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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name File Folder	MATLOCK, JACK: FILES MATLOCK CHRON OCTOBER 1985 (4/12)			liumber 12	1-061		4/12/20 ZUBO 1202		
ID Type of Document	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restriction	Class	SCI	RD/ FRD	Equities	NSC Waiver
7890 LETTER	RITA VARAV TO PRESIDENT REAGAN	1	ND	B6				0 0	
7889 LETTER	[25 - 25] RITA VARAV TO GORBACHEV [28 - 28]	1	7 /22/1985	B6				0 0 0 0	

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.

8033JM-C1

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 8, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

THROUGH: WILLIAM F. MARTLN

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT: Request Permission to Speak at the Kennan Institute Noon Program on December 18, 1985

I have been invited to speak at the Wilson Center on the Kennan Institute Wednesday noon program on December 18 on the "Future Prospects for U.S.-Soviet Relations."

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my participation.

Approve

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab A Letter of Invitation

THE WILSON CENTER

12/16/85 2 12:00 NON

KENNAN INSTITUTE

FOR ADVANCED RUSSIAN STUDIES

Hon. George F. Kennan, Founding Chairman

Herbert J. Ellison, Secretary

Bradford P. Johnson, Program Associate

ACADEMIC COUNCIL

Cyril E. Black, Chairman Princeton University

Joseph Berliner Brandeis University

George J. Demko Ohio State University

David Granick University of Wisconsin

Gail Lapidus University of California, Berkeley

Alexander Rabinowitch Indiana University

Hans Rogger University of California, Los Angeles

Victor Terras Brown University

Adam Ulam Harvard University

Serge Zenkovsky Vanderbilt University, Emeritus September 17, 1985

Ambassador Jack F. Matlock Special Assistant to the President National Security Council Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Jack,

We would like very much to have you speak at the Wilson Center on the Kennan Institute Wednesday <u>noon program on December</u> If after your return from Europe. Would it be possible for you to do that, speaking on the results/experience of the summit?

It has been several months since I've seen you. I was sorry to be out of town when you did such a splendid job at the time of Voznesensky's visit. Everyone praised your performance. Perhaps I'll see you again at the Brookings seminars, or elsewhere, this fall.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert J. Ellison

FILE 3



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

October 8, 1985

Dear Charlie:

Just a quick line re your letter of September 30. I've been informed that our people are working on a general public relations approach to the summit and, therefore, didn't want to do something like the B.B.C. interview in advance. I've told them to consider the interview in connection with the campaign which is aimed for later this month after my United Nations speech.

Thanks for bringing this to my attention and thanks for my shirt. Shall I send socks and undies the next time?

Nancy sends her love.

Sincerely'R 🖛

The Honorable Charles H. Price II American Ambassador London NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

7923

October 4, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT: Reply Letter to Ambassador Price

David Chew forwarded through Bill Martin for NSC consideration, a letter from Ambassador Price in London to the President requesting a Presidential interview for BBC Radio to allay fears in Britain that we are not serious in seeking arms reductions. At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President recommending that he sign the reply letter under Tab A. The letter assures Ambassador Price that the proposal is being given serious consideration and that the President is approaching the Geneva meeting in all seriousness.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum and allow it and the letter to go forward to the President via David Chew.

Disapprove

Attachments

Tab IMemorandum to the PresidentTab ALetter to Ambassador PriceTab BLetter from Ambassador Price

Sommer, Mandel, and Miller concur.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SUBJECT: Letter to Ambassador Price

Issue

Response to Ambassador Price's letter of September 30, 1985, (Tab B).

Facts

Ambassador Price has written requesting that you give an interview to BBC radio allay British concerns about our sincerity in seeking arms reductions. Your letter replies.

Discussion

Your response (Tab A) assures the Ambassador that the BBC request is being considered and that your approach to the Geneva meeting is sincere. You remind the Ambassador that the outcome will depend on whether General Secretary Gorbachev will have the same approach. The letter closes with an expression of pleasure at the prospect of seeing the Ambassador and Mrs. Price in Washington for the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Recommendation

OK NO

That you sign your letter to Ambassador Price.

Attachment:

- Tab A Letter to Ambassador Price
- Tab B Letter from Ambassador Price

Prepared by: Robert J. Korengold 7923



A service and any had and

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA LONDON, ENGLAND

September 30, 1985

CHARLES H. PRICE II AMBASSADOR

> The President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Last May my Embassy sent a request to the White House asking that you take part in an interview with BBC radio. The interview was to have dealt with your aspirations for a more peaceful world and how you seek to lower the level of East-West tensions. The broadcast would have been heard throughout the United Kingdom as well as worldwide. For whatever reason the request was turned down.

- in march a second and the second and the in a second and the sec

I believe that such an interview would provide you with an opportunity to share with BBC listeners around the world what you hope to achieve in the arms control arena and how you believe US-USSR relations can be most effectively approached.

As I have mentioned on previous occasions, there is here in the U.K. and Europe a mood of suspicion and anxiety about our commitment to meaningful arms reductions and our willingness to engage in productive talks with the Soviets both at the arms control negotiations and at your forthcoming November meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev. A statement from you in your own words would, I believe, go far to easing these concerns and dispelling mistrust. So far, the pre-Summit limelight has shone mostly on Moscow's new leadership. The BBC request offers us a unique opportunity to shift that focus in your direction with words aimed directly at our European partners.

I therefore urge that you reconsider the BBC request. Should you agree, the BBC would like the interview to take place at the earliest possible occasion, preferably this week or next. It would last no longer than 15 or 20 minutes, and they assure us that they would give the interview extraordinary prominence to assure maximum possible exposure. I was with Bud this past Saturday when he briefed the Prime Minister on your meeting with Shevardnadze and the contents of the Gorbachev proposal. We obviously have our work cut out for us, and this BBC radio interview I believe will be most helpful.

Carol joins me in sending you and Nancy our love and very best.

Sincerely,

- 2 -

JM-C8

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 8, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE JACK F. MATLOCH

FROM:

Letter for Senator Stevens SUBJECT:

Attached at Tab I is a letter from you to Senator Ted Stevens thanking him for providing you with materials from a group calling itself Women for a Meaningful Summit. The material was originally sent to Mrs. Stevens, and the Senator asked that it be brought to your attention.

According to the group's letter (Tab A), a delegation of prominent American women is planning to go to Geneva while the President is there in November to lobby for, among other things, a "comprehensive test ban treaty" involving the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. A copy of the organization's detailed statement of objectives is attached at Tab B.

Ron Sable, Kafna Small, and Steve Steiner concur.

RECOMMENDATION

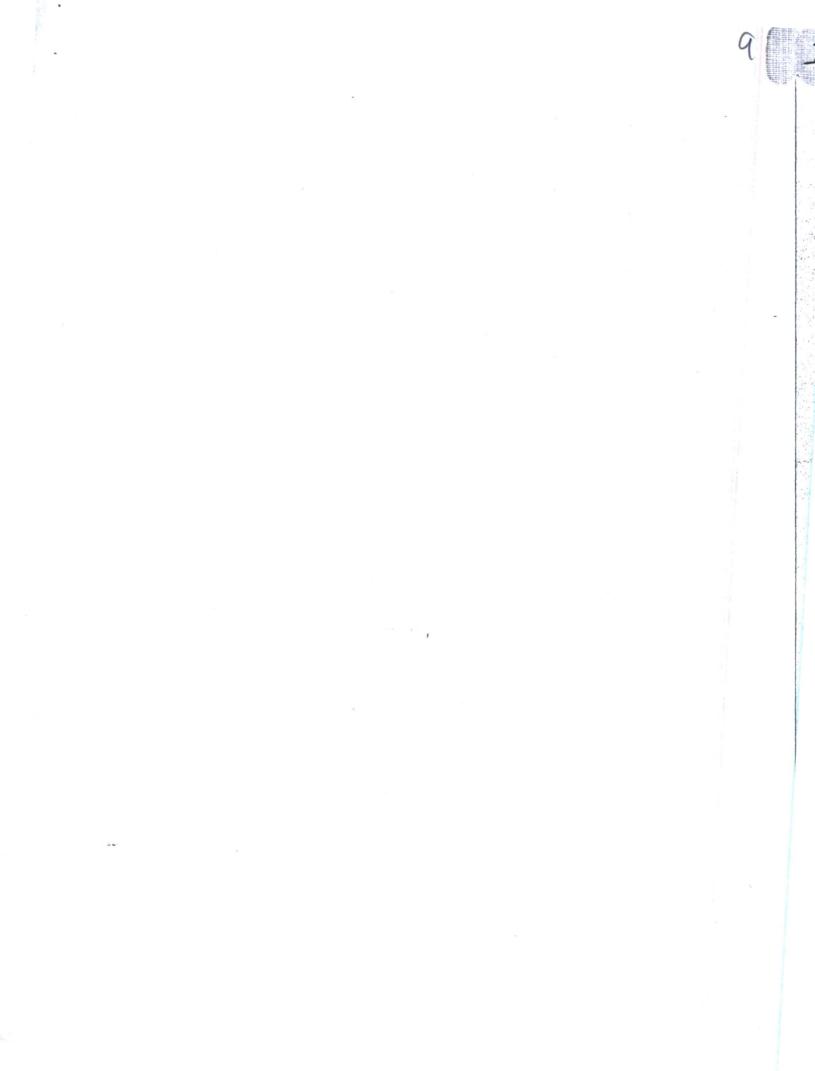
That you sign the attached letter to Senator Stevens.

Approve Disapprove

Attachments

Tab-I Letter to Senator Stevens

Tab	A	Letter from Women for a Meaningful Summit
Tab	В	Statement from Women for a Meaningful Summit
Tab	С	Endorsement and Participation Form - Women for a
		Meaningful Summit



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Stevens:

Thank you for forwarding the letter that your wife recently received from Women for a Meaningful Summit. I appreciated the opportunity to review their ideas on possible areas of agreement in Geneva.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Ted Stevens United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510



RAMEANINGRU

SEP 25 mor

September 20, 1985

Mrs Ted Stevens Us Senate Sh522 Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mrs Stevens:

The leaders of the Superpowers - the United States and the Soviet Union will hold an historic Summit Meeting in Geneva, Switzerland November 19th - 20th, 1985. This Summit, the first between US President Ronald Reagan and a Soviet leader, USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in this decade, is a most significant opportunity for the US and USSR to reverse the arms race and improve relations and cooperation between the two nations. Both leaders will be challenged to strengthen their nations' mutual security - and the security of all nations - by immediately resuming negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to end all nuclear explosions.

Prominent women and women's organizations have joined in ad hoc coalition, urging President Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to seize this opportunity and take real, concrete steps to reverse the nuclear arms race. On behalf of the coalition, <u>Women for a Meaningful Summit</u>, we would like to invite you to join us and a national delegation of prominent women traveling to Geneva from November 17th - 21st to personally express this important message.

The delegation will convey this message to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in the following ways:

- * meetings with the Superpower leaders and/or senior members of both governments, at which time the enclosed Statement and petition, which have been endorsed internationally, will be formally presented;
- * smaller delegation visits with ambassadors of other nations which have Geneva consulates;
- * a series of issue and press briefing sessions with national and international media;
- * briefing and information exchange sessions with delegations of prominent women from other nations; and
- * the "tying" of The Ribbon at a symbolic Geneva landmark.

Women for a Meaningful Summit will be responsible for the logistics of coordinating delegation activities. As a member of the delegation, you would be responsible for:

- 1) your travel and lodging expenses to, from, and at Geneva (assistance with making those arrangements will be available);
- 2) participating in a delegation briefing session in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, November 16th; and
- 3) endorsing the enclosed Statement to be presented to both President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev.

It is our intention to make the delegation a strong, substantive and important political presence during the Summit talks. Your leadership will add to the high quality and seriousness of the delegation's membership. We also appreciate your suggestions of colleagues who may be interested in joining the delegation.

Finally, we have only 59 days until the delegation leaves for Geneva. A minimum of \$100,800 in tax-deductible monies must be raised within that time to absolutely ensure the success of our momentous mission. Your tax-deductible contribution, or your help in identifying tax-deductible monies, will be so important to our success.

The incredible shortness of time in which to plan the delegation's efforts requires us to urge your very quick response to our invitation. An Endorsement & Partication Response form is enclosed (if you are unable to join us in Geneva, there are other ways in which you can participate - just note on the form what you are able to do). Please return the form by October 1, 1985. We need to have this form on file in order to publicly use your name in association with the Statement, especially in any paid advertising campaign. Directly contact Susan Herschkowitz, Coordinator of Women for a Meaningful Summit, at 202/822-7492, who will respond to any questions, ideas or concerns you may have.

An enormous task lies before us. We look forward to working with you in this moment of history.

Sincerely,

ne Woodund

Mary DENT Crisp

Mary Dent Crisp

Joanne Woodward

Jera KistiaKowsky

Vera Kistiakowsky

Fat Schure D.

Hon. Patricia Schroeder

onno Harris

LaDonna Harris

the Scott King l'ore

Coretta Scott King

Kelen Calderell

Hellen Caldicott

BellaSabug

Bella Abzug

Alexan

Jane Alexander

Betty Bumpers

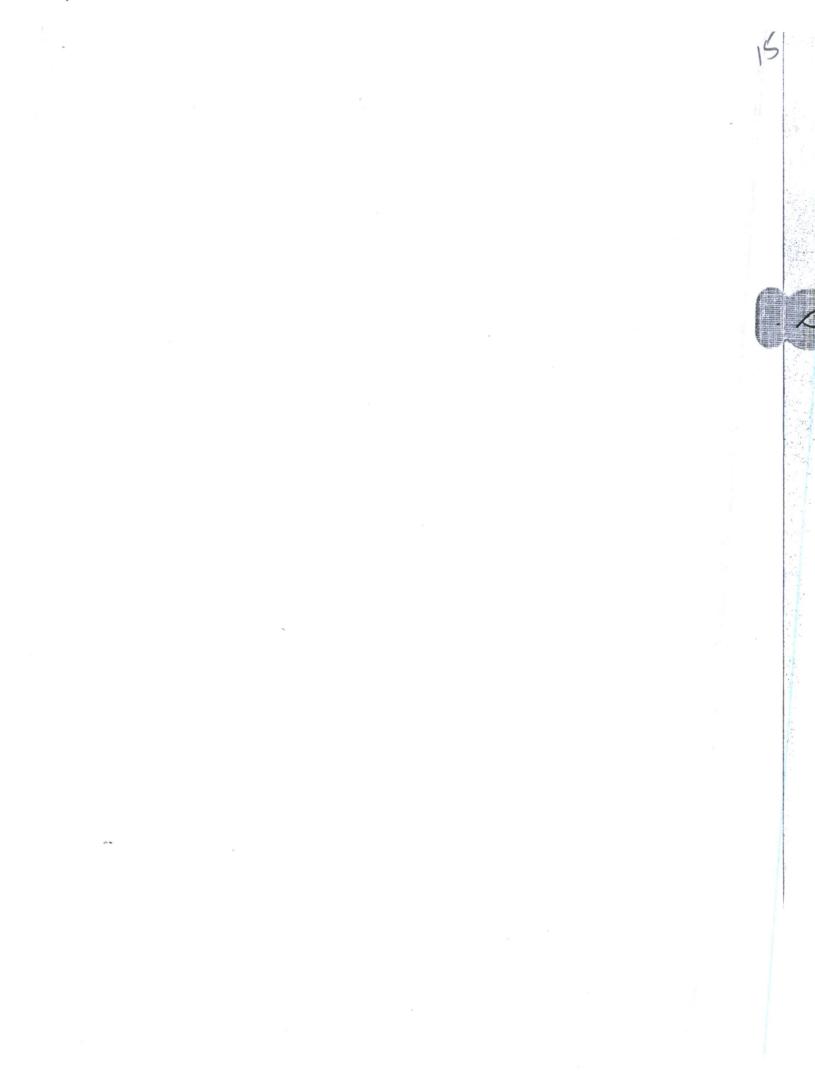
Betty Bumpers

Brybara Boxer

Hon. Barbara Boxer

 $\left(\right)$ hld

Frances T. Farenthold





STATEMENT

We call upon United States President Ronald Reagan and USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to approach the November Summit Meeting in Geneva as a most significant opportunity to reverse the arms race and improve relations and cooperation between the two nations.

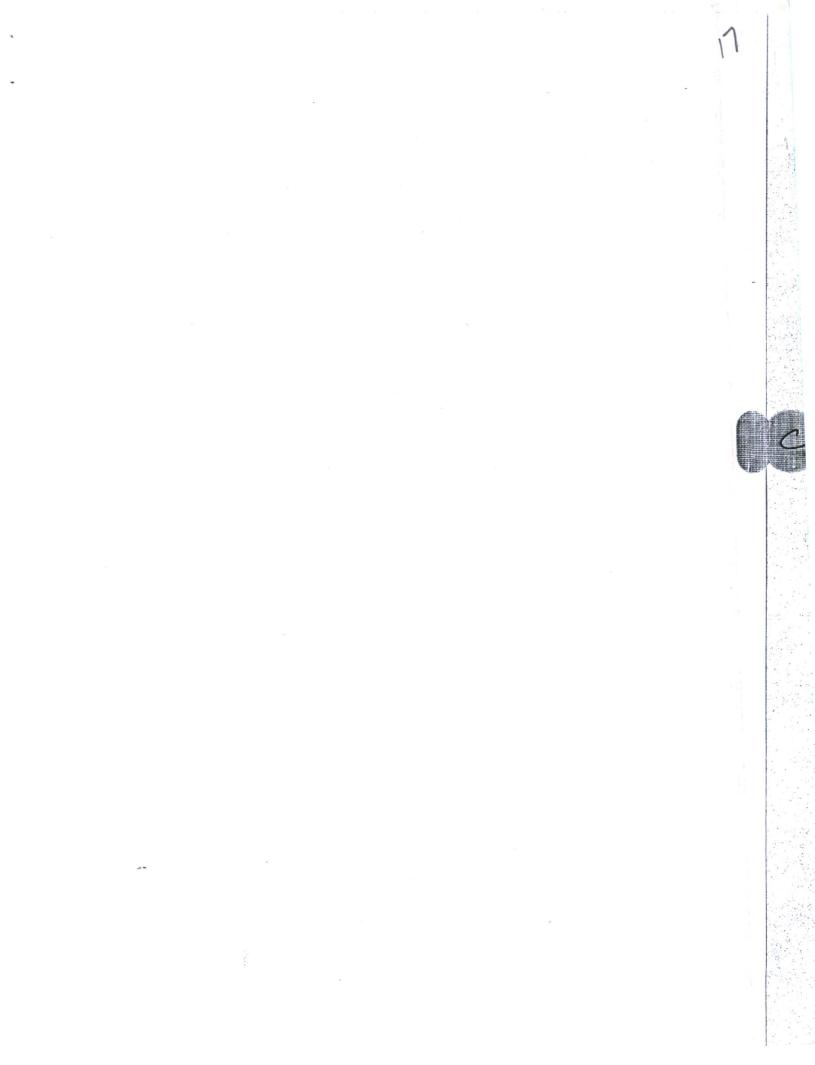
As women and members of the world community, we look to this Summit for substantive results. We speak for our children and future generations. It is unconscionable that spending on the arms race consumes more and more of the world's resources, while basic human needs go unmet. We view the increasing militarization of the world and the threat of an arms race in space as unacceptable.

The United States and the Soviet Union should together proclaim verifiable, mutual moratoriums on the testing of nuclear warheads on earth and the testing of anti-satellite weapons in space.

We urge the United States and the Soviet Union to pledge to resume, immediately upon the adjournment of the Summit, negotiations with Great Britain for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This is a realistic goal because the framework for such a Treaty, including plans for verification, has already been established. A Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty can prevent the build-up of dangerous new weapons and create a climate for eventual nuclear disarmament.

The Summit is an opportunity for both leaders to show their true concern by implementing the above recommendations, and using alternative approaches to peacefully obtain global security.

9/85





ENDORSEMENT & PARTICIPATION FORM

Name:	
Organization:	Title:
Address:	City/State:
Zip Code: Phone: (o)()	(h) ()
A. ENDORSEMENT OF STATEMENT	
 I will endorse the Statement: a) as an individual (with org identification purposes on b) as an individual (without c) for my organization I am unable to endorse the Statement: 	ly) organization affiliation)
B. GENEVA DELEGATION	
 1) I will be a member of the Gene 2) I am unable to be a member of 	
C. MEDIA	
 1) I am available to represent th (check appropriate letters): a) radio b) television d) local e) na 2) I am unavailable to speak with 	c) print
D. FUNDRAISING	
 I am able to make a tax-deduct Women for a Meaningful Summit. I can help raise monies the fo a) suggest individuals who ma b) use my name on fundraising c) hold a fundraising meeting I am unable to assist with rai 	Amount enclosed: \$ llowing way(s): y contribute invitations in my home or office

Please return this form by October 1, 1985 to Women for a Meaningful Summit, 1201 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; 202/822-7492. This form needs to be on file for public use of your name with the Statement.

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MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM:

SUBJECT:

6838 Quatur 9, 1980 SALLY KELLEY WILLIAM F. MARTIN Condegnate Country Suggested Response and concint to a 1 We have reviewed and concur with the State Department's suggested response (Tab A) to a letter from Ms. Rita Varav to the President.

Attachments

1

Tab	A	State Department draft reply
Tab	В	Letter to the President from Ms. Varav
Tab	C	Accompanying cover letters from Mr. Joel MacCollam
Tab	D	Copies of Ms. Varav's appeals to Gorbachev and
		Ambassador Dobrynin

8523714

ID 8506838

DATE: 30 AUG 85

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

REFERRAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

SOURCE: VARAV, RITA

TO: PRESIDENT

DATE: 21 AUG 85

KEYWORDS: USSR

IMMIGRATION

TAMMIK, EDNA

MP

SUBJ: LTR TO PRES FM VARAV RE IMMIGRATION OF TAMMIK & FAMILY

REQUIRED ACTION. DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUEDATE: 06 SEP 85

COMMENTS.

Diane G. Ros

FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Receiver, Que 5/5-5

l	JNC	LA	SSI	FT	ED
(CLAS					

S/S	#	8525714	l			
DATE		SEP		5	1995	

DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR:	Mr.	Rober	t C.	McFa	rlane
	Nati	onal	Secur	ity	Council
	The	White	Hous	e	

REFERENCE:

TO:	President	Reagan	FROM:	Ms.	Rita	Varav	
	-						
DATE:	August 21,	1985	SUBJECT	: So	oviet	Emigration	

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: August 30, 198 SNSC # 8506838

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached
- A draft reply will be forwarded
- A translation is attached
- XXX An information copy of a direct reply is attached
- _____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below
 - Other

REMARKS:

Platt olas

Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Ms. Varav:

I am replying to your August 21 letter to President Reagan regarding the unsuccessful efforts of your sister and her family to emigrate to the United States.

We continue to include the Tammik family name on the Department of State's list of Soviet citizens who have been denied permission to emigrate to the United States despite repeated applications. We present this list periodically to highlevel Soviet officials to emphasize the deeply felt belief of the American people and government that Soviet citizens should not be forced to stay in the Soviet Union against their will. The Tammik family name will remain on this list until their case is resolved favorably.

The U.S. Government has consistently encouraged Soviet authorities to adopt a more favorable attitude toward Soviet citizens wishing to reunite with family members abroad. Unfortunately, the Soviets have not been responsive to our efforts, labelling them as "interference" in their internal affairs.

Ms. Rita Varav 2309 Ralston Lane Redondo Beach, California U.S. influence on Soviet emigration practices and decisions remains extremely limited. However, we are not discouraged and will attempt to exercise what influence we have. As Secretary Shultz stated in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Human rights cannot be relegated to the margins of international politics."

We will continue to raise the issue of freedom of movement, as well as other basic rights, in every appropriate forum. To once again quote Secretary Shultz, "The need for steady improvement of Soviet performance in the most important human rights categories is as central to the Soviet-American dialogue as any other theme. Sometimes we advance this dialogue best through public expression of our concerns, at other times through quiet diplomacy. What counts, and the Soviets know this, is whether we see results."

Sincerely,

- 2 -

ERICANISM STEUART McBIRNIE / NEWS ANALYST / Box Ninety, Glendale, California 91209

August 22, 1985

Mr. Douglas Halliday The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Doug:

The enclosed letter is self-explanatory.

Dr. McBirnie and I are hopeful you can direct it to the appropriate person in the White House for a response to the family involved, as well as some kind of positive action from our government toward the Soviet Union.

Copies of this plea have been forwarded to the appropriate congressman (Mel Levine) as well as Carlos Morehead, although both of them realize that the main inquiry has been directed toward the White House.

If there are any questions I could answer for you, please call me at 818-240-4871. Thank you, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Joel A. MacCollam General Manager

JAM/m

United Community Churches of America

213 SOUTH KENWOOD STREET, GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA 91205 (213) 240-4871

August 22, 1985

The Hon. Mel Levine The House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Lévine:

I am forwarding to you a photocopy of a letter sent by one of our constituents to President Reagan about relatives currently held in the Soviet Union. We have been involved, in part, because of communication problems some family memebrs have with English as a second language.

Since these people live in your district, I felt you would want to be aware of their situation and perhaps could offer them some hope and counsel.

The original letter has been sent to the President through Mr. Douglas Halliday in the Office of Public Liaison. We have also sent a copy to our representative, Carlos Morehead, for his information.

Please have a member of your staff contact me at 818-240-4871 if there are any questions I can answer for you. We appreciate your consideration of this sensitive family matter.

Joel A. MacCollam Vice President

JAM/m

His Exellency Anatoly Dobrynin Embassy of the U.S.S.R. 1125 16th St. N.W. Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I would like to request that:

Mr. Valdur Tammik KAKUMAE TEE 41-2 Tallinn, 200035 Estonian S.S.R.

his wife, Edna, daughter, Kathryn, and son, Kaupo, be granted immediate permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union to this country. Several United States senators and congressmen, as well as the National Security Advisor to the President of the United States, have recently made a similar request.

The Tammiks' original application for permission to emigrate was made in 1977, as part of a joint application with Mr. Jaanus Karner and family who emigrated in 1983. Mr. Tammik and his family have a sponsor in this country, namely Mrs. Rita Varav, of 2309 Ralston Lane, Redondo Beach, California 90278. Mrs. Varav is the sister of Mrs. Tammik.

Permission to emigrate appeared to be granted on May 17, 1981. But on December 30, 1981 this permit was revoked. Further applications have been submitted jointly with the Karner family. On December 4, 1983 the Karners were allowed to emigrate, but the Tammiks were again denied. No reason was given.

On April 17, 1985, their sponser, Mrs. Varav, received word from her sister, Mrs. Tammik, that permission had once again been denied.

All of Mrs. Tammik's sisters and brothers are now living in this country. I join my request with those which have been made in the past, and which are being made presently, in behalf of the Tammiks, who wish above all else to be reunited with the rest of their family here in the U.S.A. I urge that a resolution be made with haste in their behalf.

Sincerely, (Print or type please.) Rele Concor NAME VARAV RITH 2319 RALSTON LANE SIGNATURE STREET REDONDO BEACH

CITY, STATE, ZIP CAL GUZTS

October 8, 1985 ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN JACK F. MATLOCK FROM: Suggested Response to Ms. Rita Varav SUBJECT: Attached at Tab I is a memorandum forwarding the State Department's suggested response to a letter from Ms. Rita Varav to the President. I have reviewed the draft and concur with the proposed message. Steve Sestanovich, Richard Childress, Judyt Mandel and Baymond Burghardt concur. RECOMMENDATION That you sign the memorandum at Tab I. Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Attachments Tab I Memorandum to Sally Kelley Tab A State Department draft reply Tab BLetter to the President from Ms. VaravTab CAccompanying cover letters from Mr. Joel MacCollamTab DCopies of Ms. Varav's appeals to Gorbachev and Ambassador Dobrynin

31 Ju-C

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 10. 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

THROUGH: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT: Travel Request to Accompany Secretary Shultz to Brussels on October 13-15, 1985

I have been asked to accompany Secretary Shultz to Brussels to participate in the North Atlantic Council briefings to he held on October 15, 1985.

All costs will be covered by the Department of State.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my travel.

Approve

Disapprove _____

cc: Administrative Office

ADDIN
NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION 10/10/85 DATE:
TRAVELER'S NAME: JACK F. MATLOCK
PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): TO ACCOMPANY SEC SHULTZ TO BRUSSED ON OCT 13-15 FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRIEFING THE NAC
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary): WASHINGTON/BRUSSELS/WASHINGTON
DEPARTURE DATE 10/13/85 RETURN DATE 10/15/85
9:00AM TIME 7:00 PM
MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:
GOV AIR XX COMMERCIAL AIR POV RAIL OTHER
ESTIMATED EXPENSES:
TRANSPORTATION PER DIEM OTHER TOTAL TRIP COST
WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC OTHER DEPARTMENT OF STATE
IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: TRAVEL TO BE PERFORMED ON SECRETARY SHULT'S PLANE
WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES NOXX
IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler, Describe Source and Arrangements):
TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$
REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would
A.
TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: Mattan

13. APPROVALS:

/

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

ACTION

October 10, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK

SUBJECT: Background Paper for the First Lady

Attached at Tab A is the third in a series of weekly papers on the Soviet Union that we are doing for the First Lady. It concerns religion in the USSR and was prepared by the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to James G. Rosebush at Tab I forwarding the paper to the First Lady.

Approve

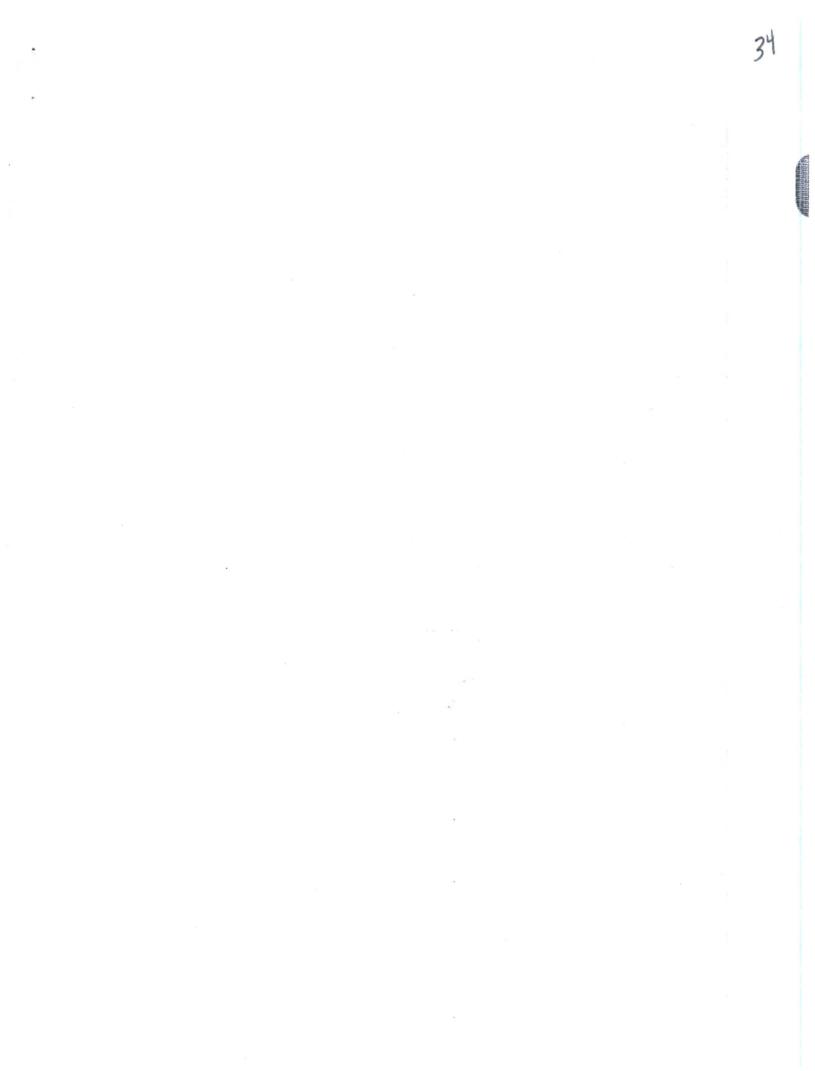
Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memo to James G. Rosebush Tab A "Religion in the Soviet Union"

DECLASSIFIED	and some ever you
	107
White Jouse Guidelines, August 28/19 By NARA, Date	02
111	

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES G. ROSEBUSH

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Background Paper for the First Lady

Attached at Tab A is the third in a series of weekly papers we are putting together for the First Lady as background reading on the Soviet Union. It deals with religion in the USSR and was drafted by the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the paper to the First Lady.

Approve

Disapprove

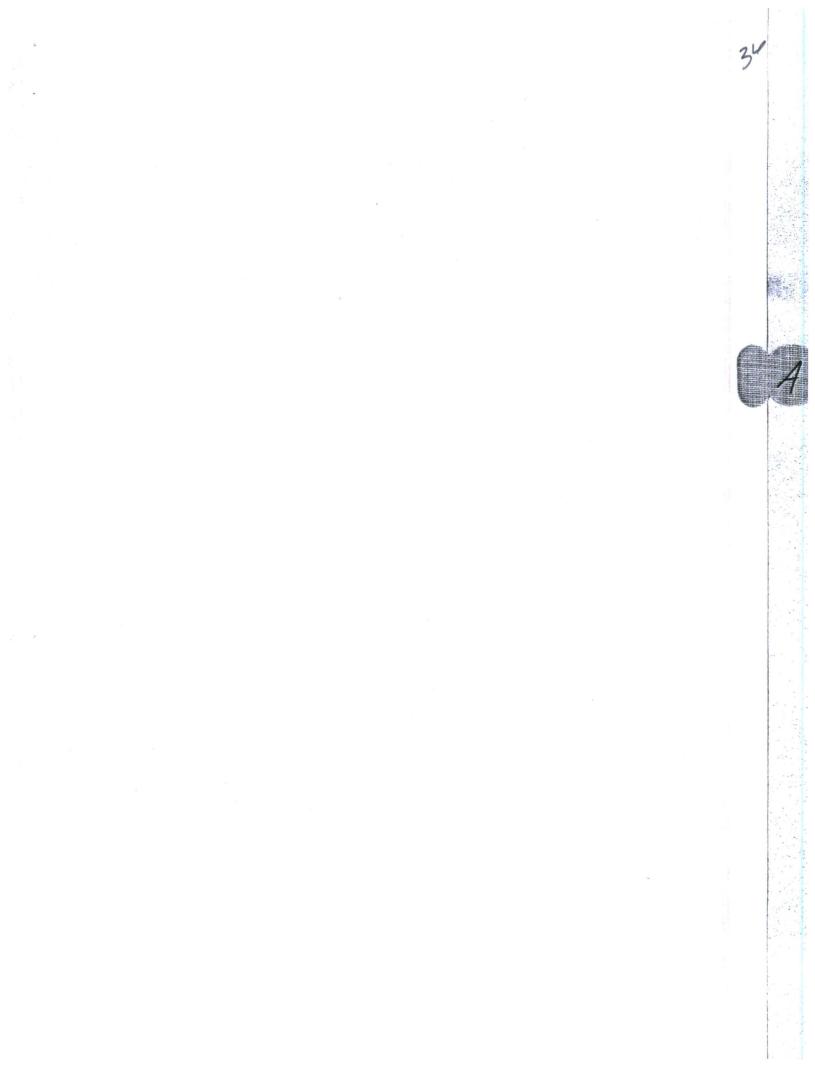
Attachment

Tab A "Religion in the Soviet Union"

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RELIGION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Religion plays a complex and contradictory role within the Soviet system. Official policy is dedicated to the creation of an atheist society, so religion must be done away with at all costs. But, the USSR must also present itself to the outside world as a model state whose citizens enjoy all manner of personal freedoms, including freedom to worship as they choose. The result is a large gap between Soviet propaganda and Soviet reality.

* * * *

The USSR constitution defines freedom of conscience as the right to "conduct religious worship or atheist propaganda." In practice, this means no public discussion of religious topics or opposition to the official atheist propaganda is permitted. All religious associations must register with local authorities, which allows the state to decide how many and which groups may legally exist; the State Council for Religious Affairs also oversees and regulates all religious activities and personnel in minute detail. Religious associations are prohibited from operating seminaries or publishing houses without special permission, and cannot own property or proselytize. They cannot provide religious instruction to children, engage in charitable activity, or organize prayer or study groups.

Individual citizens interested in practicing their faith face a variety of legal and extra-legal penalties for failing to comply with state controls. Religious activists are often charged with the kind of offenses levied against political dissidents--such as "engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda" or "hooliganism"--and sentenced to labor camps. As political prisoners, they also risk being sent to psychiatric hospitals. Other forms of indirect pressures include excluding religious believers from higher education and discriminating against them in job advancement.

All the same, the USSR realizes that a reputation for suppressing religion works against its claim to be a society free of all oppression. So it utilizes the religious organizations it can control as spokesmen for Soviet causes whenever possible. The Russian Orthodox Church, the largest denomination in the Soviet Union, is regularly exploited on this score. Furthermore, the restored churches and religious services open to tourists provide the government with badly needed foreign currency.

Official attitudes toward a particular denomination vary depending on the group itself and its willingness to cooperate with the state. In this respect, the Russian Orthodox Church is unique in being what might be called the established church of an atheist state. Orthodoxy was thoroughly entrenched in Russian national and cultural tradition long before the Bolsheviks came to power. Because of its size and historical hold on the USSR's main ethnic group, Russian Orthodoxy has always been subjected to closer supervision than other churches. But because of this level of control, the authorities have felt secure enough to grant the church such privileges as representation abroad, three seminaries and a theological academy, and a modern publishing center. Senior clerics are accorded a standard of living comparable to the rest of the Soviet uppercrust, and in return are expected to promote the regime policies at home and abroad. For example, the Orthodox Church has been active in promoting the recent peace campaign in Western Europe.

The <u>Catholic Church</u>, particularly in Lithuania, is under perennial attack because of its ties with Rome and its identification with local nationalisms. Advent of a Slavic pope has added to official fears of an upsurge of Ukrainian nationalism through a revival of the long suppressed Ukrainian Uniate Catholic church.

The various Evangelical Christian groups have an even rougher time because of their emphasis on proselytizing. They are also more difficult for the authorities to control administratively since they do not rely on a hierarchy, but rather on individual initiative for organizing and conducting services. Conversely, this self reliance can lead to disunity, as in the case of the Baptists who have split into registered and non-registered groups. This has allowed the regime to play the factions off against each other on occasion. Sects such as the Pentacostals, which have chosen to confront the state directly regarding registration and religious education, suffer especially severe abuse. Children are often removed from their parents care and imprisonment of activists is common. The Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses have long since gone underground. All of the Evangelical groups have managed to find clandestine printing presses to publish their literature.

Ironically, although the <u>Jews</u> are the only religious group in the USSR classified as a nationality and awarded a showpiece homeland within the Russian Republic, they are the most systematically persecuted of all denominations. They are not permitted any publications, theological schools, or national organization. Unwritten rules place a limit on the percentage of Jews in a given industry, profession, or institute for

higher education. The many Jews who have repeatedly been denied permission to emigrate have become "Refuseniks"--modern pariahs in Soviet society.

Yet despite official propaganda and persecution, informed observers and even the Soviet media acknowledge a growing interest in religion in the USSR. Over the past decade the number of young people and intellectuals participating in religious rites has risen significantly. In response the authorities have intensified both their anti-religious propaganda and their promotion of communist doctrine, but seem acutely aware that Marxism-Leninsism is no longer the "religion of the masses."

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 10, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTUN

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCH

SUBJECT: Draft Response to Senators Byrd and Dole

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum forwarding the State Department's suggested response to a letter from Senators Byrd and Dole to the President. I have reviewed the draft and concur with the proposed message.

Judyt Mandel and Ron Sabiles concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to Kathy Jafkke

Tab A State Department Draft Reply

Tab B Jaffke-Thibodeau Memo with Incoming Letter to the President



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHY JAFFKE

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

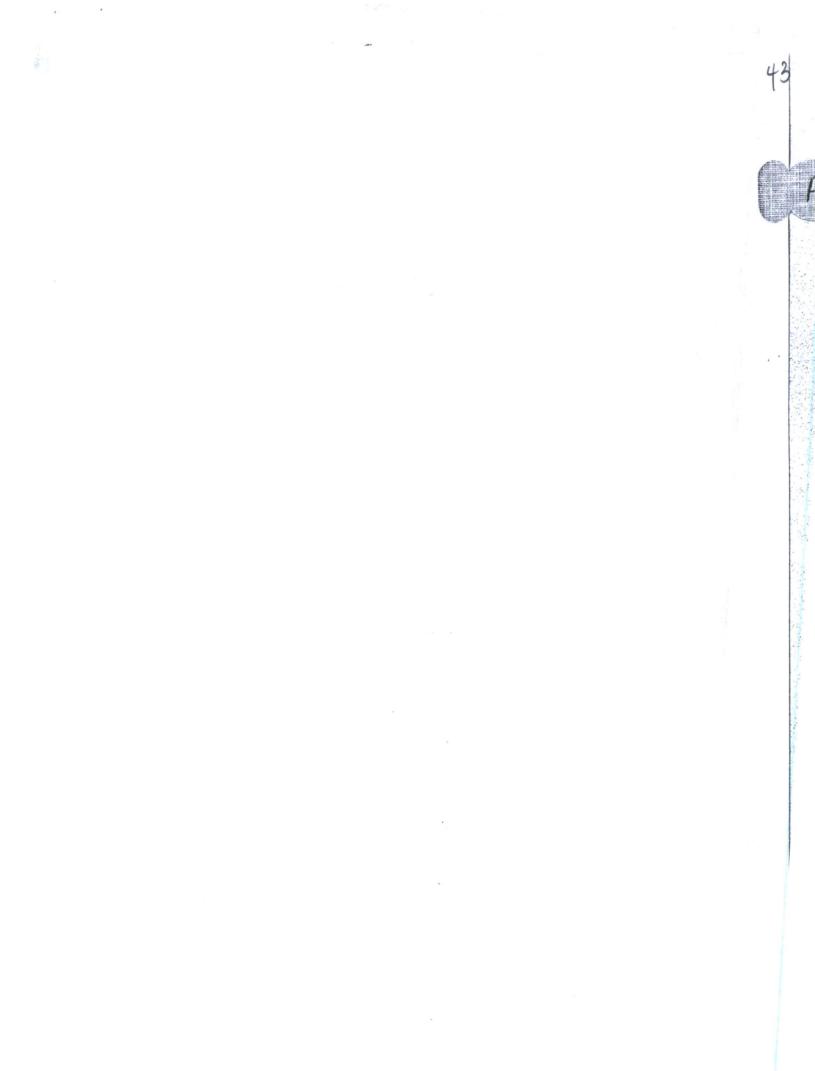
SUBJECT: Suggested Response to Senators Byrd and Dole

We have reviewed and concur with the State Department's suggested response (Tab A) to a letter from Senators Byrd and Dole to the President on Human Rights Abuses by the Soviet Union.

Attachments:

Tab A State Department Draft Reply

Tab B Jaffke-Thibodeau Memo with Incoming Letter to the President



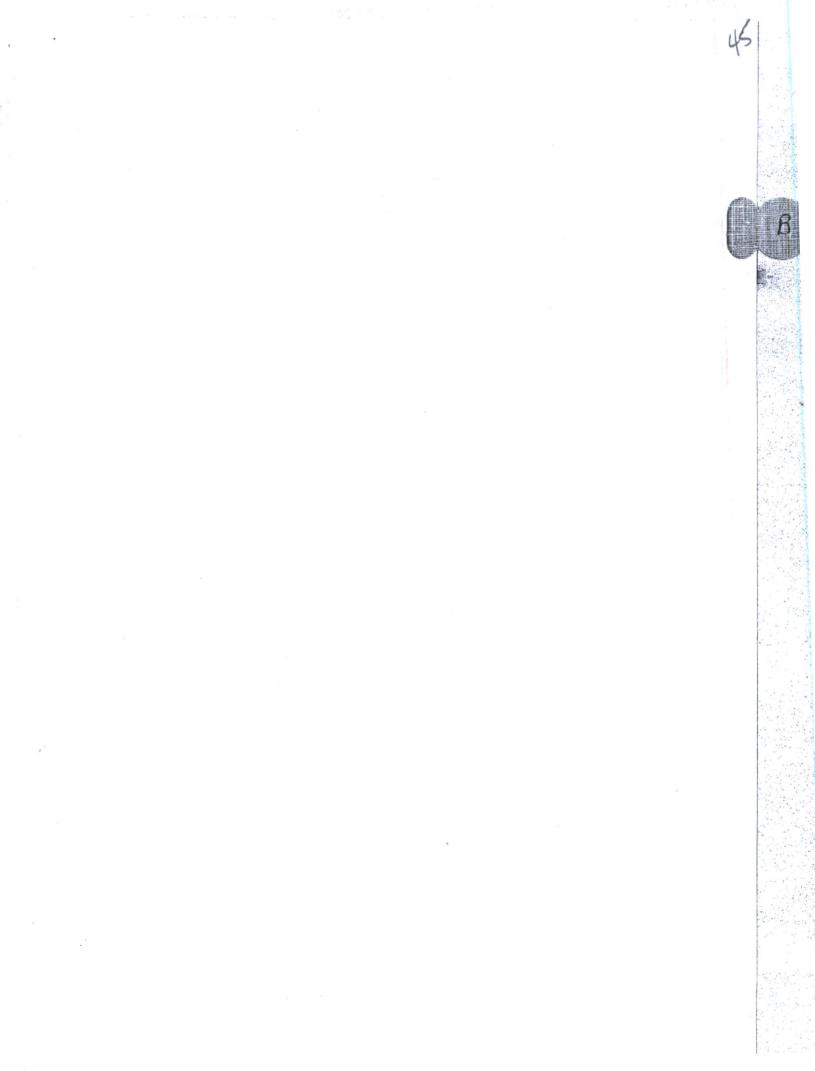
Department of State Suggested Reply

Dear Senator Dole/Byrd:

Thank you for your September 24 letter to President Reagan urging him to raise human rights during his meeting with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev this November in Geneva.

As you know, the President has made clear his intention to discuss all issues affecting U.S.-Soviet relations at the November meeting, including human rights. President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz are grateful for the strong support we have enjoyed in the Senate for our human rights policy toward the Soviet Union. The willingness of so many Senators to bring their own human rights concerns directly to the attention of Soviet authorities has helped to convince Soviet leaders that our concern over Soviet human rights abuses is bipartisan and widely shared at all levels of the U.S. Government. One thing the President will very likely want to tell the General Secretary when he raises the subject of human rights in Geneva is that every member of the United States Senate has urged him to do so in writing.

I know the President would want me to extend to you and your Senate colleagues the warmest personal regards for the sentiments expressed in your letter.



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 1, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CATHY THIBODEAU Congressional Correspondence Department of State

FROM:

1 ... "

KATHY RATTE JAFFKE My Director, Congressional Correspondence

SUBJECT:

Reagan/Gorbachev Meeting

We just received the attached letter Friday from all 100 Senators, led by Majority Leader Dole and Minority Leader Byrd.

The cosigners express their concern about Soviet human rights abuses and urge the President to include this issue in his discussions with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev.

Because all 100 Senators signed the letter, I will forego an interim response and would appreciate receiving a draft from State that would be suitable for B. Oglesby's signature.

Thanks for your assistance.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 24, 1985

The President The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In anticipation of your forthcoming summit with Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, we are writing to reaffirm our strong support for you in presenting our country's forceful position in regard to human rights, free emigration and the release of prisoners of conscience. Consistent with P.L. 99-81 (herewith), approved on August 6, 1985, and your own human rights policy, positive achievement on this issue should be an important focus of the summit.

Concerns about Soviet human rights abuses will be a factor in Senate consideration of future agreements affecting relations with the Soviet Union.

We pledge our firm support for your urging Mr. Gorbachev to undertake just and expeditious corrections to the human rights abuses in the U.S.S.R., including relief for Soviet Jewry on the basis of P.L. 99-81, and to abandon a policy that violates both basic standards and past international agreements.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Byrd 🖋 Minority Leader

Robert Dole Najority Leader

RCB:plm Enclosure

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99 STAT. 188

PUBLIC LAW 99-81—AUG. 6, 1985

Public Law 99-81 99th Congress

Joint Resolution

Aug. 6, 1985

Human rights.

To appeal for the release of Soviet Jewry.

Whereas President Reagan recently stated that "Soviet Jewry suffers from persecution, intimidation, and imprisonment within Soviet borders";

Whereas President Reagan stated further that "We will never relinquish our hope for their freedom and we will never cease to work for it," and that "If the Soviet Union truly wants peace, truly wants friendship, then let them release Anatoly Scharansky and free Soviet Jewry.": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in support of the President's position, the Congress calls on the Soviet Union, as an initial gesture—

(1) to release immediately Anatoly Scharansky, Yosef Begun, and all other Prisoners of Conscience, and allow them to leave the Soviet Union;

(2) to issue immediately exit permits to the many known long term "Refuseniks" such as Ida Nudel and Vladimir Slepak; and

(3) to allow those thousands of Jews who wish to emigrate to join their relatives abroad, or to be repatriated to their historic homeland, to leave this year and pledge that such cases shall be dealt with expeditiously and in a humanitarian way during the next three years, thus enabling those who have requested exit permits to leave.

Approved August 6, 1985.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 131 (1985): July 18, considered and passed Senate. July 25, considered and passed House.

51-139 0 - 85 (81)

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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY-S.J. Res. 161: