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**Collection:** European and Soviet Affairs  
Directorate, NSC: Records  
**Folder Title:** USSR-Human Rights/Stoessel  
Mission (3)  
**Box:** RAC Box 17

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** EUROPEAN AND SOVIET AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC : RECORDS **Withdrawer** MJD 1/17/2005  
**File Folder** USSR - HUMAN RIGHTS/STOESSEL MISSION (3) **FOIA** F06-004  
**Box Number** 21099 RAC Box 17 **SNYDER**  
6

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
23052	MEMCON	RE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR STOESSEL <i>R 6/6/2008 NLRRF06-004</i>	2	7/18/1983	B1
23053	MEMO	FROM WILLIAM CLARK TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR STOESSEL <i>R 6/6/2008 NLRRF06-004</i>	1	ND	B1
23054	TALKING POINTS	RE STOESSEL MEETING <i>R 6/6/2008 NLRRF06-004</i>	1	ND	B1
23055	BRIEFING MEMO	RE STOESSEL'S PRESIDENTIAL MISSION <i>R 6/6/2008 NLRRF06-004</i>	1	ND	B1
23056	PAPER	RE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS <i>R 6/6/2008 NLRRF06-004</i>	1	ND	B1
23057	MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO WILLIAM CLARK RE REQUEST OF APPOINTMENT <i>R 9/19/2011 F2006-004/1</i>	1	7/8/1983	B1
23058	MEMO	PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO WILLIAM CLARK RE REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT <i>R 9/19/2011 F2006-004/1</i>	1	7/12/1983	B1

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

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

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

FRP

Response

to 3716

cy: State

The President has seen  
W.C. has seen  
Dorman has seen.

Shall I not  
stuff?

Yes.

RECEIVED 10 AUG 83 20

TO PRESIDENT

FROM LAGHI, PIO

DOCDATE 01 AUG 83

JOHN PAUL II

01 AUG 83

KEYWORDS: HUMAN RIGHTS

USSR

STOESSEL, WALTER

EUROPE WEST

VATICAN

HS

SUBJECT: POPE LTR TO PRES RE STOESSEL MISSION

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

MATLOCK

LENCZOWSKI

SOMMER

KIMMITT

*Paula*

COMMENTS

*Cy Bent  
Anne Higgins  
(incoming only)*

REF# 731/83/6

LOG 8303716

NSCIFID

( R / R )

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

DISPATCH

MJR 8/10

W/ATTCH

FILE

WH

(C)RM

REFERRAL

DATE 10 AUG 83

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: LAGHI, PIO

DATE: 01 AUG 83

KEYWORDS: HUMAN RIGHTS

USSR

STOESSEL, WALTER

EUROPE WEST

VATICAN

SUBJ: POPE LTR TO PRES RE STOESSEL MISSION

-----  
REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

*melanie rhodes*  
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The President has seen \_\_\_\_\_



To the Honorable  
Ronald Reagan  
President of the  
United States of America

I have received the letter of July 2 which you kindly sent to me through Ambassador Walter Stoessel and in which you expressed to me your thoughts on the human rights situation in the Soviet Union.

I have read your message with close attention, and have noted your observations on particular cases and situations in the sphere of human rights in that country.

Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, the Secretary of State, to whom Ambassador Stoessel entrusted the document, has also informed me of the conversation which took place on that occasion and of the exchange of opinions on the matter. I am sure that the Ambassador will have already informed you of what has been expounded to him by the Cardinal.

Mr. President, you are well aware of my solicitude that true respect be paid, throughout

the world, to all human rights. It is a matter that is always at the forefront of my thoughts and one to which I devote all the energies which I have been given, for it is intimately connected with the pastoral mission that Providence has entrusted to me.

In spite of the discouraging signs such as those which you indicated, I foster the hope that, with God's help, we shall be enabled in the future to see some general improvement, also in the concrete points mentioned in your letter. This will be the fruit of a patient process of dialogue and adequate representations to those concerned, with timely references to the relevant commitments of an international nature. I would like to think that the document which in the near future will be approved at the closing of the Madrid Meeting on European Security and Cooperation will represent a useful contribution to this purpose.

In closing I invoke the Lord's abundant blessings upon yourself and upon the beloved Nation entrusted to your care.

From the Vatican, July 16, 1983

*Joannes Paulus P. II*



3002 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008-3357

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 731/83/6

August 1, 1983

*File No. Sho. H. D. Prefixed to the Answer*

Mr. Frederick J. Ryan  
Director of Presidential Appointments  
and Scheduling  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Please find enclosed a letter I have addressed to President Reagan transmitting a personal message from His Holiness, Pope John Paul II.

Your assistance in seeing that this correspondence is presented to the President is greatly appreciated.

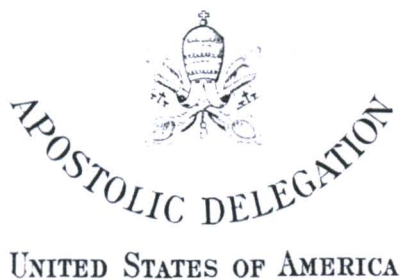
With kind regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Archbishop Pío Laghi  
Apostolic Delegate

Enc.





*3339 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20008*

August 1, 1983

Dear Mr. President:

At the request of the Secretariat of State of the Holy See, I am pleased to transmit to you the enclosed message from His Holiness, Pope John Paul II.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Archbishop Pio Laghi  
Apostolic Delegate

The Honorable  
Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

*file Travel Agency*  
ID 8305598

RECEIVED 10 AUG 83 20

TO PRESIDENT

FROM LAGHI, PIO

DOCDATE 01 AUG 83

JOHN PAUL II

01 AUG 83

KEYWORDS: HUMAN RIGHTS

USSR

STOESSEL, WALTER

EUROPE WEST

VATICAN

HS

SUBJECT POPE LTR TO PRES RE STOESSEL MISSION

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ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH  
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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

MATLOCK

LENCZOWSKI

SOMMER

KIMMITT

COMMENTS

REF# 731/83/6

LOG 8303716

NSCIFID

( R / R )

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ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO  
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DISPATCH MJR 8/10

W/ATTCH

FILE WH (C)Rv

REFERRAL

DATE 10 AUG 83

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: LAGHI, PIO

DATE: 01 AUG 83

KEYWORDS: HUMAN RIGHTS

USSR

STOESSEL, WALTER

EUROPE WEST

VATICAN

SUBJ: POPE LTR TO PRES RE STOESSEL MISSION

-----  
REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

*Melanie Rhodes*  
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

*Dobriansky*  
5271  
FILE -  
STOESSEL

August 4, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY <sup>RD</sup>

SUBJECT: Responses to Presidential Letters on Soviet Human Rights Performance

Attached at Tabs A and B, respectively, are letters to the President from Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Thatcher replying to his letters of July 2, carried by Ambassador Walter Stoessel on the Presidential Mission to Europe on Soviet Human Rights Performance. While these letters do not require a response, Peter Sommer and I believe you may wish to inform the President of their receipt either informally in your morning meeting, or via the transmitting memorandum at Tab I.

Both Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Thatcher are wholly supportive of the President's concern. In his letter (Tab A) Chancellor Kohl mentions his natural concern as a German about the human rights situation in Central and Eastern Europe, as 17 million compatriots are living under communist rule. He welcomes the agreement reached in Madrid, and closes by saying, "I am gratified that we shall work together still more closely on this subject in order to achieve as much as possible for the benefit of each individual concerned."

In the same vein, Prime Minister Thatcher in her letter states, "I fully share your concern. Violations by the Soviet Union of commitments it has made about human rights call into question its behavior in other areas."

*PRS* Peter Sommer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum to the President at Tab I and/or bring the matter to his attention at the morning meeting.

Approve *X*

Disapprove *J*

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum for the President

Tab A Letter from Chancellor Helmut Kohl, July 27, 1983

Tab B Letter from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, July 20, 1983

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK ~~WPC~~

SUBJECT: Responses to Letters on Soviet Human Rights Performance

8/9

*Not necessary*

Attached at Tabs A and B, respectively are letters from Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Thatcher replying to your letters of July 2, carried by Ambassador Walter Stoessel on the Presidential Mission to Europe on Soviet Human Rights Performance. While these letters do not require a response, you will be interested to know that both Kohl and Thatcher are wholly supportive of your concern.

In his letter (Tab A), Chancellor Kohl mentions his natural concern as a German about the human rights situation in Central and Eastern Europe as 17 million compatriots are living under Communist rule. He welcomes the agreement reached in Madrid, and closes by saying, "I am gratified that we shall work together still more closely on this subject in order to achieve as much as possible for the benefit of each individual concerned."

In the same vein, Prime Minister Thatcher in her letter states, "I fully share your concern. Violations by the Soviet Union of commitments it has made about human rights call into question its behavior in other areas."

## Attachments:

Tab A Letter from FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, July 27  
 Tab B Letter from UK Prime Minister Thatcher, July 20

Prepared by:  
 Paula Dobriansky-

COURTESY TRANSLATION

Dear Ron:

Thank you for your letter of 2 July informing me of Ambassador Stoessel's trip to Europe. State Secretary von Staden had a lengthy and, in our opinion, very useful discussion with him. As I have been informed, the consultations of the NATO Council with Ambassador Stoessel were most satisfactory.

I am deeply concerned about the human rights situation in all Central and Eastern European countries. This concern is only natural for a German since 17 million of my compatriots live in another German state under communist rule. To be sure, we are also concerned about the situation of the Germans still living in Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The conditions for the almost 2 million Germans in the Soviet Union are particularly grave. There has been a steep decline in the number of Germans able to emigrate. Their living conditions are deplorable and many of them are persecuted.

I greatly welcome the agreement reached in Madrid between West and East on a concluding document largely embodying the proposals made by the West.

This achievement is primarily attributable to the unity displayed by the Allies. I am convinced that the result attained in Madrid will help us to argue our joint causes and effectively advance them.

We have always in the past discussed with the Soviets at every opportunity the question of human rights in the Soviet Union. I myself placed emphasis on this subject in my talks with General-Secretary Andropov earlier on this month, and Foreign Minister Genscher for his part discussed the topic with Foreign Minister Gromyko. On that occasion we dealt with questions not only relating to the Germans but also to the other nationalities in the Soviet Union, especially Jews. More specifically, I strongly appealed to Andropov to release Sakharov and allow him to emigrate to the West. Foreign Minister Genscher raised the cases of Shcharansky, Orlov, Ida Nudel and Rudenko. I am convinced that the situation can be eased only through a gradual improvement of the overall relationship between the West and the Soviet Union and through dogged, silent diplomacy combined with public pressure.

-3-

I am gratified that we shall work together still more closely on this subject in order to achieve as much as possible for the benefit of each individual concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
(sgd.) Helmut Kohl



EMBASSY  
OF THE  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit to you the following message from Chancellor Helmut Kohl:

"Lieber Ron,

für das Schreiben vom 2. Juli, mit dem Sie mich über die Europa-Reise von Botschafter Stoessel unterrichtet haben, danke ich Ihnen. Staatssekretär von Staden hat mit ihm ein ausführliches Gespräch geführt, das wir als sehr nützlich empfunden haben. Die Konsultationen des NATO-Rates mit dem Botschafter sind, wie mir berichtet wird, sehr befriedigend verlaufen.

Über die Menschenrechtslage in allen mittel- und osteuropäischen Staaten bin ich sehr besorgt. Für einen Deutschen ist diese Sorge schon deshalb natürlich, weil 17 Millionen meiner Landsleute in dem anderen deutschen Staat unter kommunistischer Herrschaft leben. Grund zur Sorge gibt uns freilich auch die Lage der noch verbliebenen Deutschen

-2-

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

in Rumänien, Polen und der CSSR. Besonders ernst sind die Verhältnisse für die nahezu 2 Millionen Deutschen in der Sowjetunion. Die Ausreisezahlen von Deutschen sind dramatisch zurückgegangen. Ihre Lebensverhältnisse sind beklagenswert. Viele von ihnen werden verfolgt.

Die in Madrid zwischen West und Ost erzielte Einigung über ein Schlußdokument, das weitgehend Vorschläge des Westens enthält, begrüße ich sehr. Dies ist vor allem der geschlossenen Haltung der Bündnispartner zu danken. Ich bin überzeugt, daß das Madrider Ergebnis helfen wird, unsere gemeinsamen Anliegen argumentativ zu vertreten und wirkungsvoll zu fördern.

Wir haben schon bisher bei jeder Gelegenheit Fragen der Menschenrechte in der Sowjetunion mit den Sowjets diskutiert. Ich selbst habe mit Generalsekretär Andropow darüber Anfang Juli eindringlich gesprochen, und Bundesminister Genscher hat seinerseits dieses Thema mit Außenminister Gromyko erörtert. Ich möchte Sie wissen lassen, daß wir bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht nur Fragen der Deutschen behandelt, sondern auch die anderer Nationalitäten in der Sowjetunion und vor allem von Juden angesprochen haben. Mit besonderem Nachdruck habe ich übrigens Andropow um die Freilassung Sa-


charows und seine Ausreise in den Westen gebeten. Bundesminister Genscher hat die Fälle Schtscharanskij, Orlow, Ida Nudel und Rudenko zur Sprache gebracht. Ich bin davon überzeugt, daß nur eine allmähliche Verbesserung des Gesamtverhältnisses zwischen dem Westen und der Sowjetunion und die Verbindung einer hartnäckigen stillen Diplomatie mit öffentlichem Druck Erleichterungen schaffen können.

Ich begrüße es, daß wir in dieser Sache noch enger zusammenarbeiten werden, um im Interesse der einzelnen Menschen so viel wie möglich zu erreichen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen  
gez. Ihr Helmut Kohl"

A courtesy translation is attached.

Respectfully yours,



(Chargé d'Affaires a.i.)

Washington, D. C. 27 July 1983

RECEIVED

33 JUL 27 P 4: 50



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

20 July 1983

Dear Ron.

Thank you for your letter of 2 July about human rights in the Soviet Union.

I fully share your concern. Violations by the Soviet Union of commitments it has made about human rights call into question its behaviour in other areas.

We must certainly do all we can to help those courageous individuals who are suffering in the Soviet Union for trying to obtain or restore rights which would be taken for granted in our own countries; and those many other ordinary people who wish to emigrate, or who are divided from other members of their family and long to be reunited. On 15 July I again discussed with Mrs. Shcharansky the situation of her husband, one of many distressing personal cases.

It is obviously important for Western countries to consult about these issues and so far as possible to co-ordinate the action which they intend to take with the Soviet authorities. We were glad to have Walter Stoessel here. Geoffrey Howe has recently had useful discussions both with him and with George Shultz in Washington about our policy.

Yours  
Ronald Reagan

The President of the United States of America.

5297



RECEIVED

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

27 July 1983

83 JUL 27 P 4: 50

The Honorable  
William P Clark  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House  
WASHINGTON DC

Dear Judge Clark,

In the Ambassador's absence I am enclosing a letter which the Prime Minister has asked us to forward to the President. I should be most grateful for your help in transmitting it to him.

Yours sincerely,

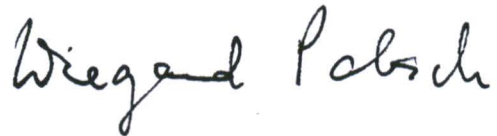
Roderic Q Braithwaite  
Minister (Commercial)

OF THE  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Dear Mr. President:*

*I have the honor to send you the original letter from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the text of which has already been transmitted to you on July 27, 1983.*

*Respectfully yours,*

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Wiegand Pabsch".

*Wiegand Pabsch  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.*

*Washington, D.C. August 5, 1983*

*The President*

*The White House*

*Washington, D.C.*

Translation

The Federal Republic of Germany  
The Federal Chancellor

Bonn, 21 July 1983

Dear Ron,

Thank you for your letter of 2 July informing me of Ambassador Stoessel's trip to Europe. State Secretary von Staden had a lengthy and, in our opinion, very useful discussion with him. As I have been informed, the consultations of the NATO Council with Ambassador Stoessel were most satisfactory.

I am deeply concerned about the human rights situation in all Central and Eastern European countries. This concern is only natural for a German since 17 million of my compatriots live in another German State under communist rule. To be sure, we are also concerned about the situation of the Germans still living in Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The conditions for the almost 2 million Germans in the Soviet Union are particularly grave. There has been a steep decline in the number of Germans able to emigrate. Their living conditions are deplorable and many of them are persecuted.

I greatly welcome the agreement reached in Madrid between East and West on a concluding document largely embodying the proposals made by the West. This achievement is primarily attributable to the unity displayed by the Allies. I am convinced that the result attained in Madrid will help us to argue our joint causes and effectively advance them.

His Excellency  
Mr Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States of America  
Washington, D.C.

We have always in the past discussed with the Soviets at every opportunity the question of human rights in the Soviet Union. I myself placed emphasis on this subject in my talks with General-Secretary Andropov earlier on this month, and Foreign Minister Genscher for his part discussed the topic with Foreign Minister Gromyko. On that occasion we dealt with questions not only relating to the Germans but also to the other nationalities in the Soviet Union, especially Jews. More specifically, I strongly appealed to Andropov to release Sakharov and allow him to emigrate to the West. Foreign Minister Genscher raised the cases of Shcharanski, Orlov, Ida Nudel and Rudenko. I am convinced that the situation can be eased only through a gradual improvement of the overall relationship between the West and the Soviet Union and through dogged, silent diplomacy combined with public pressure.

I am gratified that we shall work together still more closely on this subject in order to achieve as much as possible for the benefit of each individual concerned.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Helmut Kohl



BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND  
DER BUNDESKANZLER

Bonn, den 21. Juli 1983

Seiner Exzellenz  
dem Präsidenten der Vereinigten  
Staaten von Amerika  
Herrn Ronald Reagan  
Washington, D.C.

Lieber Ron,

für das Schreiben vom 2. Juli, mit dem Sie mich über die Europa-Reise von Botschafter Stoessel unterrichtet haben, danke ich Ihnen. Staatssekretär von Staden hat mit ihm ein ausführliches Gespräch geführt, das wir als sehr nützlich empfunden haben. Die Konsultationen des NATO-Rates mit dem Botschafter sind, wie mir berichtet wird, sehr befriedigend verlaufen.

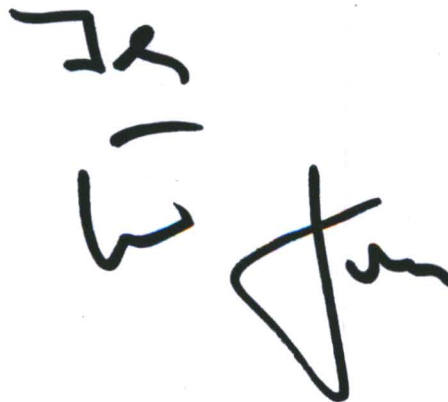
Über die Menschenrechtslage in allen mittel- und osteuropäischen Staaten bin ich sehr besorgt. Für einen Deutschen ist diese Sorge schon deshalb natürlich, weil 17 Millionen meiner Landsleute in dem anderen deutschen Staat unter kommunistischer Herrschaft leben. Grund zur Sorge gibt uns freilich auch die Lage der noch verbliebenen Deutschen in Rumänien, Polen und der CSSR. Besonders ernst sind die Verhältnisse für die nahezu 2 Millionen Deutschen in der Sowjetunion. Die Ausreisezahlen von Deutschen sind dramatisch zurückgegangen. Ihre Lebensverhältnisse sind beklagenswert. Viele von ihnen werden verfolgt.

Die in Madrid zwischen West und Ost erzielte Einigung über ein Schlußdokument, das weitgehend Vorschläge des Westens enthält, begrüße ich sehr. Dies ist vor allem der geschlossenen Haltung der Bündnispartner zu danken. Ich bin überzeugt, daß das Madrider Ergebnis helfen wird, unsere gemeinsamen Anliegen argumentativ zu vertreten und wirkungsvoll zu fördern.

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Ich begrüße es, daß wir in dieser Sache noch enger zusammenarbeiten werden, um im Interesse der einzelnen Menschen so viel wie möglich zu erreichen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Willy Brandt', written in a cursive style.

ID: 157075

CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PAGE D01

INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830805  
(PREFIX) (FIRST)

RECEIVED DATE 830805  
(LAST)

(SUFFIX)

TITLE:

ORGANIZATION: EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC  
OF GERMANY

STREET:

CITY: WASHINGTON

STATE: DC ZIP: 20007

COUNTRY:

SUBJECT: UNOPENED

AGY/OFF	ACTION CODE	TRACKING DATE
NSCLAR	ORG	830805

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN  
COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO LORETTA BRAXTON

MEDIA: S OPID: LW TYPE: IBA

CODES: REPORT MI INDIV:

USER:

ID: 156800

CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PAGE D01

INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830727

RECEIVED DATE 830727

(PREFIX)

(FIRST)

(LAST)

(SUFFIX)

TITLE:

ORGANIZATION: EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF  
GERMANY

STREET:

CITY: WASHINGTON

STATE: DC ZIP: 20007

COUNTRY:

SUBJECT: UNOPENED

AGY/OFF  
NSCLAR

ACTION CODE  
ORG

TRACKING DATE  
830727

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN  
COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO LORETTA BRAXTON

MEDIA: S OPID: LW TYPE: IBA

CODES: REPORT MI INDIV:

USER:

National Security Council  
The White House

767

System #

I

RECEIVED *pl*

Package#

5271

83 AUG 4

P 4:30 PM SEQUENCE TO

HAS SEEN

DISPOSITION

Executive Secretary

1

*Murray*

\_\_\_\_\_

John Poindexter

2

*[Signature]*

A

Bud McFarlane

\_\_\_\_\_

*[Checkmark]*

\_\_\_\_\_

Jacque Hill

3

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Judge Clark

4

*[Checkmark]*

A

John Poindexter

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Executive Secretary

\_\_\_\_\_

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NSC Secretariat

\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

Situation Room

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I-Information

A-Action

R-Retain

D-Dispatch

N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP

Meese

Baker

Deaver

Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

*[Handwritten signature]*

*Travel agencies*

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ID 8305207

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF  
CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 29 JUL 83 20

TO CLARK

FROM DOBRIANSKY

*MDP  
11/21-5*

DOCDATE 27 JUL 83

KEYWORDS: USSR

HUMAN RIGHTS

STOESSEL, W

SUBJECT: MEMCON OF PRES MTG W/ AMB STOESSEL 18 JUL

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE: 02 AUG 83 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

TYSON

MATLOCK

COMMENTS

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<i>DOBRIANSKY</i>	<i>AUG 01 1983</i> <i>S 8/2</i>	<i>Point letter approved</i> <i>Any further Action</i>	<i>8/3</i>	
<i>NSC/S</i>	<i>C 2 Aug</i>	<i>NFAR per PD note</i>		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

(C)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

7/29/83

Bob -

Per our conversation, the changes have been made at Tab I but a "Kimmitt to Hill" memorandum is not attached.

PAULA

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Action

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82/7/28

The White House

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Executive Secretary

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Dobriansky

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I-Information

A-Action

R-Retain

D-Dispatch

N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP

Meese

Baker

Deaver

Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

Paula:

Please redo Tab I. Also, you should include for Clark's approval a Kemmitt -> Hill transmitting the memcon to State.

*Bob 7/28*



## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED with  
CONFIDENTIAL Attachment

July 27, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY <sup>TD</sup>SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation: The President's  
Meeting with Ambassador Stoessel, July 18, 1983

Attached at Tab I for your approval is a memorandum of conversation for the record of the President's meeting with Ambassador Walter Stoessel, which took place on Monday, July 18, 1983.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memorandum of conversation at Tab I for the record.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_



Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum of Conversation

cc: Charles P. Tyson  
Jack F. Matlock

UNCLASSIFIED with  
CONFIDENTIAL Attachment

*msh  
ikl/ob*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Memorandum of the President's Meeting with  
Ambassador Stoessel: Report on Presidential  
Mission to Europe on Soviet Human Rights  
Performance

PARTICIPANTS: President Ronald Reagan  
Vice President George Bush  
Edwin Meese III, Counsellor to the President  
William P. Clark, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Paula Dobriansky, NSC Staff Member

Ambassador Walter Stoessel  
Assistant Secretary of State of European  
Affairs Richard R. Burt  
Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights  
Elliott Abrams  
James Schumaker, State/EUR

DATE, TIME Monday, July 18, 1983; 9:15 - 9:30 a.m.  
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President greeted Ambassador Stoessel and the Mission Team and commended them for their efforts. He said he was glad that the Mission was well received and that our concerns are shared, since Soviet human rights performance is abysmal despite sporadic progress on individual cases.

Ambassador Stoessel informed the President that the mission was very productive. He said that since this undertaking was designated a Presidential Mission it really manifested the importance we attach to human rights issues. Also, he stated that the letters from the President to the respective heads of state were extremely useful in focusing subsequent discussions. Finally, he mentioned that the timing of the mission was especially good -- in light of the ensuing CSCE dialogue.

The President asked the Ambassador if the Europeans made any specific suggestions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-004 #23052

BY CA NARADATE 6/6/08

Ambassador Stoessel replied that in the various exchanges it became apparent that the U.S. has more access to information on individual human rights cases, as well as overall Soviet human rights performance than do the Europeans. Hence, many recommendations centered on the need to exchange information. In particular, the Vatican wanted to know more about Radio Free Europe programs and their impact. Also, the Ambassador pointed out that most wanted to continue to address these issues in existing multilateral fora such as CSCE.

At this time, the President commented on the problem of tactics. He stated that sometimes it is useful to address human rights cases publicly, but in certain circumstances it can be counter-productive. He then asked whether the Europeans had made any suggestions with regard to tactics.

Ambassador Stoessel replied that public as well as private tactics were discussed. He said, in general, contingent upon the case being addressed as well as the state of bilateral relations, it is believed that either or both means can be effective. Specifically, the Ambassador indicated that publicity has helped in resolving some of the family reunification cases.

The President then stated that the Nixon Administration's endorsement of quiet diplomacy on human rights issues seemed to contribute to increased Soviet Jewish emigration.

Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams commented that usually it is best for the relevant private groups and organizations to persevere and keep public pressure on the Soviets and for the Government to deal with these issues privately.

Ambassador Stoessel noted that the Europeans appreciated that this mission was not a "propaganda mission." He added that during the course of the week, he and the other members of the team would be briefing some of the major Jewish groups on the mission.

The meeting ended at 9:30 a.m.

*Travel/Agencia*

4719 add-on

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 15, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

THROUGH: CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *TD*

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Ambassador Stoessel:  
Soviet Human Rights Performance

Attached at Tab I is a Briefing Memorandum for the President's meeting at 9:15 a.m., Monday, July 18, 1983, with Ambassador Stoessel on the recent Presidential Mission on Soviet Human Rights Performance. Talking points are at Tab A and State's memorandum of July 14 is at Tab B.

Jack Matlock *JMA* concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab I Briefing Memorandum
- Tab A Talking points/cards
- Tab B State's memorandum, July 14

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
by *nmj* NARA, Date *4/12/06*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NLRR FO6-004 #23053

4719 add-on

BY CH NARADATE 6/6/83

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR WALTER STOESSEL AND  
PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TEAM

DATE: Monday, July 18, 1983  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
TIME: 9:15 a.m.  
FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

- I. PURPOSE: To discuss the results of the recent Presidential mission to Europe for consultations on Soviet human rights performance; will serve as a follow-up to your recent meeting with Ambassador Kampelman.
- II. BACKGROUND: Ambassador Stoessel and Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams have just completed a Presidential Mission to discuss Soviet human rights performance with government leaders in eight European countries: France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, West Germany, Britain and Belgium. They also briefed Vatican officials and Western CSCE delegations in Madrid. The mission was stimulated by the worsening Soviet human rights performance. It served as a mechanism to consult on steps Western and neutral countries might take collectively to combat increased Soviet human rights violations between CSCE Madrid and the next CSCE follow-up meeting in 1986. In the discussions, the Ambassador presented a letter from you to the heads of governments which expressed your concern over human rights in the USSR because of the importance we attach to the Helsinki Final Act.
- III. PARTICIPANTS: The President  
William P. Clark  
Paula Dobriansky  
Ambassador Walter Stoessel  
Assistant Secretary of State for European  
Affairs Richard R. Burt  
Assistant Secretary of State for Human  
Rights Elliott Abrams  
James Schumaker (State/EUR)
- IV. PRESS PLAN: White House Photographer
- V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS: White House photo and discussion.

Attachments:

Tab A Talking Points/cards  
Tab B State Department Memorandum, July 14, 1983

Prepared by:  
Paula Dobriansky

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D. C. 20520

89

July 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Ambassador Walter J. Stoessel, July 18, 9:15-9:30 A.M.

Attached for the President's July 18 meeting with Ambassador Stoessel are a briefing memorandum on the Ambassador's mission to Europe, a suggested list of participants and proposed talking points for the President's use.

*for* *Parman Dinkley*  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Briefing Memorandum
2. Talking Points
3. Suggested List of Participants

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4917 add-on

TALKING POINTS  
MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR WALTER STOESSEL  
Monday, July 18, 1983 - 9:15 a.m.

- Commend Ambassador Stoessel and the Mission Team for undertaking this effort. Mention that Soviet behavior in human rights is abysmal despite sporadic progress we are able to make on cases like the Pentecostalists.
- Indicate that you understand the Mission was well received and that our concerns are shared.
- State that human rights play a significant role in U.S.-Soviet relations and that securing European support for a coordinated human rights approach is important.
- Ask the Ambassador for his impressions of the trip. Specifically, do the Allies think that coordinated approaches to the Soviets on human rights issues will be effective?
- Query the Ambassador on his thoughts and suggestions on how we should proceed.

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Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR Feb-04 712305T  
BY CW NARA DATE 6/6/08

TALKING POINTS: MTG W/AMB. STOESSEL

- COMMEND AMBASSADOR AND MISSION TEAM FOR UNDERTAKING EFFORT; MENTION THAT SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS BEHAVIOR IS ABYSMAL.
- INDICATE MISSION WAS WELL RECEIVED AND OUR CONCERNS ARE SHARED.
- HUMAN RIGHTS PLAY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN U.S.-SOV RELATIONS & EUROPEAN SUPPORT IMPORTANT FOR COORDINATED APPROACH.
- ASK FOR IMPRESSIONS OF TRIP; DO ALLIES THINK COORDINATED APPROACH WILL BE EFFECTIVE?
- INTERESTED IN HEARING THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

AMBASSADOR STOESSEL'S PRESIDENTIAL MISSION TO EUROPE

Ambassador Walter Stoessel has just completed a Presidential mission to discuss Soviet human rights performance with government leaders in eight European countries: France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, West Germany, Britain and Belgium. He also briefed Vatican officials and Western CSCE delegations in Madrid. This was an exploratory mission stimulated by the worsening Soviet human rights performance to consult on steps Western and neutral countries might take to keep the focus on Soviet human rights performance during the period between CSCE Madrid and the next CSCE follow-up meeting in 1986. The Ambassador also met with Canadian Embassy officials in Washington before embarking for Europe.

The Ambassador presented a letter from the President to the heads of governments in which the President expressed his concern over human rights in the Soviet Union because of the importance he attaches to the Helsinki Final Act, because of the terrible costs that are being paid by individual human beings, and because our overall relationship with the Soviets is seriously affected by human rights violations. The President's message was well received and the Ambassador's interlocutors offered a variety of ideas about how to coordinate activities to obtain some improvement in Soviet behavior in this area. We will be working with the various governments and parties involved to maintain the momentum the Stoessel mission created.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR Feb 004 #23055

BY CJ NARADATE 6/6/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS

-- I am pleased that you were able to undertake this mission. Soviet behavior in the area of human rights is abysmal, despite the occasional progress we are able to make on cases like the Pentecostals.

-- I understand that you were well received and that our concerns are shared.

-- I'd like to hear your impressions of the trip and your thoughts about how we should proceed from here. Do the allies think that coordinated approaches to the Soviets on human rights issues will be effective?

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR fol. #23056

BY Ci NARA DATE 6/6/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON*Agency  
Travel*

July 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK RYAN

FROM:

CHARLES P. TYSON *CPT  
mm*

SUBJECT:

Presidential Meeting with Ambassador Stoessel

Attached is a Schedule Proposal that Judge Clark has approved orally. It was planned that this meeting be scheduled in conjunction with Ambassador Kampelman's meeting with the President tomorrow. Unfortunately, Ambassador Stoessel and his team have not returned from their Presidential mission to eight European countries where they are projecting US efforts on human rights.

Hence this memo and a Schedule Proposal is attached recommending that a fifteen-minute meeting be scheduled for Ambassador Stoessel and his team to meet with the President on July 18.



Washington, D.C. 20520

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Appointment with President for  
Ambassador Stoessel

Ambassador Walter Stoessel, accompanied by Elliott Abrams and a desk officer in the Office of Soviet Affairs, James Schumaker, is leading a Presidential mission to discuss Soviet human rights performance with government leaders in eight European countries. In view of the nature of the mission, it would be desirable if the team could meet briefly with the President on July 18 to convey to him the results of the mission.

*Permanently*  
for Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR FOI-004 #23057

BY RW NARA DATE 9/19/11

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

July 12, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY <sup>PD</sup>

SUBJECT: Request for Appointment with President

State forwarded a memorandum at Tab II requesting that Ambassador Stoessel and the Presidential mission team on Soviet human rights performance meet with the President on July 18 to convey the results of the 11 day mission. Such a meeting could be very useful as the issue of Soviet human rights performance is extremely timely. In fact, the meeting could also serve as a brief follow-up to the President's meeting with Ambassador Kampelman. If feasible, I recommend that you bring them into the 9:30 a.m. briefing; otherwise, at Tab I is a Schedule Proposal.

Jack Matlock and John Lenczowski concur.

RECOMMENDATIONOKNO

—

—

That Ambassador Stoessel and the Presidential mission team be granted a meeting with the President at the 9:30 a.m. briefing on July 18; or

—

—

At another time on July 18.

## Attachments:

Tab I Schedule Proposal  
 Tab II Memorandum from State

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR FD6-004 #23058

BY RW NARA DATE 9/19/11