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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]

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Dubriansky: 1
FICE -
SOV.
Jewrey

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1983

I am proud to extend a special greeting to those who gather for the Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry.

The issue of Soviet Jewry is of high priority to this Administration. We have repeatedly stated that our concern for human rights in general, and Soviet Jewry in particular, is integral to our national interest and remains a major focus of our foreign policy.

In the last few years we have witnessed a decrease in the number of Jews permitted to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Instances of harassment and denial of exit visas have increased, signifying the intensification of Soviet repression and arbitrary treatment of Soviet Jews.

The inhumane actions of the Soviet authorities violate standards of behavior which all governments should observe and which are enshrined in international covenants. Persons of goodwill everywhere should raise their voices in support of those seeking to exercise their fundamental rights.

Today, as we honor those who are persecuted, let us be mindful of God's promise to Abraham and his people: "And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed."

We will continue to seek opportunities to encourage the Soviet Union to respect human rights and live in accord with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other international agreements to which it has subscribed.

You have my best wishes and prayers for success.

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BY JN DATE 3/10/91

2

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

BY HAND

The Honorable John E. Porter
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/19

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM FOR DODIE LIVINGSTON

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bok*SUBJECT: National Congressional Fast and Prayer
Vigil for Soviet Jewry - July 14

Attached is our amended version of the proposed Presidential message for the above event.

Attachment:
Amended draft

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Authority NR-170-17-35-10-5
BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/2019

4815

k

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR:

✓ BOB KIMMITT, NSC
MICHAEL GALE, OPL

FROM:

DODIE LIVINGSTON
480-OEOB/Ext. 2941

SUBJECT:

National Congressional Fast and Prayer
Vigil for Soviet Jewry - JULY 14

Ken Duberstein's office has requested a Presidential message for the above event. It will be given to Congressman John Porter, Chairman of the Vigil. He needs the message by close of business today.

I would appreciate your clearance or comment on the attached draft.

Sorry for the short notice, but we just got this earlier today.

Thank you.

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BY JN NARA DATE 3/10/2019

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

7/13

no

Ch: nsc
Need clearance by
1:00 today.
Any problem
call David Wright,
x 7542. No problem,
call Molly, x 7542.

PD - concurred verbally
w/ CC 7/13/83

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BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/19

FILE SOU,
Jewry 9

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 13, 1983



MEMORANDUM FOR ANN HIGGINS

THRU: KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN *ker D.*
FROM: M. B. OGLESBY, JR. *mo*
DAVID L. WRIGHT *dw*

SUBJECT: Presidential letter for Congressman John Porter (R-Illinois) in honor of National Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry, July 14, 1983.

We would like to request a Presidential letter for Congressman John E. Porter (R-Illinois) in honor of the National Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry which will be held on July 14, 1983.

Unfortunately, we need the letter by close of business today, July 13, so that we may transmit to the Congressman in time for events which will be held tomorrow.

Please call ext. 7542 when the letter is completed so that we may arrange to transmit it to Congressman Porter.

Attached is information which will give you background material on this matter.

Thank you!!
B-

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BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/2019

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

8861 TT TMT

July 8, 1983

Dear Colleague:

Several weeks ago we wrote to invite you to participate in the National Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry.

Since you received our original letter, seventy Members of Congress have agreed to participate in the Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil. We are writing again to strongly urge you to participate in one or both of these important events.

We have scheduled the Fast and Prayer Vigil on July 14 in honor of the fifth anniversary of the trial and sentencing of Anatoly Shcharansky. The activities are designed to bring attention to nearly 500,000 Soviet Jews who have indicated a desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union and whose requests have been denied.

The day will include a dawn to dusk fast and an 11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m. prayer vigil on the West Front of the Capitol. We have invited Avital Shcharansky, human rights activist and wife of the noted Soviet dissident, to participate in the day's events.

We would like Members to select one Soviet Jew who has been denied the right to emigrate and to focus their efforts throughout the day on behalf of this individual. Participants in the Fast and Prayer Vigil will be receiving a packet of information early next week which will include suggested press materials and additional details about the day's activities.

Members are also encouraged to prepare statements in support of the Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil which will be distributed to the press on July 14. Remarks can focus on your adopted prisoner of conscience. If you plan to submit a statement, 50 copies must be delivered to either 1530 Longworth or 509 Cannon no later than noon on Wednesday, July 13th.

Finally, the Human Rights Caucus will host a gathering at 5:00 p.m. in the Cannon Rotunda. Members will have a chance to view the dissident art show currently on display in the Cannon Rotunda.

We encourage all staff members, interns, and concerned citizens to join Members of Congress in the day's activities.

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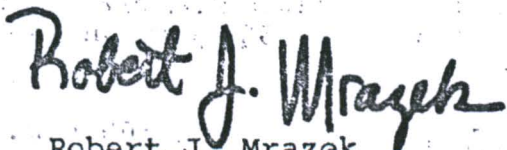
We urge you to join the following Members who have agreed to participate in the National Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil:

* Gary Ackerman	Dan Glickman	Richard Ottinger
Joseph Addabbo	Bill Green	Claude Pepper
Michael Barnes	Marjorie Holt	* John Porter
* Mario Biaggi	* Steny Hoyer	Joel Pritchard
* Michael Bilirakis	William Hughes	Harry Reid
Frederick Boucher	Jim Jones	* James Scheuer
* Barbara Boxer	* Marcy Kaptur	* Claudine Schneider
* Hal Daub	Jack Kemp	* Pat Schroeder
Michael DeWine	* Barbara Kennelly	* Charles Schumer
* Tom Downey	Peter Kostmayer	John Seiberling
* Richard Durbin	Robert Lagomarsino	* Paul Simon
* Ben Erdreich	Tom Lantos	* Chris Smith
* Lane Evans	Bill Lehman	* Larry Smith
Edward Feighan	* Norman Lent	Robert Smith
* Geraldine Ferraro	* Sander Levin	* Stephen Solarz
Bobbi Fiedler	Mel Levine	Louis Stokes
* Hamilton Fish Jr.	Clarence Long	Robert Torricelli
* Harold Ford	* Edward MarKey	Edolphus Towns
Barney Frank	* Lynn Martin	* Ted Weiss
William Franklin	* Nicholas Mavroules	* Timothy Wirth
Martin Frost	John McCain	* Howard Wolpe
Robert Garcia	Raymond McGrath	George Wortley
George Gekas	Guy Molinari	
* Benjamin Gilman	* Robert Mrazek	

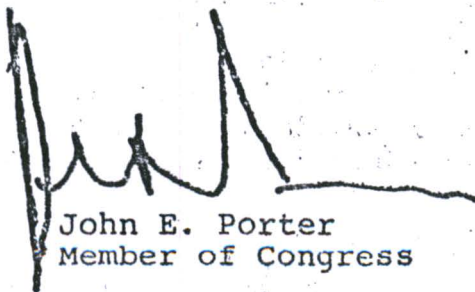
* Members planning to fast on behalf of Soviet Jewry

If you have not already done so, we ask you to contact Gail at x 55956 or Liz at x 54835 to let us know whether you will be participating in these events.

Sincerely,



Robert J. Mrazek
Member of Congress



John E. Porter
Member of Congress



UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS
 1411 K STREET, NW, SUITE 402
 WASHINGTON, DC 20005
 PHONE: 202-393-4117

8

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 Waco Council for Concern
 on Soviet Jewry
 Washington Committee for
 Soviet Jewry

U.S. AFFILIATE

Student Struggle for Soviet
 Jewry (New York)

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATES

Comite des Quinze, France
 The 35's--Women's Campaign
 for Soviet Jewry, England
 The 35's--Women's Campaign
 for Soviet Jewry, Canada

June 29, 1983

Dear Representative:

I urge you to join Representatives Bob Mrazek (D-NY) and John Edward Porter (R-IL) at the Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry. This event will be held on July 14, 1983 at 11:30AM on the Capitol steps.

At a time of decreased Jewish emigration, increased harassment of Jewish activists, and the spread of a virulent anti-Semitic media campaign, I feel it is critical that all Members of Congress show their solidarity with Soviet Jews by joining in this important event.

Please let the UCSJ office know if you have any questions regarding the Fast and Prayer Vigil. You can join with us by having your staff call Gail Sokoloff in Rep. Mrazek's, office 5-5956, or Liz Shroyer in Rep. Porter's office, 5-4835.

I look forward to seeing you on July 14th.

Sincerely,

Lynn Singer

LYNN SINGER
 President

LS:csb

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 BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/19

9

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

E861 S 70r

July 1, 1983

Dear Colleague:

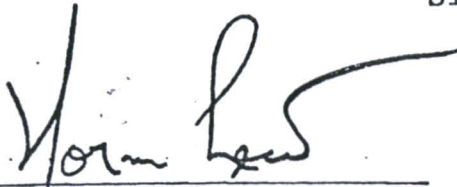
As a member of the Congressional Call to Conscience Vigil, please join with us in the Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry on July 14, 1983, from 11:30 to 12:30 on the steps of the Capitol. This event marks the fifth anniversary of Anatoly Shcharansky's trial, in which he was sentenced to thirteen years in prison for "espionage", his real crime being his desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

At a time of plummeting emigration rates and heightened anti-Semitism, we ask you to stand in solidarity with Anatoly Shcharansky and the thousands of Soviet Jews and others who are striving to leave the USSR and join their families and loved ones in the West.


Attached is the original letter of invitation co-sponsored by Representatives John Edward Porter and Robert Mrazek. For further questions and information, please call Liz (x5-4835) or Gail (x5-5956).

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,



NORMAN F. LENT
1982 Vigil Chairman



TIMOTHY E. WIRTH
1983 Vigil Chairman

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BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/2019



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

ROBERT J. MRAZEK
3RD DISTRICT, NEW YORK

June 1, 1983

APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE

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Authority NLR-170-17-35-33

BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/2019

Dear Colleague:

We are writing to invite you to participate in a Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry.

As you may be aware, the rate of Soviet Jewish emigration to the West has reached an all-time low. If the current trend continues, fewer than 1200 Soviet Jews will be permitted to emigrate in 1983 -- a 50% decline from the low 1982 emigration figures.

At the same time, Anatoly Shcharansky remains in detention in Chistopol prison. Despite the protests of human rights activists and his wife, Avital, the Soviet authorities show no signs of releasing Mr. Shcharansky in the foreseeable future. Anatoly Shcharansky's plight has attracted worldwide attention and has become a symbol of the greater injustice suffered by millions of Soviet Jews.


July 14 marks the 5th anniversary of the trial of Anatoly Shcharansky. It is fitting that we should demonstrate our continuing concern over the treatment of Anatoly Shcharansky -- and indeed all Soviet Jews -- in conjunction with this historic event. Our participation in a national day of fasting and prayer will send a signal to the Soviet Union that the United States stands clearly on the side of human justice and decency.

We have scheduled the Congressional Fast from sun-up to sun-down on July 14. A prayer vigil will also be held from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on the steps of the Capitol. Religious leaders, human rights advocates and the press have been invited to attend. We urge you to participate in one or both of these events.

We are hopeful that the Congressional Fast and Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jewry will be a memorable gesture of our determination to oppose the policies that have imprisoned millions of Soviet Jews in the Soviet Union. If you would like to participate in these events, please contact Liz (x54835) or Gail (x55956).

Sincerely,


Robert J. Mrazek
Member of Congress


John E. Porter
Member of Congress

CONGRESSIONAL FAST AND PRAYER VIGIL

July 14, 1983

Congressmen John Porter, Bob Mrazek, Originators
Endorsed by the Congressional Human Rights Caucus

<u>Congressman</u>	<u>V=Vigil</u> <u>B=Fast & Vigil</u>	<u>Fasting For</u>
Ackerman, Gary	B	Prestina Akkerman
Addabbo, Joseph	V	
Barnes, Michael	V	
Bateman, Herbert	V	Kusnetsov
Berman, Howard	B	Alexander Paritsky
Biaggi, Mario	B	Alexander Maryasin
Bilirakis, Michael	B	Yaakov Mesha
Borskey, Robert	V	
Boucher, Frederick	V	
Boxer, Barbara	B	Mark Naspitch
Britt, Robin	B	Ratner, Judith
Brown, Hank	B	
Collins, Cardiss	B	
Daub, Hal	B	Ilya Katz
De Wine, Michael	V	
Downey, Tom	B	Simon Shmeerman
Durbin, Richard	B	Victor Fulmacht
Dwyer, Bernard	V	
Erdreich, Ben	V	
Evans, Lane	B	Leonid Valvoski
Feighan, Edward	V	
Ferraro, Geraldine	B	Ida Nudel
Fiedler, Bobbi	B	Lev Shapiro
Ford, Harold	V	
Frank, Barney	V	
Franklin, Webb	V	
Garcia, Robert		
Gekas, George	V	
Gilman, Benjamin	B	Mark Naspitch
Glickman, Dan	V	
Green, Bill	V	
Holt, Marjorie	B	Ida Nudel
Hoyer, Steny	B	
Hughes, Bill	V	
Hunter, Duncan	B	
Hyde, Henry	B	Alexander Lerner
Johnson, Nancy	V	
Jones, Jim	B	Leonid Lubman
Kaptur, Marci	B	Lev Blitshtein
Kemp, Jack	V	
Kennelly, Barbara	B	Ida Nudel
Kostmayer, Peter	V	

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Lagomarsino, Robert	V	
Lantos, Tom	V	
Lehman, Bill	V	Victor Brailovsky
Lent, Norman	B	Lev Elbert
Levin, Sander	B	Alexander Prutkov
Levine, Mel	V	
Levitas, Elliot	B	
Long, Clarence	V	
Markey, Edward	B	Stanislav Zubko
Martin, Lynn	B	Vladimir and Elena Preston
Mavroules, Nicholas	B	Arkady Mai
McCain, John	V	Felix Kotchubiersky
McGrath, Ray	V	Isaak Shkolnick
McKernan, John	V	
Michel, Bob	V	
Molinari, Guy	V	Alexander Kirenski
Mrazek, Bob	B	Anatoly Shcharansky
Ottinger, Richard	V	Vladimir Tsukerman
Pepper, Claude	V	
Porter, John	B	Anatoly Shcharansky
Reid, Harry	V	
Scheuer, James	B	Victor Yelistratov
Schneider, Claudine	B	David Goldferb
Schroeder, Pat	B	Alexander Paritsky
Schumer, Charles	B	Josef Begun
Seiberling, John	V	Gregory Genasad
Simon, Paul	B	
Smith, Chris	B	Yuri Kosharovskiy
Smith, Larry	B	Yuri Tarnopolsky
Smith, Robert	V	Yvgenye Lein
Solarz, Steven	B	
Stokes, Louis	B	Vladimir & Izolda Tufeld
Torricelli, Robert	V	Leonid Strizhevsky
Towns, Edolphus	V	
Weiss, Ted	B	Aba Taratuta and Family
Wirth, Tim	B	
Wolpe, Howard	B	
Wortley, George	V	Alexander Kushner
Wyden, Ron	V	
C'Neill, Tip	V	
Hertel, Dennis	B	

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

7/13

NOTE TO BOB KIMMITT:

Bob:

Would you please forward the
attached to Dodie Livingston.

Raymond and Dobriansky concur.

Thank you.


Jack Matlock

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

Sou. JEWRY
(STOESSEL) INCOMING TELEGRAM (K)

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EXDIS
MADRID ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: SHUM, US, UR, XT, OVIP (STOESSEL, WALTER J.)
SUBJECT: STOESSEL MISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE:
-- BONN VISIT
REF: A) STATE 185396, B) STATE 186240

1. (CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.)
-- THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS DRAFTED IN BONN AND APPROVED BY AMBASSADOR STOESSEL.

2. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR STOESSEL AND PARTY MET IN BONN ON JULY 11 WITH FRG FOREIGN OFFICE SECRETARY VON STADEN AND COLLEAGUES FOR LUNCH AND EXTENSIVE CONTINUING DISCUSSION OF SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. DISCUSSION REVIEWED POSSIBILITIES OF FURTHER ACTION IN CONTEXT OF SOVIET ATTITUDES AND EVOLUTION OF SOVIET POLICY UNDER ANDROPOV LEADERSHIP. MAIN POINTS MADE BY VON STADEN AND COLLEAGUES WERE AS FOLLOWS:

— FRG CHANCELLOR KOHL AND HIS PARTY, IN MOSCOW THE PRECEDING WEEK, RAISED NOT ONLY GERMAN EMIGRATION PROBLEMS BUT ALSO JEWISH EMIGRATION DECLINE AND SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, INCLUDING SHCHARANSKIY AND SAKHAROV.

— THE FRG DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT A JOINT STATEMENT BY WESTERN ALLIES AT THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE MADRID WOULD BE ATTAINABLE, AND WOULD RECOMMEND COORDINATED SEPARATE STATEMENTS INSTEAD.

— THE FRG WOULD WELCOME GREATER CONSULTATIONS AMONG NATO ALLIES, BUT IN ALREADY EXISTING FORA, SUCH AS THE NATO EASTERN EUROPEAN EXPERTS' MEETINGS, RATHER THAN THROUGH NEW MECHANISMS.

— THE FRG DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT NEW MULTINATIONAL INITIATIVES UNDER UN AUSPICES CARRY MUCH PROMISE.
END SUMMARY.

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 8, 1985

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY ^{PD}

SUBJECT: Ambassadors Kampelman/Stoessel Recommendations on U.S. Policy and Soviet Human Rights

State has forwarded a memorandum to the President from Ambassadors Max Kampelman and Walter Stoessel concerning their participation in 1983-84 Presidential missions to Europe to discuss Soviet human rights performance (Tab A). Based on their extensive consultations in Europe, the memorandum provides an overview of European perceptions on human rights issues and sets forth five recommendations for U.S. policy.

The Kampelman and Stoessel missions have bolstered multilateral efforts to press for improved Soviet human rights performance. In fact, some recent positive multilateral developments include: Allied coordination in preparing for the Ottawa meeting has been excellent; the Council of Europe will be holding its first ministerial level meeting on human rights in Vienna on March 19-20, and the North Atlantic Assembly passed a resolution urging greater attention to human rights compliance and increased parliamentary involvement in the CSCE process.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President summarizing and forwarding the Kampelman/Stoessel memorandum; at Tab II is a memorandum from Kimmitt to State indicating our concurrence with the proposed recommendations.

Matlock, Sommer, Raymond and Steiner concur. SM ^{WR} ^{Steve}

RECOMMENDATION

1. That you sign and forward the memorandum at Tab I.
Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That you authorize Bob Kimmitt to sign and dispatch the memorandum at Tab II.
Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I - McFarlane Memo to the President
- Tab A - Platt Memo to McFarlane of March 2, 1985
- Tab II - Kimmitt Memo to Platt

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BY JN NARA DATE 3/20/2019

TAI

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MEMORANDUM

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1710

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Ambassadors Kampelman/Stoessel Recommendations
on U.S. Policy and Soviet Human Rights

Issue

Results and recommendations of Presidential mission on Soviet human rights performance.

Facts

In 1983 and 1984, Ambassadors Walter Stoessel and Max Kampelman led delegations which you designated as Presidential missions to fifteen European countries to consult on the implications of continued deterioration in Soviet human rights performance. At Tab A is a memorandum they sent to you which outlines their itineraries, provides an overview of European perspectives on human rights issues and sets forth recommendations for U.S. policy.

Discussion

In general, they found that West European leaders agree with us that the systematic pattern of Soviet human rights violations is a long-term obstacle to improved East-West relations and that it is in the West's interest to foster change. However, U.S.-European differences exist on how to achieve improved Soviet human rights performance. Europeans prefer private diplomacy whereas we favor a mixture of private overtures and public pressure. European leaders are also more concerned about the potential for Western criticism of Soviet human rights abuses to disrupt East-West dialogue, and are reluctant to assign a significant coordinating role in human rights to NATO.

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Based on their extensive consultations and awareness of U.S.-European differences, Ambassadors Kampelman and Stoessel have posed the following five recommendations for U.S. human rights policy:

- Continue efforts to engage our Allies and friends in common actions for improved Soviet human rights performance.
- Develop parliamentary networks to foster Soviet respect for human rights.
- Encourage private sector efforts to enhance public and private awareness of Soviet human rights violations.
- Continue to work with our Allies to coordinate common efforts on Soviet human rights issues.
- Enhance coordination and information sharing among our Allies in Moscow embassies.

The results and recommendations of the Presidential mission are consistent with our current policy. State intends to pursue this recommended course of action in NATO fora, in bilateral discussions with our friends and Allies in Europe and in connection with the CSCE Human Rights Experts Meeting in Ottawa, April 23 through June 17, 1985.

I concur with the recommendations set forth. They will facilitate concrete efforts which will broaden the scope of our previous consultations in Europe, will keep the matter of Soviet human right violations in the forefront of European thinking and will provide us with more timely opportunities to enlist the help of the West Europeans in devising a common human rights policy.

Recommendation

OK No

_____ That you approve implementation of the proposed recommendations.

Attachment

Tab A - Platt Memo to McFarlane of March 2, 1985

Prepared by:
Paula Dobriansky

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Washington, D.C. 20520

March 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Ambassadors Kampelman and Stoessel's Recommendations

Attached is a memorandum to the President from Ambassadors Max M. Kampelman and Walter J. Stoessel about their participation in 1983-84 Presidential missions on Soviet human rights. It contains an overview of the views they encountered, the conclusions they reached, and five recommendations for U.S. policy based on their extensive consultations in Europe.

The conclusions and recommendations proposed by Ambassadors Kampelman and Stoessel are consistent with our current policy and approach. The Department will be pursuing these courses of action in NATO, in bilateral discussions with our friends and Allies in Europe, and in connection with the CSCE Human Rights Experts Meeting in Ottawa, April 23 - June 17, 1985. Several recent developments are encouraging: Allied coordination in preparing for the Ottawa meeting has been excellent; the Council of Europe will be holding its first-ever Ministerial level meeting on human rights in Vienna on March 19-20; and the North Atlantic Assembly passed a resolution urging greater attention to human rights compliance and increased parliamentary involvement in the CSCE process.

Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary



PRESIDENTIAL MISSION ON SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ambassadors Walter J. Stoessel and Max M. Kampelman visited 15 European capitals as your representative to discuss with political leaders the implications of the continuing pattern of violations by the Soviet Union of human rights and freedoms.

The European leadership generally agrees with us that the systematic pattern of human rights abuses is a long-term barrier to improvement in East-West relations, and that it is in Western interest to bring about evolutionary change.

There are differences in tactics to reach this goal:

- o The Europeans often prefer private diplomacy, while we have advocated a mixture of diplomacy and public pressures;
- o The European leaders, responding to their public opinion, are generally more concerned than we are about the possibility that Western criticism of Soviet human rights abuses will disrupt the broader East-West dialogue;
- o Some Allies are reluctant for NATO to maintain a significant coordinating and declaratory role in human rights;
- o Some European leaders felt the Western position would be strengthened if we were perceived as being as vigorous on other regional human rights issues as on the Soviet problem.

Following are recommendations for your consideration:

- 1). The USG should continue and intensify its effort to engage the Europeans in a common effort to press for improved Soviet respect for human rights.
- 2). The Administration should encourage the development of relationships between our Congress and European parliaments to broaden political attention to the Soviet human rights issue.
- 3). The USG should support private-sector efforts to increase public and governmental attention to Soviet human rights.
- 4). The State Department should continue to work on improved coordination within the NATO alliance; common Western values as well as defense must remain a prominent part of the agenda.
- 5). Coordination among Allies should also be increased at the level of Moscow Embassies.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 22, 1985

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MEMORANDUM

TO: The President

FROM: Ambassadors Max M. Kampelman *m m/c* and Walter J. Stoessel *WJ*

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy and Soviet Human Rights

Beginning in July of 1983, we have held a series of separate consultations with leaders of 15 European countries on the implications of the continued deterioration in Soviet human rights performance. This paper forwards our conclusions from these meetings, and a set of recommendations for your consideration.

There is little disagreement within the West that the record of the Soviet Union's compliance with its human rights commitments under the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act is poor and getting worse. A number of European leaders, however, were not fully aware of the details of the lack of Soviet compliance, including increased Soviet repression of all forms of dissent, new laws restricting contacts with foreigners, the abysmal level of emigration, and an alarming increase in official anti-semitic activities. European leaders generally share your commitment to seeking meaningful improvements in this record of repression, censorship, and denial of fundamental freedoms. We believe there is a consensus among our Allies and key neutral and non-aligned nations that the pattern of Soviet human rights abuses is a long-term barrier to significant improvement in East-West relations. It is clearly in Western interests to bring about evolutionary change.

There are, however, some differences with our Allies and friends on tactics for achieving this goal:

-- A number of European governments continue to believe that private diplomacy is more effective than "public diplomacy" in achieving concrete results in Soviet human rights behavior. The Europeans are generally more willing than we to gloss over specific human rights problems in multilateral meetings such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and in bilateral dialogue with the Soviets. The United States,

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on the other hand, has advocated a combination of public and private activities which draw attention to Soviet abuses and seek specific remedies. We believe this element of accountability is essential to maintain the credibility of negotiating processes such as the CSCE. Even the exchange of confrontational statements has a use in reminding the Soviets that their human rights abuses are unprofitable to them.

-- Likewise, the Europeans are in general more anxious than we to be seen in dialogue with the Soviets, and to conclude agreements. As a result, European leaders are generally concerned that the fact of Soviet human rights abuses not interfere with broader aspects of the East-West dialogue. This political situation results from the traditions of diplomacy and from the perception that European public opinion is reassured by East-West dialogue and the signing of agreements. The United States has been less taken with these appearances, and is in general more concerned about verification of and compliance with agreements.

-- The United States has advocated a significant role for NATO in expressing common Western humanitarian values, as well as a role in coordinating an Allied approach to East-West human rights issues and CSCE. Some Europeans, including the French, Spanish and Norwegians, believe that NATO should remain largely a behind-the-scenes coordinator, with European institutions such as the Council of Europe and the European Community playing a larger role.

-- The United States is ahead of the Europeans in developing political and institutional readiness to work with public interest groups and integrate human rights as a normal element of our overall foreign policy approach.

-- We have urged coordinated and unified Western pressure on the Soviets to respect the human rights of their citizens. Some Europeans advocate a "differentiated" approach whereby each country pursues issues of particular concern to it (e.g., the Norwegians concentrate on the Sakharov case, the Germans on emigration of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union).

-- A number of European leaders remarked that U.S. criticism of Soviet human rights abuses would be more effective and credible if we were perceived to be pressing just as vigorously for human rights in Central America, Chile, South Africa, the Philippines and elsewhere around the globe.

We have taken these points into consideration in drawing up the recommendations which follow.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1). The U.S. government should continue and intensify its broadly-based foreign policy effort to engage our Allies and friends in common efforts -- including both public and private diplomacy -- to press for improved Soviet respect for human rights and CSCE commitments. Such initiatives are an important element of our overall effort to improve East-West relations, since to ignore patterns of Soviet abuses will over time erode the political and security relationship. We recommend that you regularly raise this issue in appropriate meetings with European and other Heads of State, such as meetings of the Seven. In doing so, you should assume common values and a common desire to advance them. A "let us think this through" approach could be helpful. Senior U.S. officials should seek high level dialogue on how to coordinate our independent efforts to achieve concrete improvements in human rights. The White House, National Security Council, Department of State, US Information Agency, and our missions overseas all have important roles to play.

2). Administration officials, and members of the U.S. Congress who participate in organizations such as the Interparliamentary Union and the North Atlantic Assembly, should encourage their colleagues to increase their activities on Soviet human rights. The United States should encourage the development of parliamentary networks which work privately and publicly to promote Soviet respect for their human rights commitments. (In a recent example of the positive effect this can have, Irish parliamentarians affiliated with a U.S.-based non governmental organization sponsored an all parties debate and resolution on treatment of Soviet Jewry.) The joint Executive-Congressional CSCE Commission is well-positioned to help stimulate increased activity by European parliamentarians, e.g., joint missions to Eastern countries and parliamentary reviews of Eastern compliance with human rights commitments. As suggested by several European leaders, the U.S. should encourage an active and expanding role for the Council of Europe (COE) in Soviet human rights. This subject should be raised when COE parliamentarians visit Washington, and when Congressional and Administration officials visit the COE in Strasbourg. The Department of State should make these points to Foreign Minister Genscher during his tenure (through April 1985) as chairman of the COE Committee of Ministers. The message should also be passed via the semi-annual Congressional exchange visits with the European Parliament.

3). The United States government should continue to give appropriate encouragement to non-governmental human rights organizations concerned with Soviet human rights. These groups should be urged to further develop relationships with European and other counterpart organizations. (Some European peace groups have begun to realize that improvements in Soviet human rights are directly related to the prospects for European peace and security.) USIA and the National Endowment for Democracy should support scholarship and travel for this purpose. U.S. officials should encourage counterparts in other governments to develop institutionalized arrangements for integrating human rights with other foreign policy concerns, e.g. by creating human rights offices in foreign ministries, and by giving appropriate support and access to European non-governmental human rights organizations. USIA should have the fullest mandate from the White House to support activities which increase international public and political awareness of the Soviet human rights problem.

4). The Department of State should continue to work with our Allies to coordinate common efforts on Soviet human rights issues. Elements of this approach include continuing joint efforts in NATO, the United Nations, the Helsinki process, and forceful private diplomacy. The European Community pools information on their diplomatic initiatives on Soviet human rights. The State Department should work in NATO councils for similar coordination in that forum. The Secretary of State may well consider proposing to NATO Foreign Ministers that human rights issues be on the agenda for one of the semiannual meetings of the North Atlantic Council. The United States should continue to insist that human rights and humanitarian issues remain a prominent element of the CSCE process.

5). We should continue to work with our European friends and Allies to improve coordination and information-sharing in Moscow on Soviet human rights issues. Ambassador Hartman has suggested the desirability of increased sharing of information on discussions with Soviet officials, coordination of demarches on humanitarian subjects, and increased Allied visibility at the Moscow synagogue.

We will of course be at your disposal for further discussion and exploration of any of the ideas contained in this paper.

Attachment: Summary of itineraries for Presidential missions
Executive summary

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PRESIDENTIAL MISSION ON SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS

I. July 4-14, 1983

France - July 5

Key Interlocutors:

Secretary General Gutmann
Deputy Director for Europe Timsit
CSCE Coordinator Beaux
Cheysson staff member Delbourg

Italy - July 6

Key interlocutors:

Prime Minister Fanfani
Foreign Minister Colombo
Foreign Minister Secretary Malfutti
Ambassador Remo Paolini

Vatican - July 6

Key Interlocutors:

Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli
U.S. Council for Public Affairs Archbishop Silvestrini

Austria - July 7

Key Interlocutors:

Bruno Kreisky
Foreign Minister Lanc
Ministry for Foreign Affairs Secretary General
Hinteregger
Ministry for Foreign Affairs Political Director
Bauer
Cardinal Koenig
Newspaper editors

Netherlands - July 8

Key Interlocutors:

Prime Minister Lubbers
Secretary General Verkade
Ministry for Foreign Affairs Human Rights Coordinator
Van Buuren
Ministry for Foreign Affairs CSCE Off. De Vissen
European Affairs Director Polak

Spain - July 9

Key Interlocutors:

NATO CSCE Caucus
Ministry for Foreign Affairs Special Ambassador
Jesus Esquerra
North American Affairs Director General Jose Manuel
Allendzsalazar

FRG - July 11

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Office State Secretary Berndt Von Staden
Soviet Affairs Director Arnot
Dr. Guenter Joetze
Foreign Office Human Rights Director Schilling
Ministerial Director General Dr. Hans Schauer

Great Britain - July 12

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe
Under Secretary of State Raymond Whitney and staff
European Parliament Human Rights Working
Group Chairman, Lord Nicolas Bethell
Peter Reddaway, LSOE

USNATO/Belgium - July 13

Key Interlocutors:

MFR Political Director Alfred Cahen
Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans
Secretary General Luns
NAC, Luns also
Secretary, North Atlantic Assembly POhillipe
Deshornes
Director, North Atlantic Assembly Committee for
Education, Cultural Affairs and Information
Guillaume Parmentien

11

II. July 18-25, 1984

Switzerland - July 19

Key Interlocutors:

Ministry for Foreign Affairs State Secretary
Eduard Brunner
Ministry for Foreign Affairs Director, Political
Division Franz Muheim

FRG - July 20

Bonn

State Secretary Andraeas Meyer-Landrut
American Affairs Director Von Studnitz
Soviet Affairs Director Arnot

Denmark - July 23

Key Interlocutors:

Chief, Ministry for Foreign Affairs Legal Division
Niels Boel
Chief, Ministry for Foreign Affairs Political Division
Thomas Rechnagel
Acting Chief, East/West Affairs Office Harris Nielsen

France - July 24-25

Key Interlocutors:

Secretary General Francis Gutmann
Political Director Jacques Andreani
Opposition Deputies:
Secretary General Parti Republicain
Francis Leotard
Deputy Parti Republicain Michel Noir

10
III. September 4-22

Italy - September 7

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Minister Andreotti
Foreign Ministry Deputy Political Director Franceschi
CSCE Office Deputy Director Costa

Vatican - September 7

Key Interlocutors:

Vatican officials Cardinal Casaroli and Monsignor
Sylvestrini

USNATO/Belgium - September 9-11

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Minister Tindemans
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Chief of Cabinet
Georges van der Espt
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Director General of
Political Affairs Cahen
Austrian Ambassador to Belgium Ceska
Head of Brussels Solidarity of Office Milewski
NATO Assistant Secretary General Da Rin

Norway - September 11-12

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Minister Stray
Ministry of Foreign Affairs State Secretary Froysnes
Labor Party Leader Brundtland

Finland - September 12-13

Key Interlocutors:

Prime Minister Sorea
Foreign Minister Vayrynen
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Under Secretary Tornudd
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Director for Political
Affairs Pietinen

Sweden - September 13-15

Key Interlocutors:

Prime Minister Bodstrom
Deputy Foreign Minister Schori
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Director of Political
Affairs Bekeris
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Director of western
European and American Division Berquist

USSR - September 15-19

Key Interlocutors:

Former Member of Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group
Melman and wife
Jewish Refusenik Lerner

Great Britain - September 19-21

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Secretary Howe
Foreign and Commonwealth Office Political Director
Thomas
Parliamentary Under Secretary Renton
Foreign and Commonwealth Office Soviet Department Chief
Broomfield

Ireland - November 2

Key Interlocutors:

Foreign Minister Barry
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Director of Political
Affairs Mackernan
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Counsellor on Human Rights
Barrington
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Counsellor on CSCE McCabe

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Ambassadors Kampelman/Stoessel Recommendations
on U.S. Policy and Soviet Human Rights (S)

The President has reviewed and concurs with the recommendations for U.S. policy on Soviet human rights set forth by Ambassadors Max Kampelman and Walter Stoessel. Specifically, these include: the continuation and intensification of broadly-based foreign policy efforts to engage our friends and Allies in multilateral actions for improved Soviet human rights performance; the development of parliamentary networks; the encouragement of private sector efforts to enhance public/private awareness of Soviet human rights violations; the coordination of common efforts with our Allies; and the improvement of information-sharing among our Allies in Moscow embassies. (S)

We believe that these steps will broaden the scope of our previous consultations in Europe, will keep the matter of Soviet human rights violations in the forefront of European thinking and will provide us with timely opportunities to enlist further the help of the West Europeans in devising a common human rights policy. (C)

Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

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