who had access to secret materials, but we know of cases lasting much longer. Alexander Lerner has not done classified work since 1971. He is now 74 years old. And why should a son be told he cannot leave for security reasons because his father held some sort of clearance!

-- Most of the Jews getting permission seem to be old refuseniks with longstanding applications -- but by no means have even all of them received permission.

-- This is troubling because Jewish emigration is seen by many as a barometer of our relationship. Steady, determined

progress on this issue could do much to improve the domestic climate here toward your country.

- Another area is the greater tolerance for various ideas and activities your government has shown recently under glasnost and "democratization."
- These programs have generated much good will and some optimism in the West.
- But that good will is fragile. It is threatened by disturbing signs of some reversal of the gains so recently made -- signs of a return to tighter controls, preventive detention of demonstrators and interference with press coverage of events.
- Many hundreds of persons remain incarcerated for religious or political activities, activities protected by international standards which Americans feel very strongly about.
 - o We would hope for greater respect for freedom of religion in your country, such as permission for bible-study groups and after-school religious instruction for children. Your Minister of Religious Affairs even told a US Senator that all prisoners of faith would be freed. We would like to see this.
 - o We would also like to see you end the practice of committing to psychiatric institutions political dissenters, religious believers and "whistle-blowers."
 - o We still await a full accounting of the fate of Swedish diplomat and honorary US citizen Raoul Wallenberg.
- Not only must a reversal be averted; we also hope that the gains you have made will be consolidated, by being embodied

in the laws, institutions and established practices of your country.

OUR BOTTOM LINE

- To sum up: human rights is a central, permanent element of our agenda. Progress on the concerns we raise under this heading is essential to set the stage for progress in other areas.
- o We seek resolution of the individual cases we bring to your attention, particularly those on the list presented to your government last September.
 - o Let me also bring to your personal attention the following individuals, in whose situations my Government has previously expressed special interest.
- [HAND OVER ATTACHED LIST]
- o As I've said, we need to see a consolidation of progress through the reform of Soviet laws, institutions and procedures. You have already begun this process in a number of areas, and we have welcomed that. But clearer results would impress us even more. This would eliminate uncertainty about how permanent the positive changes may be.
- Such reversals on human rights issues have caused ups and downs in our relationship.
- I know that changing laws and practices is not easy. What gives me confidence is my sense that you perceive the sort of changes we are talking about to be in your country's self-interest as well -- good for domestic creativity and for a positive reaction from other countries. It is simply the right thing to do -- in every respect.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Contingency)

(If Gorbachev says the United States has not signed and ratified international covenants relating to social and economic rights:

- There are some international documents on social and economic rights which the United States has not ratified for many different reasons.
- In some cases, the problem is conflict with our Constitution. Important, however, is not ratification of agreements but the fulfillment of the commitments included in these documents.
- We believe that our performance in this area is very good. When we identify problems, we work in good faith to resolve them. We are ready to see social and economic conditions in the United States compared factually with those in any other country.
- The Soviet Union seems more willing to ratify such agreements than to implement them. It makes great use of loopholes in the Covenants, which renders many of the provisions meaningless.

(If Gorbachev says social protection in the Soviet Union is much higher than in the United States:)

- I am very much interested in social and economic advancement. But I am sure you will agree with me that guarantees on paper which are not carried out are worse than useless.
- What we all want to do is to ensure that people have a real opportunity to enjoy a better life, to have a job, to get a good education, to get high quality medical care, to get good housing, etc.

~~SECRET~~

- 7 -

(If Gorbachev presses for a Human Rights Conference in Moscow:)

- We have not said yes or no to your proposal to host a CSCE human rights conference in Moscow.
- But we have explained in detail what human rights progress we would need to see fully demonstrated before considering a positive response.
- We also would require specific guarantees of access and openness for anyone interested in participating in such a conference.
- I must tell you honestly that if pressed for a decision at this time we could not agree to a Moscow conference.
- But we will keep an open mind as to when conditions are right for CSCE meetings in your country as well as in ours. We need not always let others be the hosts.

(If Gorbachev raises the Brazinskis hijacking case:)

- The US condemns all acts of terrorism and deplores the tragic loss of life in the Brazinskis hijacking.
- We cannot prosecute the pair because when the hijacking took place US courts had no jurisdiction over terrorist incidents occurring outside the US.
- We have no legal grounds for deporting the Brazinskises to the Soviet Union or any other country.

~~SECRET~~

CASES OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Naum Meiman

Leyla Gordiyevskaya and family

Abe Stolar and family

Alexander Lerner and family

Benjamin Charny

Divided Spouses: Mariya Jurgutiene, Vladislav
Kostin, Petras Pakenas, Sergey Petrov

Blocked Marriages: Tatyana Alexandrovich,
Yevgeniy Grigorishin, Lyubov Kurillo

BILATERAL ISSUES

Byg BK (4 of 4)

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B. TALKING POINTS

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