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Backsliding

Don lost 30-60  
deep susceptible  
slow down in  
amount of totalitarian  
Social Autocrats  
willing to go to  
expressions of dissent

- 11/18

Latvia independence  
1000's were to demonstrate  
at freedom monument,  
they were prevented  
from doing so

- 8/23

Open demonstration

- 6/14

- Another demonstration

Carly Commencement - 047-1573  
John Howard - 224-4814

Carol

(Rohrabacher/ARD)  
November 30, 1987  
7:30 P.M.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

Thank you. I appreciate all of you being here. You  
represent groups that have a keen interest in the discussions  
that will be taking place during the upcoming visit of General  
Secretary Gorbachev. I'm happy to have this opportunity to  
(X) confirm to you that, although we are making a serious effort to  
improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States,  
we will not do it by compromising our national interests or  
diminishing our commitment to the universality of human rights.

Our dedication to liberty and justice for all is not  
negotiable, not to this generation, not to any generation of  
(X) Americans. This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of <sup>the signing of</sup> our  
Constitution, which, of course, contains not just an  
organizational structure for the Federal Government, but also the  
Bill of Rights. I think it is interesting to note that the  
reason the Bill of Rights was added to the document was that it  
was believed that the Constitution might not have been ratified  
otherwise. Such was the devotion to liberty among our  
forefathers (and mothers.)

The United States declared its independence with a document  
that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just  
to those who could make it to our shores but to all people,  
everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution,  
once said, "God, grant that not only the love of liberty, but a  
thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the

nations of the Earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot  
anywhere on its surface and say; "This is my country!"

(V)  
X

Well, <sup>Some</sup> 200 years later, liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

In my upcoming meetings, I know that sitting next to me are unseen guests, men and women whose only hope is that they are not forgotten here in the West: Dissidents who are inhumanly committed to mental institutions, often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, ~~and others~~ as well as the <sup>painful</sup> who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible <sup>Freedom</sup> hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are <sup>to emigrate</sup> cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not now, nor will they ever be, forgotten by our Administration.

(X)

Well, let me assure you and, through you, all those whose cause you champion: We care deeply about the well being of these unseen guests and their presence will be felt throughout my summit discussions. The goal of this visit, and any subsequent visits, is not simply arms reduction. Certainly that is one priority, yet it remains on par with solving certain bilateral

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issues, ending regional conflicts, and, of course, improving human rights.

And while there has been much talk about a new openness and progress on human rights, the Soviet people still joke about the repression that permeates their country. One story I recently heard concerns a man who lost his parrot and went to the K.G.B. to report his missing bird. The K.G.B. asked him why he came to them. Why didn't he just report it to the local authorities. The man replied, "I just want you to know I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

Seriously though, much has been said about Glasnost and reforms in the Soviet Union. There does seem to have been modest progress. Soviet officials not that long ago refused to discuss human rights, claiming it was their internal affairs. General Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsman before the Geneva Summit that there were "no political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. with the Soviets". Today our discussions on this issue are wide-ranging and human rights is accepted as an integral component of our bilateral discussions.

In the last two years, we've witnessed a loosening of the grip. Over 200 political prisoners have been released from the Gulag. There is a higher rate of emigration. Some long-divided families have been reunited. There has even been a relaxing of some of the controls on freedom of expression. Earlier this year, for example, there were demonstrations in the Baltic ~~countries~~ ~~states~~ ~~nations~~ on the anniversaries of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the ~~states~~ ~~nations~~

subsequently



day marking the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

However, in recent months there is evidence of Soviet backsliding in the area of human rights. On November 18th thousands of police and militia prevented a demonstration on Latvian freedom day in Riga. <sup>(Reega)</sup> Similarly, a recent demonstration<sup>s</sup> by Jewish refusniks was broken up in Moscow. Despite an amnesty decree in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik overthrow of the Krensky regime, only a trickle of political and religious leaders have been released since the spring. The <sup>Head</sup> Soviet council on Religious Affairs told Senator Lugar in August that all prisoners of faith would be freed by November. We're still waiting. In fact, I recently received a petition signed by <sup>ava-RIN-skus</sup> 6,000 people asking for the freedom of imprisoned Lithuanian <sup>im-CAH-vich-us</sup> priests, Fathers <sup>Svarinska Tamkevicius</sup> Svarinska and Tamevicius. Clearly they, and other religious figures, are still victims, still prisoners of conscience.

It remains a perplexing situation. Four <sup>separated</sup> ~~divided~~ spouses were released, or promised release, nevertheless ~~others~~ others were refused. Why? Cancer victims like Benjamin Charny, a 17-year refusnik, have not received permission to go abroad for medical treatment. Why? Even the dissidents who publish a journal called "Glasnost" have been threatened and intimidated. <sup>Sergei</sup> ~~Gregor~~ <sup>Yants</sup> ~~editor~~ <sup>shoulder</sup>

There is no doubt that some progress has been made in human <sup>dislocated</sup> rights in the Soviet Union, especially earlier in the year. Yet how can we ignore that, on this day, as we speak, 13 political prisoners are dying in special regimen Camp 36-1, which is one of

Nov. 7<sup>th</sup>

5 divided  
3 paused  
4 blocked  
marriages

X

Washington Times look for this

Vasyl Stus Ukrainian died of emaciation of Summer 1985 or 1986

the most brutal in the Gulag system. Already 10 prisoners have died there, four of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.

Bartlett's P. 680 The Devil's Disciple" act II

George Bernard Shaw, the ultimate Irish playwright, once wrote, "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: that's the essence of inhumanity." Today, we are pleased with any releases, any unification of separated families, any lessening of the iron grip on the freedoms of expression and religion. But we will not be indifferent to those who are left behind and we will not be lulled into ignoring the fact that the apparatus of state repression remains intact in the Soviet Union. The real joy will come, and trust between East and West will flourish, not when prisoners are released, but when the Gulag is dismantled and the organs of repression abolished.

speech at OSawatomic, Kansas 1910

Early in this century President Teddy Roosevelt said, "...for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind..."

So it's not just up to any one Government official. It is up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and exchange of ideas with members of the

Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. God bless you.

Moscow New York Times

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support of both his diocese and his order for the cause of canonization, this was accorded in 1977 at immense financial cost over the years.

Diminutive in stature, lacking 'presence' and majesty, he spent much time and energy in life encouraging layfolk to lives of hidden sanctity. Ultimately, this work achieved the recognition which was its due. Feast: 5 January.

F. X. Murphy, 'Sainthood and Politique', *The Tablet*, 18 June 1977.

NEWLYN (Newelina), female saint of Cornwall who has given her name to this town, whose church is dedicated to her and where a well also bears her name. Her feast is not certainly known, according to *C.C.K.*; but Roscarrock ascribed it to 27 April. She may be the same as the Breton Noyala, whose story is based on Winefride's and who was supposed to have been killed by a king. Feast: 6 July.

Baring-Gould and Fisher, iv. 10-14; *C.C.K.*, p. 48.

NICASIUS (Nichasius) (5th century), bishop of Rheims and martyr. Tenth in the list of bishops of Rheims (coming after Severus), Nicasius was faced with victorious barbarians at the gates and even in the streets of his city. Trying to save the lives of his people, he stood at the door of his cathedral, where soldiers cut off his head. With him died a deacon and a lector, together with his sister Eutropia. The barbarians who killed him were more likely the Huns (451) rather than the Vandals (407). Feast: 14 December.

*Propylaeum*, p. 582; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* in *M.G.H., Scriptores rerum merov.*, xiii. 417-20; *B.T.A.*, iv. 558.

**NICHOLAS** (6th century), bishop of Myra. Nicholas's life, although he was one of the most universally venerated saints in both East and West, is virtually unknown. His see of Myra is in Lycia, south western Turkey and called Mugla. Attempts to make him one of the fathers at the Council of Nicca (325), who had previously been

in prison during the persecution of Diocletian, have failed through lack of evidence. But there can be no doubt about the antiquity of his cult, which was clearly established in the East from the 6th century, increased by a fictitious biography by Methodius (d. 847), and became widely known in the West in the 10th century. But when Myra and its shrine was taken by the Moslems, the relics were translated to Bari (1087), where there were many Greek immigrants. Here a new church was built to house them and Pope Urban II was present at the inauguration. From this time onwards his cult became almost universal in the West.

His reputation as a thaumaturge was both cause and effect of his many patronages. Countries such as Russia, towns such as St. Nicholas at Wade (Kent), children, sailors, unmarried girls, merchants, pawnbrokers, apothecaries, and perfumers all claimed him as their patron. Some of these patronages are linked with episodes in his legendary Acts. He was reputed to have given three bags of gold to three girls for their marriage dowries in order to save them from prostitution. It seems that this is the basis for the use of three gold balls as the pawnbroker's sign. The number three appears several times in his legend, as in the case of three boys whom he is said to have raised to life after they were murdered in a brine-tub by a butcher, and in his saving three unjustly condemned men from death and three sailors near the coast of Turkey. From his shrine at Bari there came a substance sometimes called 'manna' or else a fragrant 'myrrh' which explains his patronage of perfumers; whatever it may have been it attracted numerous pilgrims to his shrine.

In England about 400 churches were dedicated to Nicholas; in England also there survive two important iconographical cycles of his life, on the font at Winchester cathedral and on an ivory crosier-head at the Victoria and Albert Museum, both of the 12th century. The latter, a masterpiece of fine carving, includes several scenes, one of which is a lively depiction of

## NIGHTON

the infant Nicholas refusing his mother's breast on Wednesdays and Fridays, in accordance with his Legend. Other examples include a fine late medieval window at North Moreton (Berks.), entirely devoted to his life, and windows in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, at Great Malvern (Hereford and Worcester), and Hillesden (Bucks.). Further afield the frescoes (8th century) at S. Maria Antiqua, Rome, mosaics at S. Sophia, Istanbul (10th century), at St. Mark's, Venice, and Monreale, Sicily (both 12th century) should be mentioned, together with stained-glass cycles of his life at Chartres, Le Mans, and Tours. Renaissance painters also depicted him: all in all, he was probably the most frequently represented saintly bishop of all for many centuries.

Perhaps the most popular result of his cult is the institution of Santa Claus. Based ultimately on Nicholas's patronage of children with its attendant custom in the Low Countries of giving them presents on his feast, it attained its present form in North America, where the Dutch Protestants of New Amsterdam united to it Nordic folkloric legends of a magician who both punished naughty children and rewarded good ones with presents.

The name Nicholas has been in use in England from Anglo-Saxon times and became very popular in the 12th century. It gave rise to numerous names such as Colin, Nicolson, Nixon, Nicola, Nicolette, and others. He was an extremely popular figure in medieval drama, a tradition continued by Benjamin Britten's musical play, *Saint Nicholas*. Prayers to him were composed by \*Anselm, \*Godric, and others. Feast: 6 December translation, 9 May.

N. C. Falconius, *Sancti Nicolae Acta Primigenia* (1751); G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* (1913-7); F. Nitti di Vito, *La leggenda della translazione di S. Nicola da Mira a Bari* (1937); K. Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch in Abendlande* (1931); modern studies by J. Laroche (1893), E. Crozier (1949), A. D. de Groot (Eng. tr. 1965); B.T.A., iv. 503-6; Réau ii. 976-88; K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933).

**NICHOLAS OF TOLENTINO** (1245-1305), Austin friar. Born at Sant' Angelo in the march of Ancona, Nicholas was named after \*Nicholas of Myra, at whose shrine his middle-aged and hitherto childless parents had prayed for a son. When he was eighteen he joined the Austin friars, was ordained priest in 1270, and lived in various friaries for different periods, holding at one time the office of novice-master and acquiring the reputation of a wonder-worker. He finally settled at Tolentino, a town much disturbed by developments in urban life and by Guelf and Ghibelline factions with consequent civil and moral disorders. Nicholas met immediate spectacular success as a popular preacher, as a confessor, and as a visitor of the sick and the dying, especially the poor and the destitute. He also achieved the conversion of some notorious sinners. After nearly a year's serious illness, he died on 10 September; immediately enquiries were set on foot to lead to his canonization. This, however, was delayed until 1446 owing to the Great Schism.

Paintings of him by Piero della Francesca, Raphael, and Zurbaran and others survive; his usual attribute is a basket of rolls of bread, which were called St. Nicholas's Bread and were distributed to the sick or to women in labour, to be swallowed soaked in water. His church and relics, rediscovered in 1926, survive at Tolentino. Feast: 10 September.

AA.SS. Sept. III (1750), 636-743; N. Concetti, *S. Nicola da Tolentino* (1887); Life in English by E. A. Foran (1920); N.C.E., s.v.

**NICOMEDES**, Roman martyr of unknown date, buried in the catacomb on the Via Nomentana, whose cult is well testified by ancient liturgical books. A Roman church was dedicated to him on 1 June, his feast in the Sarum calendar and B.C.P., but his usual feast is on 15 September.

AA.SS. Sept. V (1755), 5-12; C.M.H., p. 510; B.T.A., iii. 555.

**NIGHTON**, see NECTAN.



## CHRISTIANITY & THE SOVIET STATE

The attitude of the Soviet regime towards religion is not an incidental matter - a matter of only social and political significance. Hatred of God is the principal driving force of communism and militant atheism is, as Alexandr Solzhenitsyn puts it - "the central pivot of communist policy."

Marxism-Leninism is formulated as a living and forceful doctrine, - an "anti-Christian sect," - as one contemporary Russian philosopher put it. Its adherents believe in propositions which are to be accepted as absolute truths. This has been explicitly repeated thousands of times in Soviet literature.

In this century, Russia came face to face with militant, godless international communism, a totally new phenomenon which had never been experienced by any other people in the history of mankind. Russia's body was scourged, tortured and literally crucified.

In 1917, there were in Russia more than 80,000 Orthodox churches and chapels. Now, according to information provided by Constantine Kharchev in an interview in the Soviet journal Religion and Science (*Nauka i religiya*, No. 11, 1987, p. 23) there are only 6,794. What happened to the rest? They were forcibly closed, turned into warehouses, circuses, planetariums or simply razed.

Proponents of *glasnost* and *perestroika* would have us believe that at the present time, on the eve of the Millennium of the Christianization of Rus', which will be celebrated in 1988, churches are no longer treated as they were in Stalin's time and that the Soviet Government is radically changing for the better its attitude towards the Church. True, certain minor changes have been made, however most of these changes have remained on paper. Superficial changes in the policy of the regime towards the Church reveal a certain pragmatism which is closely tied to the forthcoming Millennium celebrations which the world will be closely watching. However, in reality the state of religion in the USSR remains bleak.

Although Gorbachev cynically pointed out during his recent NBC interview that next year the Millennium of the Christianization of Rus' will be observed in his country, it would be beneficial to the believers in the Soviet Union if our President in his conversations with Mr. Gorbachev during the Summit would express to the Soviet leader the genuine concern that millions of American Christians have for the plight of their co-religionists in the USSR. The President should point out to Mr. Gorbachev that the Soviet Union continues to be one of the only countries on this planet whose population is denied elementary religious freedoms such as publishing spiritual literature, the preaching on all subjects concerning religion and its impact on life and the teaching of the Faith. The Church



and its faithful are even deprived of the fundamental right to conduct charitable activities. In communist Bulgaria and Romania, not to mention Poland, citizens enjoy all these basic rights, but in the Soviet Union these freedoms are lacking in spite of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

This is the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Surely Mr. Gorbachev will not object to hearing it for it was he who recently stated in a conversation about truth in the process of *glasnost*: "There cannot be partial truth; there is only one truth - the whole truth." (Quoted in *Nauka i religiya*, No. 11, 1987, p. 22)

Keston College, a well respected British research center, which closely monitors religion in communist-dominated areas, reports that as of Dec. 2 of this year the overall known number of religious believers imprisoned in the Soviet Union stands at 260. This is the situation in spite of the assurances given last September by Constantine Kharchev, the Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR, that all religious prisoners in the Soviet Union would be released by November, 1987.

One of those languishing in the Gulag is Fr. Vladimir Rusak, a deacon of the Russian Orthodox Church, sentenced in 1986 to 12 years in Soviet prisons. His crime? He wrote a truthful three-volume history of Church-State relations in the USSR since 1917 (Witness of the Prosecution, vol. 1, Multilingual Typesetting, Valley Cottage, N.Y., 1987.).

But what about *glasnost* and *perestroika*? Did not Mikhail Gorbachev state in *Pravda* (Nov. 5, 1987) that the time has come "to overcome attempts at misinterpreting history"? Alexander Yakovlev, Central Committee Chief of Propaganda and the architect of *perestroika* was quoted in *Izvestia* (Nov. 4, 1987) as saying "harsh truth is better than endearing silence, fantasy and emotions." Then why should telling the truth about the tragic fate of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union by Fr. Vladimir Rusak be considered a crime worthy of 12 years of confinement in the Gulag? Let us be mindful of the fact that Fr. Rusak was incarcerated during Gorbachev's period of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the context of which so much is being said about the need for "one truth - the whole truth" in Soviet society.

Fr. Vladimir Rusak's case is an eloquent example of the fact that the Church is not a part of *perestroika* and has no chance at true *glasnost* and must continue following the degrading path of subservience to an atheistic state. It was Fr. Vladimir Rusak who wrote in an open letter to the World Council of Churches meeting in Vancouver: "I love my Church, I grieve for its fate and I want to serve it, but, of course, not at the price of subservience, that terrible price which our Church leadership is paying and which it proposes that I also should pay."

The sad fact is that the churches in the Soviet Union are being used and exploited for propangandistic purposes by the Gorbachev regime just as they were used by Stalin and by all the other Soviet dictators. In this respect it will be curious to hear what Metropolitan Philaret of the Moscow Patriarchate and the rest of the Soviet religious delegation will have to say this Sunday at the National Cathedral during an ecumenical service

organized by the National Council of Churches on the eve of the upcoming Summit.

I am not implying that all clergy are subservient to the State. Numerous clergymen place themselves in no small danger by conducting secret baptisms, proselytizing, lending out copies of the Gospels and books on spirituality, writing and distributing religious Samizdat materials, conducting clandestine talks and seminars for children and young people. In other words doing their best under the most difficult of circumstances to perform their priestly duty.

After 70 years of onslaught on the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, after the physical extermination and ceaseless persecution of her clergy, after 70 years of systematic propaganda of atheism in every form and by every means, faith in Russia is not only alive but is being reborn in the hearts of many.

We are witnessing a slow but steady rebirth of Orthodoxy which is gathering strength in various corners of Russia and which began many years before *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Yes, repression continues and so does the oppression of the faithful. And, yes, the Orthodox Church is controlled by the atheist establishment, but, in spite of its captive status, people are drawn to it and find in it the source of Life.

The process of religious revival in the Soviet Union has begun in earnest and we should all be supporting it, because the implications of this spiritual reawakening is of universal importance and is in our own national interest.

Fr. Victor S. Potapov

Rector, Russian Orthodox Cathedral  
of St. John the Baptist  
Washington, D.C.

The White House  
Dec. 3, 1987

St. alexander newsky  
- 13th

"The spirit of the Lord  
is not in might but  
in gentleness."

Resurrection ???

Human Rights Day - 10<sup>th</sup>

- Constitution that protects human rights
- Seminar on U.S. - Soviet human rights issues

Backsliding

- Summit themes

*Card*

(ROHRBACHER)

12/2/87 - 4 P.M.

HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

THANK YOU. I APPRECIATE ALL OF YOU BEING HERE. YOU REPRESENT GROUPS THAT HAVE A KEEN INTEREST IN THE DISCUSSIONS THAT WILL BE TAKING PLACE DURING THE UPCOMING VISIT OF GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV. I'M HAPPY TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONFIRM TO YOU THAT, ALTHOUGH WE ARE MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, WE WILL NOT DO IT BY COMPROMISING OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS OR DIMINISHING OUR COMMITMENT TO THE UNIVERSALITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

OUR DEDICATION TO LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL IS NOT NEGOTIABLE, NOT TO THIS GENERATION, NOT TO ANY GENERATION OF AMERICANS.

THIS YEAR WE CELEBRATE THE 200<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF OUR CONSTITUTION, WHICH, OF COURSE, CONTAINS NOT JUST AN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, BUT ALSO THE BILL OF RIGHTS. THE STRUCTURE DIVIDES POWER SO THAT NO PERSON OR GROUP CAN BE SO POWERFUL THAT THEY CAN TRAMPLE ON THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE. AND I THINK IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE REASON THE BILL OF RIGHTS WAS ADDED TO THE DOCUMENT WAS THAT SOME BELIEVED THAT THE CONSTITUTION MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN RATIFIED OTHERWISE. SUCH WAS OUR FOREFATHERS' DEVOTION TO LIBERTY.

THE UNITED STATES DECLARED ITS INDEPENDENCE WITH A DOCUMENT THAT PROCLAIMED RIGHTS TO BE INALIENABLE GIFTS FROM GOD, NOT JUST TO THOSE WHO COULD MAKE IT TO OUR SHORES BUT TO ALL PEOPLE, EVERYWHERE.

BEN FRANKLIN, THE GRAND OLD MAN OF THE REVOLUTION, ONCE SAID, "GOD, GRANT THAT NOT ONLY THE LOVE OF LIBERTY, BUT A THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN MAY PERVADE ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH, SO THAT A PHILOSOPHER MAY SET HIS FOOT ANYWHERE ON ITS SURFACE AND SAY, 'THIS IS MY COUNTRY'."

WELL, 200 YEARS LATER, LIBERTY HAS NOT SPREAD AS WIDE AS FRANKLIN WOULD HAVE WISHED BUT CONSISTENT WITH HIS VISION, IS A SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THE FREE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. WE SEE THE VIOLATION OF ANYONE'S HUMAN RIGHTS, ACTS OF REPRESSION OR BRUTALITY, AS ATTACKS ON CIVILIZATION ITSELF. THE UNITED STATES, AS THE MOST POWERFUL OF THE FREE NATIONS, IS LOOKED TO FOR LEADERSHIP BY THOSE WHO LIVE IN FREEDOM AND AS A MIGHTY SOURCE OF HOPE TO THOSE WHO LANGUISH UNDER TYRANNY.

THIS IS A WEIGHTY RESPONSIBILITY THAT NO AMERICAN, ESPECIALLY A PRESIDENT, CAN TAKE LIGHTLY.

IN MY UPCOMING MEETINGS, I KNOW THAT SITTING NEXT TO ME WILL BE UNSEEN GUESTS, MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE ONLY HOPE IS THAT THEY ARE NOT FORGOTTEN HERE IN THE WEST: DISSIDENTS WHO ARE INHUMANELY COMMITTED TO MENTAL INSTITUTIONS, OFTEN SUBDUED WITH MIND-ALTERING DRUGS; SOVIET JEWS, ARMENIANS, GERMANS, AND OTHERS WHO HAVE APPLIED TO EMIGRATE AND HAVE ENDURED INCREDIBLE HARDSHIPS AS A RESULT; DIVIDED FAMILIES AND SPOUSES WHO ARE CRUELLY SEPARATED FROM THEIR LOVED ONES. THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT NOW, NOR WILL THEY EVER BE, FORGOTTEN BY OUR ADMINISTRATION.



WELL, LET ME ASSURE YOU AND, THROUGH YOU, ALL THOSE WHOSE CAUSE YOU CHAMPION: WE CARE DEEPLY ABOUT THE WELL-BEING OF THESE UNSEEN GUESTS AND THEIR PRESENCE WILL BE FELT THROUGHOUT MY SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS. THE GOAL OF THIS VISIT, AND ANY SUBSEQUENT VISITS, IS NOT SIMPLY ARMS REDUCTION. CERTAINLY THAT IS ONE PRIORITY, YET IT REMAINS ON PAR WITH SOLVING CERTAIN BILATERAL ISSUES, ENDING REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND, OF COURSE, IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS.

IT WASN'T LONG AGO THAT A STORY WAS MAKING THE ROUNDS IN THE SOVIET UNDERGROUND ABOUT THE DISSIDENT WHO WAS CONDEMNED BY THE SOVIET JUDGE TO A SIBERIAN WORK CAMP. "THE SENTENCE IS TOO LIGHT," THE DISSIDENT PROTESTED. "WHAT DO YOU MEAN?" ASKED THE JUDGE. "WELL, IF AMERICA IS SO BAD, WHY DON'T YOU SEND ME THERE?"

SERIOUSLY THOUGH, MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT GLASNOST AND REFORMS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THERE DOES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN MODEST PROGRESS. SOVIET OFFICIALS NOT THAT LONG AGO REFUSED TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS, CLAIMING IT WAS THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIR. GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV EVEN TOLD A FRENCH NEWSMAN SHORTLY AFTER THE GENEVA SUMMIT THAT THERE WERE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION. TODAY OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE ARE WIDE-RANGING AND HUMAN RIGHTS IS ACCEPTED AS AN INTEGRAL COMPONENT OF OUR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS.

IN THE LAST 2 YEARS WE'VE WITNESSED A LOOSENING OF THE GRIP. OVER 200 POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM THE GULAG. THERE IS A HIGHER RATE OF EMIGRATION. SOME LONG-DIVIDED FAMILIES HAVE BEEN REUNITED. THERE HAS EVEN BEEN A RELAXING OF SOME OF THE CONTROLS ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.

EARLIER THIS YEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WERE DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE BALTIC NATIONS ON THE ANNIVERSARIES OF THE HITLER-STALIN PACT AND THE DAY MARKING THE BEGINNING OF THE SOVIET OCCUPATION IN 1940. THE FACT THAT THESE PROTESTS WERE PERMITTED AT ALL WAS HEARTENING.

THE FREE PEOPLE OF THE WEST ARE WATCHING TO SEE IF THE EMIGRATION DOORS, NOW CRACKED, CONTINUE TO OPEN. AND INSIDE WE WAIT AND PRAY FOR BELIEVERS -- PEOPLE OF EVERY CREED. PRISONERS OF FAITH HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED AND CLEARLY RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IS STILL AN ASPIRATION YET TO BE ACHIEVED.

WE CARE ABOUT PEOPLE WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED, WHO ARE ABUSED OR IMPRISONED IN EVERY COUNTRY. WE CARE BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY SYMBOLIZE AND BECAUSE THEY ARE HUMAN BEINGS AND WE ARE OUTRAGED AT THE WAY THEY ARE BEING TREATED.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, THE ACERBIC CELT, ONCE WROTE, "THE WORST SIN TOWARDS OUR FELLOW CREATURES IS NOT TO HATE THEM, BUT TO BE INDIFFERENT TO THEM: THAT'S THE ESSENCE OF INHUMANITY." TODAY, WE ARE PLEASED WITH ANY RELEASES, ANY UNIFICATION OF SEPARATED FAMILIES, ANY LESSENING OF THE IRON GRIP ON THE FREEDOMS OF EXPRESSION AND RELIGION. BUT WE WILL NOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THOSE WHO ARE LEFT BEHIND AND WE WILL NOT BE LULLED INTO IGNORING THE FACT THAT THE APPARATUS OF STATE REPRESSION REMAINS INTACT IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE REAL JOY WILL COME, AND TRUST BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WILL FLOURISH, NOT ONLY WHEN PRISONERS ARE RELEASED, BUT WHEN THE INSTRUMENTS OF REPRESSION ARE DISMANTLED AND REPRESSIVE LAWS AND PRACTICES ARE ABOLISHED.

EARLY IN THIS CENTURY PRESIDENT TEDDY ROOSEVELT SAID, "...FOR THE WORLD HAS SET ITS FACE HOPEFULLY TOWARD OUR DEMOCRACY; AND, O MY FELLOW CITIZENS, EACH ONE OF YOU CARRIES ON YOUR SHOULDERS NOT ONLY THE BURDEN OF DOING WELL FOR THE SAKE OF YOUR OWN COUNTRY, BUT THE BURDEN OF DOING WELL AND SEEING THAT THIS NATION DOES WELL FOR THE SAKE OF MANKIND...."

SO IT'S NOT JUST UP TO ANY ONE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL. IT IS UP TO ALL OF US. I'D LIKE TO THANK EACH OF YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS DISCUSSION AND EXCHANGE OF IDEAS WITH MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN PREPARATION FOR THE UPCOMING SUMMIT.

- 10 -

WE NEED YOUR INVOLVEMENT, YOUR CONTINUED  
SUPPORT, AND YOUR STALWART COMMITMENT TO OUR  
COUNTRY'S IDEALS. THANK YOU FOR ALL YOU ARE  
DOING. GOD BLESS YOU.

AND NOW, I'D LIKE TO TURN OVER THIS  
MEETING TO DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE,  
WHITEHEAD.

# # #

Calaf

- 7 -

EARLIER THIS YEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WERE DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE BALTIC NATIONS ON THE ANNIVERSARIES OF THE HITLER-STALIN PACT AND THE DAY MARKING THE BEGINNING OF THE SOVIET OCCUPATION IN 1940. THE FACT THAT THESE PROTESTS WERE PERMITTED AT ALL WAS HEARTENING.

THE FREE PEOPLE OF THE WEST ARE WATCHING TO SEE IF THE EMIGRATION DOORS, NOW CRACKED, CONTINUE TO OPEN. AND INSIDE WE WAIT AND PRAY FOR BELIEVERS -- PEOPLE OF EVERY CREED. ALL PRISONERS OF FAITH HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED AND CLEARLY RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IS STILL AN ASPIRATION YET TO BE ACHIEVED.

WE CARE ABOUT PEOPLE WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED, WHO ARE ABUSED OR IMPRISONED IN EVERY COUNTRY. WE CARE BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY SYMBOLIZE AND BECAUSE THEY ARE HUMAN BEINGS AND WE ARE OUTRAGED AT THE WAY THEY ARE BEING TREATED.

MKW 45  
in [redacted]

Document No. 498254

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/30/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Tuesday 12/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT

(11/30 7:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[redacted] POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, December 1st, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*see edit, / RB  
deletions  
changes*

*→ there is general interest in using language that is not over-stated for these upcoming days.*  
Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702



(Rohrabacher/ARD)  
November 30, 1987  
7:30 P.M.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HUMAN RIGHTS EVENT  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

Thank you. I appreciate all of you being here. You represent groups that have a keen interest in the discussions that will be taking place during the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev. I'm happy to have this opportunity to confirm to you that although we are making a serious effort to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, we will not do it by compromising our national interests or diminishing our commitment to the universality of human rights.

Our dedication to liberty and justice for all is not negotiable, not to this generation, not to any generation of Americans. This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Constitution, which, of course, contains not just an organizational structure for the Federal Government, but also the Bill of Rights. I think it is interesting to note that the reason the Bill of Rights was added to the document was that it was believed that the Constitution might not have been ratified otherwise. Such was the devotion to liberty among our forefathers and mothers.

The United States declared its independence with a document that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just to those who could make it to our shores but to all people, everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution, once said, "God, grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the

nations of the Earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: This is my country!"

Well, 200 years later, liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is a weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

In my upcoming meetings, I know that sitting next to me are unseen guests, men and women whose only hope is that they are not forgotten here in the West. ~~Residents who are inhumanly~~

~~committed to mental institutions,~~ often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, and others who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not

~~now, and they ever will be, forgotten by our Administration.~~

Well, let me assure you and, through you, all those whose cause you champion: We care deeply about the well being of these unseen guests and their presence will be felt throughout my summit discussions. The goal of this visit, and any subsequent visits, is not simply arms reduction. Certainly that is one priority, yet it remains on par with solving certain bilateral

issues, ending regional conflicts, and, of course, improving human rights.

~~And while~~ There has been much talk about a new openness and progress on human rights, ~~the Soviet people still joke about the repression that permeates their country.~~ *which reminds me of a story* ~~one story~~ I recently heard<sup>it</sup> concerns a man who lost his parrot and went to the K.G.B. to report his missing bird. The K.G.B. asked him why he came to them. Why didn't he just report it to the local authorities. The man replied, "I just want you to know I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say."

Seriously though, much has been said about Glasnost and reforms in the Soviet Union. There does seem to have been modest progress. Soviet officials not that long ago refused to discuss human rights, claiming it was their internal affairs. General Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsman before the Geneva Summit that there were "no political prisoners in the U.S.S.R." Today our discussions on this issue are wide-ranging and human rights is accepted as an integral component of our bilateral discussions.

In the last two years we've witnessed a loosening of the grip. Over 200 political prisoners have been released from the Gulag. There is a higher rate of emigration. Some long-divided families have been reunited. There has even been a relaxing of some of the controls on freedom of expression. Earlier this year, for example, there were demonstrations in the Baltic countries on the anniversaries of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the

No on the joke

Our hope is for loosening the restraints on emigration and, at home, the right to practice religion

day marking the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

*delete*

However, in recent months there is evidence of Soviet backsliding in the area of human rights. On November 18th thousands of police and militia prevented a demonstration on Latvian freedom day in Riga. Similarly, a recent demonstration by Jewish refuseniks was broken up in Moscow. Despite an amnesty decree in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik overthrow of the Krensky regime, only a trickle of political and religious leaders have been released since the Spring. The Soviet council on Religious Affairs told Senator Lugar in August that all prisoners of faith would be freed by November. We're still waiting. In fact, I recently received a petition signed by 6,000 people asking for the freedom of imprisoned Lithuanian priests, Fathers Svarisnska and Tamevicius. Clearly they, and other religious figures, are still victims, still prisoners of conscience.

It remains a perplexing situation. Four divided spouses were released, or promised release, nevertheless four others were refused. Why? Cancer victims like Benjamin Charny, a 17-year refusenik, have not received permission to go abroad for medical treatment. Why? Even the dissidents who publish a journal called "Glasnost" have been threatened and intimidated.

*X*

There is no doubt that some progress has been made in human rights in the Soviet Union, especially earlier in the year. Yet how can we ignore that, on this day, as we speak, 13 political prisoners are dying in special regimen camp 36-1, which is one of

the most brutal in the Gulag system. Already 10 prisoners have died there, four of them Helsinki monitors. We cannot pretend that this does not exist, that these prisoners of camp 36-1 are of no consequence. They are important to us because of what they symbolize and because they are human beings and we are outraged at the way they are being treated.

George Bernard Shaw, the ultimate Irish playwright, once wrote, "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: That's the essence of inhumanity." Today, we are pleased with any releases, any unification, of separated families, any lessening of the iron grip on the freedoms of expression and religion. But we will not be indifferent to those who are left behind and we will not be lulled into ignoring the fact that the apparatus of state repression remains intact in the Soviet Union. The real joy will come, and trust between East and West will flourish, not when prisoners are released, but when the Gulag is dismantled and the organs of repression abolished.

Early in this century President Teddy Roosevelt said, "...for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind..."

So it's not just up to any one Government official. It is up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and exchange of ideas with members of the

Administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals. Thank you for all you are doing. God bless you.