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PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY
NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1988

THANK YOU, MORRY, AND THANK YOU ALL. IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE IN CHICAGO -- CHICAGO ALWAYS HAS BEEN MY KIND OF TOWN -- AND AN HONOR TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK TO YOU, THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM. I'LL KEEP MY REMARKS BRIEF TODAY SO THAT WE'LL HAVE AMPLE TIME FOR QUESTIONS. I CAN'T HELP BUT REFLECT HERE AT THE OPENING THAT IT CAN BE PRETTY TOUGH IN THIS STATE FOR A CHIEF EXECUTIVE. IN FACT, LET ME TELL YOU WHAT THE ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER HAD TO SAY ABOUT THE OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE. THEY SAID, AND I QUOTE, "THE CRAFTIEST AND MOST DISHONEST POLITICIAN THAT EVER DISGRACED AN OFFICE IN AMERICA." OF COURSE, THAT WASN'T ME THEY WERE WRITING ABOUT, THAT WAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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"YOU'VE HEARD," LINCOLN IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID, "ABOUT THE MAN WHO WAS TARRIED AND FEATHERED, AND RIDDEN OUT OF TOWN ON A RAIL? A MAN IN THE CROWD ASKED HIM HOW HE LIKED IT, AND HIS REPLY WAS THAT, IF IT WASN'T FOR THE HONOR OF THE THING, HE WOULD RATHER WALK." COME TO THINK OF IT, I MUST BE DOING SOMETHING RIGHT.

AS YOU KNOW, OUR AGENDA FOR U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS HAS FOUR MAIN PARTS -- REGIONAL CONFLICTS, BILATERAL EXCHANGES, ARMS REDUCTIONS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. I'VE SPOKEN ELSEWHERE AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE FIRST THREE. TODAY, I'D LIKE TO TAKE A MOMENT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE AMERICANS, OF COURSE, OFTEN SPEAK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. WE KNOW THAT THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTS A CENTRAL TENET OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY; WE EVEN BELIEVE THAT A PASSIONATE COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS IS ONE OF THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS THAT HELPS TO MAKE AMERICA, AMERICA.

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Speech in Independence Hall Philadelphia 2-22-1861

"The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln" Vol IV 2241

AND IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THIS AMERICAN EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTS MUCH MORE THAN MERELY A VAGUE RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY. NO, PART OF OUR HERITAGE AS AMERICANS IS A VERY SPECIFIC AND DEFINITE UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- A DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT WE CAN ASSERT TO CHALLENGE OURSELVES AND OUR OWN INSTITUTIONS, AND THAT WE CAN HOLD UP AS AN EXAMPLE FOR ALL THE WORLD.

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ELECTED GOVERNMENTS WOULD REFLECT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY, BUT THE ENLIGHTENMENT WRITERS AND OUR OWN FOUNDING FATHERS GAVE THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS STILL MORE DEFINITE, SPECIFIC FORM. -- FOR THEY HELD THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL HAS CERTAIN RIGHTS THAT ARE SO BASIC, SO FUNDAMENTAL TO HIS DIGNITY AS A HUMAN BEING, THAT NO GOVERNMENT -- HOWEVER LARGE THE MAJORITY IT REPRESENTS -- NO GOVERNMENT MAY VIOLATE THEM.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH. FREEDOM OF RELIGION. FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

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WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION, DECISION-MAKING IS TIGHTLY CONCENTRATED AT THE TOP. THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS NOT DETERMINED BY A DOCUMENT -- A CONSTITUTION, IF YOU WILL -- BUT BY THE LEADERSHIP WHO DETERMINE WHAT IS RIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE. RIGHTS SUCH AS FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, AND FREE ASSEMBLY ARE GRANTED IF THEY ARE "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN AND DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM."

I HAVE IN THE PAST STRESSED THESE CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION -- THE FUNDAMENTAL AND PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR PHILOSOPHIES OF GOVERNMENT AND WAYS OF LIFE. AND I HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE UNDERTAKEN WITH PRECISELY THIS SORT OF REALISM, THIS SORT OF CANDOR.

AND YET WHILE ESTABLISHING THIS CONTEXT IS ESSENTIAL AND REMINDING OURSELVES OF THESE BASIC DISTINCTIONS ALWAYS USEFUL, TODAY I HAVE SOMETHING ADDITIONAL IN MIND. FOR IN RECENT MONTHS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO RESPECT AT LEAST SOME HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THERE IS HOPE FOR FURTHER CHANGE, HOPE THAT IN THE DAYS AHEAD THE SOVIETS WILL GRANT FURTHER RECOGNITION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF ALL.

BUT BEFORE DISCUSSING OUR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE, I'D LIKE TO TURN FOR A MOMENT TO A SUBJECT THAT THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES OFTEN RAISE.

THE UNITED STATES MAY RECOGNIZE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, BUT WHAT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS? THE SOVIETS POINT OUT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. OR THEY POINT TO THE AMERICAN PROBLEM OF HOMELESSNESS. OR TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. WELL, IT DESERVES A FULL RESPONSE.

TO BEGIN WITH, SO-CALLED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS BELONG TO AN ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ANY SOCIETY ARE CONSTANTLY CHANGING -- NEW SOCIAL GROUPINGS CONSTANTLY TAKING SHAPE; NEW MARKETS FORMING AS OLD MARKETS DISAPPEAR. YET THERE IS NOTHING SHIFTING ABOUT CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS LIKE FREEDOM OF SPEECH OR WORSHIP: THEY ARE CONSTANT AND IMMUTABLE, FOREVER BASIC TO THE DIGNITY OF EACH HUMAN BEING. THEY ARE FUNDAMENTAL -- FUNDAMENTAL TO EVERYTHING.

YES, THE UNITED STATES HAS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SHORTCOMINGS.

UNEMPLOYMENT, FOR ONE. AS A FREE PEOPLE, WE HAVE CREATED AN ECONOMIC EXPANSION THAT OVER THE PAST 5 YEARS HAS CREATED NEARLY 16 MILLION JOBS -- BUT WE NEED TO DO MORE.

HOMELESSNESS IS INDEED A PROBLEM, AN AGONIZING ONE. TO SOME EXTENT, WE ARE BOUND IN DEALING WITH IT BY OUR VERY COMMITMENT TO LIBERTY; FOR WHILE WE SEEK TO HELP THE HOMELESS IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE WE MUST AVOID AT ALL COSTS COERCIVE SOLUTIONS.

IT IS TRUE THAT, AS A FREE PEOPLE, WE SPEND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR THROUGH OUR FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO CARE FOR THE HOMELESS. AS A FREE PEOPLE, OUR CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES, AND A HOST OF VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS DO MUCH TO PROVIDE THE HOMELESS WITH FOOD, CLOTHING, AND MEDICINES. AND YET -- THERE IS NO DENYING THAT A PROBLEM REMAINS.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION -- OUR STRIDES AS A FREE PEOPLE DURING JUST THE PAST THREE DECADES HAVE BEEN DRAMATIC. YET THE PROBLEM LINGERS, AND WE CONTINUE TO BATTLE BIGOTRY AND PREJUDICE.

THE PROBLEMS, AS I SAID, ARE SERIOUS -- NO ONE WOULD SEEK TO DENY THAT. YET IN FREEDOM WE ARE CONSTANTLY CONFRONTING THEM, CRITICIZING OURSELVES, SEEKING TO DO BETTER... IN FULL VIEW FOR ALL TO SEE.

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BUT CONSIDER, IF YOU WILL, THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

NOW, I DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIET ECONOMY HAS MADE NO PROGRESS. BUT THE LIMITED SUCCESSES OF THE PAST AROSE LARGELY FROM CONSTANT ADDITIONS TO THE LABOR FORCE AND THE AVAILABILITY OF INEXPENSIVE RESOURCES. NOW THAT THESE HAVE BEEN TO A GREAT EXTENT DEPLETED, THERE REMAINS A GAP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WEST. INDEED, GIVEN THE ENORMOUS ADVANCES IN WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, THE GAP IS LIKELY TO WIDEN.

I DO NOT BRING THIS UP SIMPLY FOR THE SAKE OF SOUNDING CRITICAL. I MENTION IT HERE BECAUSE IN RECENT MONTHS -- AND THIS IS A DEVELOPMENT OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE -- IN RECENT MONTHS THEY HAVE BEGUN TO MENTION IT THEMSELVES -- JUST LIKE AMERICANS DO ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS. SOVIET ECONOMISTS HAVE PUBLISHED ARTICLES ABOUT SOVIET SHORTAGES -- ONE RECENT ARTICLE DEALT WITH THE INADEQUACIES OF SOVIET HOUSING. THE SOVIET PRESS NOW CARRIES STORIES ABOUT THE NEED FOR PROGRESS. AND, OF COURSE, SOVIET ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS ONE OF MR. GORBACHEV'S CHIEF AIMS.

AND THIS BRINGS US BACK TO THE SUBJECT OF THE DAY, HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE COMING TO UNDERSTAND SOMETHING OF THE CONNECTION -- THE NECESSARY AND INEXTRICABLE CONNECTION -- BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY AND CERTAIN KINDS OF FREEDOM IS OBVIOUS. PRIVATE PLOTS OF LAND MAKE UP ONLY 3 PERCENT OF THE ARABLE LAND IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT ACCOUNT FOR A QUARTER OF THE PRODUCE. THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, TO PROVIDE ANOTHER EXAMPLE, WILL CLEARLY PROVE VITAL FOR SOVIET SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO HAVE HOPE OF REACHING NEW AND HIGHER STANDARDS.

AND YET THERE IS A STILL DEEPER CONNECTION.

FOR IT IS THE INDIVIDUAL WHO IS ALWAYS THE SOURCE OF ECONOMIC CREATIVITY -- THE INQUIRING MIND THAT PRODUCES A TECHNICAL BREAKTHROUGH, THE IMAGINATION THAT CONCEIVES OF NEW PRODUCTS AND MARKETS.

AND IN ORDER FOR THE INDIVIDUAL TO CREATE, HE MUST HAVE A SENSE OF JUST THAT -- HIS OWN INDIVIDUALITY, HIS OWN SELF-WORTH. HE MUST SENSE THAT OTHERS RESPECT HIM -- AND YES, THAT HIS NATION RESPECTS HIM. RESPECTS HIM ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM HIS OWN OPINIONS. RESPECTS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GOD ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM TO WORSHIP AS HE CHOOSES. EVEN RESPECTS HIM ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM, IF HE CHOOSES TO DO SO, TO LEAVE.

THE SOVIETS SHOULD RECOGNIZE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO. THEY SHOULD RECOGNIZE HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE THEY HAVE ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO DO SO, PARTICULARLY IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. BUT, IF THEY RECOGNIZE HUMAN RIGHTS FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN -- BECAUSE THEY SEEK ECONOMIC GROWTH, OR BECAUSE THEY WANT TO ENTER INTO A MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS -- WELL, I WANT TO SAY HERE AND NOW, THAT'S FINE BY ME.

THE SIGNS, AS I'VE SAID, HAVE BEEN HOPEFUL.

OVER THE PAST 3 YEARS, SOME 300 POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM LABOR CAMPS. MORE RECENTLY, THE INCARCERATION OF DISSIDENTS IN MENTAL HOSPITALS AND PRISONS HAS SLOWED AND, SOME CASES STOPPED COMPLETELY. AND WHILE THE PRESS REMAINS TIGHTLY CONTROLLED BY THE PARTY AND STATE, WE'VE SEEN THE PUBLICATION OF STORIES ON TOPICS THAT USED TO BE FORBIDDEN -- TOPICS LIKE CRIME, DRUG ADDICTIONS, CORRUPTION, EVEN POLICE BRUTALITY.

THESE CHANGES ARE LIMITED, AND THE BASIC STANDARDS CONTAINED IN THE HELSINKI ACCORDS STILL ARE NOT BEING MET. BUT WE APPLAUD THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE -- AND ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO GO FARTHER. WE RECOGNIZE THAT CHANGES OCCUR SLOWLY; BUT THAT IS BETTER THAN NO CHANGE AT ALL. AND IF I MAY, I'D LIKE NOW TO SHARE WITH YOU A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA THAT I'LL BE DISCUSSING IN MY MEETINGS IN MOSCOW. IT HAS FOUR AIMS.

FIRST, FREEDOM OF RELIGION. DESPITE THE RECENT RELAXATION OF SOME CONTROLS ON THE EXERCISE OF RELIGION, IT IS STILL TRUE THAT CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES, MOSQUES, OR OTHER HOUSES OF WORSHIP MAY NOT EXIST WITHOUT GOVERNMENT PERMISSION. MANY HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED IN THE PAST FOR ACTS OF WORSHIP.

AND YET -- TO QUOTE THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- "EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION." AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV HAS INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER "A NEW LAW" ON THE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

SECOND, FREEDOM OF SPEECH. THERE ARE STILL MANY SERVING LONG PRISON SENTENCES FOR OFFENSES THAT INVOLVE ONLY THE SPOKEN OR WRITTEN WORD. YET THE CLEAR, INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED STANDARD, AS DEFINED, ONCE AGAIN, IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IS THAT -- AND I QUOTE -- "EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EXPRESSION."

AND TODAY, THERE IS MORE SUCH FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET UNION THAN 2 YEARS AGO. MANY PERSONS IMPRISONED FOR EXPRESSING DISSENTING VIEWS HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON. THIS ISSUE CAN BE REMOVED BY GRANTING FULL RECOGNITION TO THIS BASIC HUMAN RIGHT. AND I KNOW YOU JOIN ME IN URGING THE FREEING OF PEOPLE IMPRISONED FOR NOTHING MORE THAN THE EXPRESSION OF THEIR VIEWS.

EMIGRATION, THIRD, HAS LONG REPRESENTED A MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN TO US. THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION STATES THAT, QUOTE, "EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO LEAVE ANY COUNTRY, INCLUDING HIS OWN, AND TO RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY."

IT IS TRUE THAT DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS, THE RATE OF PEOPLE PERMITTED TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER THAN DURING THE PRECEDING 6 YEARS. AND IT IS TRUE, AS WELL, THAT THE NUMBER OF THOSE PERMITTED TO LEAVE FOR SHORT TRIPS -- OFTEN FAMILY VISITS -- HAS GONE UP. WE'RE HEARTENED BY THIS PROGRESS. OUR HOPE IS THAT THE SOVIETS GRANT ALL THEIR PEOPLES FULL AND COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

AND ONE POINT IN PARTICULAR. THE SOVIETS REFUSE MANY THE RIGHT TO LEAVE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY POSSESS SECRET INFORMATION -- EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD ENDED THEIR SECRET WORK MANY YEARS BEFORE, AND WHATEVER INFORMATION THEY HAD HAS BECOME PUBLIC OR OBSOLETE. I HOPE SUCH CASES WILL BE RATIONALLY REVIEWED -- AND THE DECISION WILL BE MADE TO FREE THESE PEOPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES.

THIS BRINGS ME NOW TO THE FOURTH AND FINAL AREA I WANT TO DISCUSS, MAKING THE PROGRESS MORE PERMANENT.

AS I'VE SAID A NUMBER OF TIMES NOW, WE WELCOME THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE -- AND BELIEVE THERE IS GOOD REASON TO HOPE FOR STILL MORE. YET IT IS ONLY BEING REALISTIC TO POINT OUT THAT WE HAVE SEEN PROGRESS IN THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE. KHRUSHCHEV LOOSENEED THINGS UP A BIT. THE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE SOVIET UNION UNDERWENT A KIND OF THAW, A KIND OF SPRINGTIME.

BUT IT WAS A SPRINGTIME FOLLOWED BY WINTER -- FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S RELAXATIONS WERE REVERSED. AND FOR THE NEARLY THREE DECADES UNTIL OUR OWN DAY, OPPRESSION AND STAGNATION ONCE AGAIN BECAME THE DETERMINING CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET LIFE.

AND THAT IS WHY THOSE OF US IN THE WEST BOTH PUBLICLY AND IN DIRECT CONVERSATION WITH THE SOVIETS MUST CONTINUE TO MAKE CANDOR AND REALISM THE BASIS OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. MY CHIEF OF STAFF HOWARD BAKER TOLD ME RECENTLY OF AN OLD TENNESSEE SAYING, "PLAIN TALK -- EASY UNDERSTOOD." EXACTLY. AND JUST AS PREVIOUS HOPEFUL MOMENTS IN SOVIET HISTORY ENDED ALL TOO SOON, SO, TOO, "GLASNOST" -- TODAY'S NEW CANDOR -- WILL SUCCEED IF THE SOVIETS TAKE STEPS TO MAKE IT PERMANENT, TO INSTITUTIONALIZE IT.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM TO EMIGRATE -- AND THE WILLINGNESS TO MAKE NEW FREEDOMS PERMANENT: THESE ARE OUR HOPES -- THESE ARE OUR PRAYERS -- FOR THE FUTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE WORLD, IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

IN GRANTING GREATER LIBERTY, I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL DISCOVER THAT THEY HAVE MADE POSSIBLE ECONOMIC GROWTH. BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THIS RECOGNITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE. FOR IN THE WORDS OF ANDREI SAKHAROV -- A MAN WHO SUFFERED MUCH UNDER THE SOVIET SYSTEM, BUT WHO HAS ALSO EXPERIENCED THE BENEFITS OF "GLASNOST": "...I AM CONVINCED THAT INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, DISARMAMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ARE INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT AN OPEN SOCIETY WITH FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH, AND THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL AND CHOOSE THE COUNTRY IN WHICH ONE WISHES TO LIVE.... PEACE, PROGRESS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS -- THESE THREE GOALS ARE INSOLUBLY LINKED...."

*Sakharov's
Acceptance
of Nobel
Peace
Prize
12-10
and 12-11-75*

*"Historic
Documents
of 1975"
p 918*

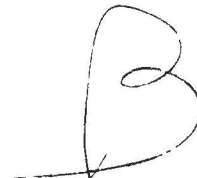
SINCE I HAVE BEEN SPEAKING TODAY ABOUT THE
RELATIONSHIP OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS, LET
ME SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN
POLAND, A NATION WITH WHICH MILLIONS OF AMERICANS SHARE
BONDS OF KINSHIP. WE HOPE AND PRAY THAT THE POLISH
GOVERNMENT WILL HEAR THE VOICE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE --
AND THAT ECONOMIC REFORM AND RECOVERY WILL SOON BEGIN.
THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE LONG BEEN READY FOR IT.

THANK YOU ALL, AND GOD BLESS YOU.

AND NOW I'D BE HAPPY TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS.

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PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY
NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM
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WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1988

A large, handwritten capital letter 'B' in black ink, positioned to the right of the event information.

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WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION, DECISION-MAKING IS TIGHTLY CONCENTRATED AT THE TOP. THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS NOT DETERMINED BY A DOCUMENT -- A CONSTITUTION, IF YOU WILL -- BUT BY THE LEADERSHIP WHO DETERMINE WHAT IS RIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE. RIGHTS SUCH AS FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, AND FREE ASSEMBLY ARE GRANTED IF THEY ARE "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN AND DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM."

I HAVE IN THE PAST STRESSED THESE CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION -- THE FUNDAMENTAL AND PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR PHILOSOPHIES OF GOVERNMENT AND WAYS OF LIFE. AND I HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE UNDERTAKEN WITH PRECISELY THIS SORT OF REALISM, THIS SORT OF CANDOR.

AND YET WHILE ESTABLISHING THIS CONTEXT IS ESSENTIAL AND REMINDING OURSELVES OF THESE BASIC DISTINCTIONS ALWAYS USEFUL, TODAY I HAVE SOMETHING ADDITIONAL IN MIND. FOR IN RECENT MONTHS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO RESPECT AT LEAST SOME HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THERE IS HOPE FOR FURTHER CHANGE, HOPE THAT IN THE DAYS AHEAD THE SOVIETS WILL GRANT FURTHER RECOGNITION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF ALL.

BUT BEFORE DISCUSSING OUR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE, I'D LIKE TO TURN FOR A MOMENT TO A SUBJECT THAT THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES OFTEN RAISE.

THE UNITED STATES MAY RECOGNIZE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, BUT WHAT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS? THE SOVIETS POINT OUT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. OR THEY POINT TO THE AMERICAN PROBLEM OF HOMELESSNESS. OR TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. WELL, IT DESERVES A FULL RESPONSE.

TO BEGIN WITH, SO-CALLED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL "RIGHTS" -- IT WOULD PROBABLY BE MORE FITTING TO USE THE TERM ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL "CONDITIONS" -- BELONG TO AN ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ANY SOCIETY ARE CONSTANTLY CHANGING -- NEW SOCIAL GROUPINGS CONSTANTLY TAKING SHAPE; NEW MARKETS FORMING AS OLD MARKETS DISAPPEAR. YET THERE IS NOTHING SHIFTING ABOUT CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS LIKE FREEDOM OF SPEECH OR WORSHIP: THEY ARE CONSTANT AND IMMUTABLE, FOREVER BASIC TO THE DIGNITY OF EACH HUMAN BEING. THEY ARE FUNDAMENTAL -- FUNDAMENTAL TO EVERYTHING.

YES, THE UNITED STATES HAS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SHORTCOMINGS.

UNEMPLOYMENT, FOR ONE. AS A FREE PEOPLE, WE HAVE CREATED AN ECONOMIC EXPANSION THAT OVER THE PAST 5 YEARS HAS CREATED NEARLY 16 MILLION JOBS -- BUT WE NEED TO DO MORE.

HOMELESSNESS IS INDEED A PROBLEM, AN AGONIZING ONE. TO SOME EXTENT, WE ARE BOUND IN DEALING WITH IT BY OUR VERY COMMITMENT TO LIBERTY; FOR WE ARE RESTRAINED IN OUR ABILITY TO COERCE THOSE HOMELESS INDIVIDUALS WHO CHOOSE TO REJECT OUR HELP.

IT IS TRUE THAT, AS A FREE PEOPLE, WE SPEND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR THROUGH OUR FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO CARE FOR THE HOMELESS. AS A FREE PEOPLE, OUR CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES, AND A HOST OF VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS DO MUCH TO PROVIDE THE HOMELESS WITH FOOD, CLOTHING, AND MEDICINES. AND YET -- THERE IS NO DENYING THAT A PROBLEM REMAINS.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION -- OUR STRIDES AS A FREE PEOPLE DURING JUST THE PAST THREE DECADES HAVE BEEN DRAMATIC. YET THE PROBLEM LINGERS, AND WE CONTINUE TO BATTLE BIGOTRY AND PREJUDICE.

THE PROBLEMS, AS I SAID, ARE SERIOUS -- NO ONE WOULD SEEK TO DENY THAT. YET IN FREEDOM WE ARE CONSTANTLY CONFRONTING THEM, CRITICIZING OURSELVES, SEEKING TO DO BETTER... IN FULL VIEW FOR ALL TO SEE.

BUT CONSIDER, IF YOU WILL, THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

NOW, I DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIET ECONOMY HAS MADE NO PROGRESS. BUT THE LIMITED SUCCESSES OF THE PAST AROSE LARGELY FROM CONSTANT ADDITIONS TO THE LABOR FORCE AND THE AVAILABILITY OF INEXPENSIVE RESOURCES. NOW THAT THESE HAVE BEEN TO A GREAT EXTENT DEPLETED, THERE REMAINS A GAP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WEST. INDEED, GIVEN THE ENORMOUS ADVANCES IN WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, THE GAP IS LIKELY TO WIDEN.

I DO NOT BRING THIS UP SIMPLY FOR THE SAKE OF SOUNDING CRITICAL. I MENTION IT HERE BECAUSE IN RECENT MONTHS -- AND THIS IS A DEVELOPMENT OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE -- IN RECENT MONTHS THEY HAVE BEGUN TO MENTION IT THEMSELVES -- JUST LIKE AMERICANS DO ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS. SOVIET ECONOMISTS HAVE PUBLISHED ARTICLES ABOUT SOVIET SHORTAGES -- ONE RECENT ARTICLE DEALT WITH THE INADEQUACIES OF SOVIET HOUSING. THE SOVIET PRESS NOW CARRIES STORIES ABOUT THE NEED FOR PROGRESS. AND, OF COURSE, SOVIET ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS ONE OF MR. GORBACHEV'S CHIEF AIMS.

AND THIS BRINGS US BACK TO THE SUBJECT OF THE DAY, HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE COMING TO UNDERSTAND SOMETHING OF THE CONNECTION -- THE NECESSARY AND INEXTRICABLE CONNECTION -- BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY AND CERTAIN KINDS OF FREEDOM IS OBVIOUS. PRIVATE PLOTS OF LAND MAKE UP ONLY 3 PERCENT OF THE ARABLE LAND IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT ACCOUNT FOR A QUARTER OF THE PRODUCE. THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, TO PROVIDE ANOTHER EXAMPLE, WILL CLEARLY PROVE VITAL FOR SOVIET SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO HAVE HOPE OF REACHING NEW AND HIGHER STANDARDS.

AND YET THERE IS A STILL DEEPER CONNECTION.

FOR IT IS THE INDIVIDUAL WHO IS ALWAYS THE SOURCE OF ECONOMIC CREATIVITY -- THE INQUIRING MIND THAT PRODUCES A TECHNICAL BREAKTHROUGH, THE IMAGINATION THAT CONCEIVES OF NEW PRODUCTS AND MARKETS.

AND IN ORDER FOR THE INDIVIDUAL TO CREATE, HE MUST HAVE A SENSE OF JUST THAT -- HIS OWN INDIVIDUALITY, HIS OWN SELF-WORTH. HE MUST SENSE THAT OTHERS RESPECT HIM -- AND YES, THAT HIS NATION RESPECTS HIM. RESPECTS HIM ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM HIS OWN OPINIONS. RESPECTS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GOD ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM TO WORSHIP AS HE CHOOSES. EVEN RESPECTS HIM ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM, IF HE CHOOSES TO DO SO, TO LEAVE.

THE SOVIETS SHOULD RECOGNIZE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO. THEY SHOULD RECOGNIZE HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE THEY HAVE ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO DO SO, PARTICULARLY IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. BUT, IF THEY RECOGNIZE HUMAN RIGHTS FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN -- BECAUSE THEY SEEK ECONOMIC GROWTH, OR BECAUSE THEY WANT TO ENTER INTO A MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS -- WELL, I WANT TO SAY HERE AND NOW, THAT'S FINE BY ME.

THE SIGNS, AS I'VE SAID, HAVE BEEN HOPEFUL.

OVER THE PAST 3 YEARS, SOME 300 POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRISONERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM LABOR CAMPS. MORE RECENTLY, THE INCARCERATION OF DISSIDENTS IN MENTAL HOSPITALS AND PRISONS HAS SLOWED AND, SOME CASES STOPPED COMPLETELY. AND WHILE THE PRESS REMAINS TIGHTLY CONTROLLED BY THE PARTY AND STATE, WE'VE SEEN THE PUBLICATION OF STORIES ON TOPICS THAT USED TO BE FORBIDDEN -- TOPICS LIKE CRIME, DRUG ADDICTIONS, CORRUPTION, EVEN POLICE BRUTALITY.

THESE CHANGES ARE LIMITED, AND THE BASIC STANDARDS CONTAINED IN THE HELSINKI ACCORDS STILL ARE NOT BEING MET. BUT WE APPLAUD THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE -- AND ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO GO FARTHER. WE RECOGNIZE THAT CHANGES OCCUR SLOWLY; BUT THAT IS BETTER THAN NO CHANGE AT ALL. AND IF I MAY, I'D LIKE NOW TO SHARE WITH YOU A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA THAT I'LL BE DISCUSSING IN MY MEETINGS IN MOSCOW. IT HAS FOUR AIMS.

FIRST, FREEDOM OF RELIGION. DESPITE THE RECENT RELAXATION OF SOME CONTROLS ON THE EXERCISE OF RELIGION, IT IS STILL TRUE THAT CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES, MOSQUES, OR OTHER HOUSES OF WORSHIP MAY NOT EXIST WITHOUT GOVERNMENT PERMISSION. MANY HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED IN THE PAST FOR ACTS OF WORSHIP.

AND YET -- TO QUOTE THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- "EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION." AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV HAS INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER "A NEW LAW" ON THE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

SECOND, FREEDOM OF SPEECH. THERE ARE STILL MANY SERVING LONG PRISON SENTENCES FOR OFFENSES THAT INVOLVE ONLY THE SPOKEN OR WRITTEN WORD. YET THE CLEAR, INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED STANDARD, AS DEFINED, ONCE AGAIN, IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IS THAT -- AND I QUOTE -- "EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EXPRESSION."

AND TODAY, THERE IS MORE SUCH FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET UNION THAN 2 YEARS AGO. MANY PERSONS IMPRISONED FOR EXPRESSING DISSENTING VIEWS HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON. THIS ISSUE CAN BE REMOVED BY GRANTING FULL RECOGNITION TO THIS BASIC HUMAN RIGHT. AND I KNOW YOU JOIN ME IN URGING THE FREEING OF PEOPLE IMPRISONED FOR NOTHING MORE THAN THE EXPRESSION OF THEIR VIEWS.

EMIGRATION, THIRD, HAS LONG REPRESENTED A MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN TO US. THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION STATES THAT, QUOTE, "EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO LEAVE ANY COUNTRY, INCLUDING HIS OWN, AND TO RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY."

IT IS TRUE THAT DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS, THE RATE OF PEOPLE PERMITTED TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER THAN DURING THE PRECEDING 6 YEARS. AND IT IS TRUE, AS WELL, THAT THE NUMBER OF THOSE PERMITTED TO LEAVE FOR SHORT TRIPS -- OFTEN FAMILY VISITS -- HAS GONE UP. WE'RE HEARTENED BY THIS PROGRESS. OUR HOPE IS THAT THE SOVIETS GRANT ALL THEIR PEOPLES FULL AND COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

AND ONE POINT IN PARTICULAR. THE SOVIETS REFUSE MANY THE RIGHT TO LEAVE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY POSSESS SECRET INFORMATION -- EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD ENDED THEIR SECRET WORK MANY YEARS BEFORE, AND WHATEVER INFORMATION THEY HAD HAS BECOME PUBLIC OR OBSOLETE. I HOPE SUCH CASES WILL BE RATIONALLY REVIEWED -- AND THE DECISION WILL BE MADE TO FREE THESE PEOPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES.

THIS BRINGS ME NOW TO THE FOURTH AND FINAL AREA I WANT TO DISCUSS, MAKING THE PROGRESS MORE PERMANENT.

AS I'VE SAID A NUMBER OF TIMES NOW, WE WELCOME THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE -- AND BELIEVE THERE IS GOOD REASON TO HOPE FOR STILL MORE. YET IT IS ONLY BEING REALISTIC TO POINT OUT THAT WE HAVE SEEN PROGRESS IN THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE. KHRUSHCHEV LOOSENEED THINGS UP A BIT. THE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE SOVIET UNION UNDERWENT A KIND OF THAW, A KIND OF SPRINGTIME.

BUT IT WAS A SPRINGTIME FOLLOWED BY WINTER -- FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S RELAXATIONS WERE REVERSED. AND FOR THE NEARLY THREE DECADES UNTIL OUR OWN DAY, OPPRESSION AND STAGNATION ONCE AGAIN BECAME THE DETERMINING CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET LIFE.

AND THAT IS WHY THOSE OF US IN THE WEST BOTH PUBLICLY AND IN DIRECT CONVERSATION WITH THE SOVIETS MUST CONTINUE TO MAKE CANDOR AND REALISM THE BASIS OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. MY CHIEF OF STAFF HOWARD BAKER TOLD ME RECENTLY OF AN OLD TENNESSEE SAYING, "PLAIN TALK -- EASY UNDERSTOOD." EXACTLY. AND JUST AS PREVIOUS HOPEFUL MOMENTS IN SOVIET HISTORY ENDED ALL TOO SOON, SO, TOO, "GLASNOST" -- TODAY'S NEW CANDOR -- WILL SUCCEED IF THE SOVIETS TAKE STEPS TO MAKE IT PERMANENT, TO INSTITUTIONALIZE IT.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM TO EMIGRATE -- AND THE WILLINGNESS TO MAKE NEW FREEDOMS PERMANENT: THESE ARE OUR HOPES -- THESE ARE OUR PRAYERS -- FOR THE FUTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE WORLD, IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

IN GRANTING GREATER LIBERTY, I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL DISCOVER THAT THEY HAVE MADE POSSIBLE ECONOMIC GROWTH. BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THIS RECOGNITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE. FOR IN THE WORDS OF ANDREI SAKHAROV -- A MAN WHO SUFFERED MUCH UNDER THE SOVIET SYSTEM, BUT WHO HAS ALSO EXPERIENCED THE BENEFITS OF "GLASNOST": "...I AM CONVINCED THAT INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, DISARMAMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ARE INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT AN OPEN SOCIETY WITH FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH, AND THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL AND CHOOSE THE COUNTRY IN WHICH ONE WISHES TO LIVE.... PEACE, PROGRESS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS -- THESE THREE GOALS ARE INSOLUBLY LINKED...."

THANK YOU ALL, AND GOD BLESS YOU.

AND NOW I'D BE HAPPY TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS.

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Barb

(Robinson/ARD)
May 2, 1988
3:30 p.m. RR

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1988

Morris Leibman
Chairman of NSF
introduces RR
Matt Crow
Advocate
x 75e5
Pres Doc
Knights of Columbus
Chicago, IL.
8-5-88

Thank you, Morris, and thank you all. It's a pleasure to be back in Chicago -- Chicago always has been my kind of town -- and an honor to be able to speak to you, the members of the National Strategy Forum. I'll keep my remarks brief today so that we'll have ample time for questions. But I can't help but reflect here at the opening that it can be pretty tough in this State for a Chief Executive. In fact, let me tell you what The Illinois State Register had to say about the occupant of the White House. They said, and I quote, "the craftiest and most dishonest politician that ever disgraced an office in America." Can you believe that? Of course that wasn't me they were writing about, that was Abraham Lincoln. Come to think of it, I must be doing something right.

Presidential Anecdotes by Paul Deller, Jr. P127

As you know, our agenda for U.S.-Soviet relations has four main parts -- regional conflicts, bilateral exchanges, arms reductions, and human rights. I've spoken elsewhere at some length about the first three. Today I'd like to take a moment to discuss with you the subject dealt with in -- the subject of human rights.

Pres Doc. Radio Talk 11-28-87

Pres Doc
World Affairs Council, Springfield
4-21-88
Natl Assoc. of Broadcasters Las Vegas Nev. 4-10-88
Amer. Society of Newspaper Editors 4-13-88

We Americans of course often speak about human rights, individual liberties, and fundamental freedom. We know that the promotion of human rights represents a central tenet of our foreign policy; we even believe that a passionate commitment to human rights is one of the special characteristics that helps to

make America, America. And it is worth noting that the American emphasis on human rights represents much more than merely a vague respect for human dignity. No, part of our heritage as Americans is a very specific and definite understanding of human rights -- a definition of human rights that we can assert to challenge ourselves and our own institutions, and that we can hold up as an example for all the world.

Ultimately, our view of human rights derives from our Judeo-Christian heritage and the view that each individual life is sacred. It takes more detailed form in the works of the French and English writers of the 18th-century Enlightenment. It is the notion that government should derive its mandate from the consent of the governed, this consent being expressed in free, contested, regular elections. And there you have ^a the first human right, the right to have a voice in Government -- the right to vote.

Elected governments would reflect the will of the majority, but the Enlightenment writers and our own Founding Fathers gave the concept of human rights still more definite, specific form. For they held that each individual has certain rights that are so basic, so fundamental to his dignity as a human being, that no government -- however large the majority it represents -- no government may violate them.

Freedom of speech. Freedom of religion. Freedom of assembly. Freedom of the press.

These and other rights enshrined in our Constitution and Bill of Rights consist in severe limitations upon the power of

Encycl
Am. Hist. Soc.
Vol 10
p 468-471
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Bill of
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U.S. Constitution

Government. They are rights -- and this is another, basic point -- they are rights that every citizen can call upon our independent court system to uphold. They proclaim the belief -- and represent a specific means of enforcing the belief -- that the individual comes first: That the Government is the servant of the people, and not the other way around.

That contrasts with those systems of government which provide no limit on the power of the government over its people.

Within the Soviet Union, decision-making is tightly concentrated at the top. The authority of the Communist Party is not determined by a document -- a Constitution, if you will -- but by the leadership who determine what is right for the people. Rights such as free speech, free press, and free assembly are granted if they are "in accordance with the interests of the people and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system."

So there are contrasts between the United States and the Soviet Union. Our differing points of view concerning civil and political rights leave room for further discussion.

None of this is new, of course. And while it is always useful to remind ourselves of these basic distinctions between our two systems, today I have much more in mind. For in recent months, the Soviet Union has shown a willingness to respect at least some human rights. It is my belief that there is hope for further change, hope that in the days ahead the Soviets will grant further recognition to the fundamental civil and political rights of all.

"The Soviet Constitution: Myth & Reality" by Richard Shifter, Asst. Sec. for Human Rights, State Dept. speech - 10-87 #994
Tom Griscom insert

But before discussing our hopes for the future, I'd like to turn for a moment to a subject that the Soviets themselves often raise.

The United States may recognize civil and political rights, but what of economic and social rights? The Soviets point out, for example, that ~~while~~ the United States has an unemployment problem, ~~everyone in the Soviet Union is guaranteed a job.~~ Or they point to the American problem of homelessness. Or to racial discrimination. Well, it deserves a full response.

To begin with, so-called economic and social "rights" -- it would probably be more fitting to use the term economic and social "conditions" -- belong to an essentially different category from civil and political rights. The economic and social conditions in any society are constantly changing -- new social groupings constantly taking shape; new markets forming as old markets disappear. Yet there is nothing shifting about civil and political rights like freedom of speech or worship: They are constant and immutable, forever basic to the dignity of each human being. They are fundamental -- fundamental to everything.

Yes, the United States has social and economic shortcomings.

As a free people, we have created an economic expansion that over the past 5 years has created nearly 16 million jobs -- but we need to do more.

Homelessness is indeed a problem, an agonizing one. To some extent, we are bound in dealing with it by our very commitment to liberty; ~~Laws have been passed in recent years that make it illegal to force those who live on our sidewalks into hospitals~~ *for while we seek to help the homeless in every way possible, we must avoid at all costs coercive measures.*

*Lisa Jameson
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~~or shelters unless they represent a threat to society or themselves.~~ It is true that as a free people, we spend hundreds of millions of dollars a year through our Federal and State and local governments to care for the homeless. As a free people, our churches, synagogues, and a host of volunteer organizations do much to provide the homeless with food, clothing, and medicines.

And yet -- there is no denying that the problem remains.

Racial discrimination -- our strides as a free people during just the past three decades have been dramatic. Yet the problem lingers, and we continue to battle bigotry and prejudice.

The problems, as I said, are serious -- no one would seek to deny that. Yet in freedom we are constantly confronting them, criticizing ourselves, seeking to do better... in full view for all to see.

Now consider, if you will, the economic conditions of the Soviet Union.

Now, I do not mean to suggest that the Soviet economy has made no progress. But the limited successes of the past arose largely from constant additions to the labor force and the availability of inexpensive resources. Now that these have been to a great extent depleted, there remains a gap between the Soviet Union and the West. Indeed, given the enormous advances in Western technology, the gap is likely to widen.

I have no desire to berate the Soviet system. I mention it here because in recent months -- and this is a development of tremendous significance -- in recent months they have begun to mention it themselves -- just like Americans do about their

*Kathy Peroff
DMB-housing
395-4610*

*Civil Rights Act
Documents of
American
History Vol II
p687-88*

*"U.S.-Soviet
Quality of
Life: A
Comparison"
by Ann
Shifter
5-22-85*

*Fortune -
"The Homeless"
11-23-87
NYT
"Homeless"
Receive
School
Supplies
11-13-87*

problems. Soviet economists have published articles about Soviet shortcomings -- one recent article dealt with the inadequacies of Soviet housing. The Soviet press now carries stories about the need for progress. And, of course, Soviet economic progress is one of Mr. Gorbachev's chief aims.

And this brings us back to the subject of the day, human rights. For I believe that the Soviets may be coming to understand something of the connection -- the necessary and inextricable connection -- between human rights and economic growth.

The connection between economic productivity and certain kinds of freedom is obvious. Private plots of land make up only 4 percent of the arable land in the Soviet Union but account for a quarter of the produce. The free flow of information, to provide another example, will clearly prove vital for Soviet science and technology to have hope of reaching new and higher standards.

And yet there is a still deeper connection.

For it is the individual who is always the source of economic creativity -- the inquiring mind that produces a technical breakthrough, the imagination that conceives of new products and markets. And in order for the individual to create, he must have a sense of just that -- his own individuality, his own self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and yes, that his nation respects him. Respects him enough to permit him his own opinions. Respects the relationship between the individual and his God enough to permit him to worship as he

*USA
Jameson
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x 3912*

*Leslie
Starnberg
State
Dept - Soviet
Internal Affairs
From Ken
Gray - (50A)
1047-9222*

chooses. Even respects him enough to permit him, if he chooses to do so, to leave.

The Soviets should recognize basic human rights because it is the right thing to do. And if they recognize human rights for other reasons -- because they seek economic growth, or because they want to enter into a more normal relationship with the United States and other nations -- well, I want to say here and now, that's fine by me.

The signs, as I've said, have been hopeful.

Over the past 3 years, some 300 political and religious prisoners have been released from labor camps. More recently, the incarceration of dissidents in mental hospitals has slowed. And while the press remains tightly controlled by the Party and state, we've seen the publication of stories on topics that used to be forbidden -- topics like crime, drug addictions, corruption, even police brutality.

Use James on NSC 3912

These changes are limited, and the basic standards contained in the Helsinki Accords still are not being met. But we applaud the changes that have taken place -- and encourage the Soviets to go farther. We recognize changes occur slowly; but that is better than no change at all. And if I may, I'd like now to share with you a brief summary of the human rights agenda that I'll be discussing in my meetings in Moscow. It has four aims.

First, freedom of religion. Despite the recent relaxation of some controls on the exercise of religion, it is still true that churches, synagogues, mosques, or other houses of worship may not exist without government permission. Many have been

And Shifts St. Dept Human Rights

imprisoned in the past for acts of worship. And yet -- to quote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- "everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." And General Secretary Gorbachev has indicated a willingness to consider "a new law" on the freedom of conscience.

Second, freedom of speech. There are still many serving long prison sentences for offenses that involve only the spoken or written word. Yet the clear, internationally-recognized standard, as defined, once again, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is that -- and I quote -- "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." And today, there is more such freedom in the Soviet Union than two years ago. Many persons imprisoned for expressing dissenting views have been released from the prison. This issue can be removed by granting full recognition to this basic human right. And I know you join me in urging the freeing of people imprisoned for nothing more than the expression of his views.

Emigration, third, has long represented a matter of great concern to us. The Universal Declaration states that, quote, "everyone has a right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." It is true that during the past 12 months, the rate of people permitted to leave the Soviet Union has been significantly higher than during the preceding 6 years. And it is true as well that the numbers of those permitted to leave for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up. We're heartened by this progress. Our hope is that the Soviets grant all their peoples full and complete freedom of movement.

Univ. Decl.
Art. 18
"Everyone's
United
Nations"
p414

Kathy
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St. Dept
Human Rights
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Art. 19
"Everyone
U. N."
p414

Ibid
Art 13
p413

Amb.
Shifter

And one point in particular. The Soviets refuse many the right to leave on the grounds that they possess secret information -- even though they had ended their secret work many years before, and whatever information they had has become public or obsolete. I hope such cases will be rationally reviewed -- and the decision will be made to free these people and their families.

This brings me now to the fourth and final area I want to discuss, making the progress more permanent.

As I've said a number of times now, we welcome the human rights progress that the Soviets have made -- and believe there is good reason to hope for still more. Yet it is only being realistic to point out that we have seen progress in the Soviet Union before. Khrushchev loosened things up a bit. The intellectual and cultural life of the Soviet Union underwent a kind of thaw, a kind of springtime.

But it was a springtime followed by winter -- for Khrushchev's relaxations were reversed. And for the nearly three decades until our own day, oppression and stagnation once again became the determining characteristics of Soviet life.

And that is why those of us in the West both publicly and in direct conversation with the Soviets must continue to make candor and realism the basis of our bilateral relationship. My Chief of Staff Howard Baker told me recently of an old Tennessee saying, "Plain talk -- easy understood." Exactly. And just as previous hopeful moments in Soviet history ended all too soon, so, too,

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"glasnost" -- today's new candor will succeed if the Soviets take steps to make it permanent, to institutionalize it.

Freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom to emigrate -- and the willingness to make new freedoms permanent: These are our hopes -- these are our prayers -- for the future of human rights in the Soviet Union, in the world, in our own country.

In granting greater liberty, I am confident, the Soviets will discover that they have made possible economic growth. But even more important, this recognition of human rights will advance the cause of peace. For in the words of Andrei Sakharov -- a man who suffered much under the Soviet system, but who has also experienced the benefits of "glasnost": "Human rights, peace, and security are indivisible." Thank you all, and God bless you.

And now I'd be happy to answer your questions.

FROM RICHARD SCHIFTER

Since the end of World War II, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have been the most critical issue on our foreign policy agenda. As we all know, the ups and downs in that relationship have not only had a most significant effect on the two countries directly involved, but have truly been felt throughout the world.

Every aspect of our relationship with the Soviet Union is, therefore, of worldwide interest. One such aspect, of great importance to the people of our country, is human rights. It is not surprising, therefore, that the recent improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union has run parallel with the betterment of human rights conditions in that country.

It's my job to call the shots as I see them with regard to human rights conditions in the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that meaningful human rights changes have taken place in the Soviet Union during the last two years. They are more than changes in facade. They are changes which have significantly and meaningfully improved the lives of some individuals and of conditions generally. At the same time we must note that a great many human rights problems persist in the Soviet Union. The basic standards contained in the Helsinki Accords are not

met in the Soviet Union today. But a debate seems to be going on there on a number of issues, including issues related to human rights. There are those who seem interested in moving forward toward a better society, one that increases respect for the rights and the dignity of the individual. And there appear to be those who insist on holding the line or even to regress toward greater rigidity and repression. I have no doubt that the sympathies of the people of our country are with those who wish to open up Soviet society and want to enhance the rights of the individual.

When we use the term "human rights," one of the most basic rights that comes to mind instantly is freedom of speech. (1.) There is more such freedom now in the Soviet Union than there was two years ago. Many persons who had been imprisoned for the expression of dissenting views have been released from prison. But I regret to say that to this very day there are men serving long prison sentences at hard labor in Siberian camps for offenses against Soviet law which involve nothing other than the written or spoken word. These prisoners publicized their political views at a time when speaking out in dissent brought the heavy hand of the KGB down in you. The clear, internationally-recognized standard, as spelled out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." I have no doubt that in our country and throughout the democratic world there is an expectation that the Soviet Union will live up to

that standard and put this issue behind it by freeing every last person now in prison for nothing other than the verbal or written expression of dissenting views.

Mere freeing of political prisoners, however, is not enough to set things right. A good many of those who are freed discover that they are discriminated against when they look for housing or for jobs. If the Soviet Union wants to wipe the slate clean on this issue it should not only release all political prisoners but give them an opportunity to assume a role in life free of any taint due to their past conviction on political grounds.

Freedom of religion is another vitally important human rights issue with which we are concerned. Here, too, we have seen some recent progress in the Soviet Union. The rigid controls which the state has imposed on the free exercise of religion have been relaxed. But the system of controls has been maintained. No church, synagogue, mosque, or other house of worship may exist unless government permission has been obtained for it to operate. No activity may be sponsored by a church unless the government permits it. And anyone who engages in religious activity which has not been duly authorized by the government commits an offense for which he can be punished. Quite a number of people have, in fact, been punished and have served long prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion. Here, too, I am glad to say


that a good many persons who have served prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion have now been released and that during the last two years no one has been imprisoned on that ground.

But unless there is some basic change, which allows the free exercise of religion without government interference, the Soviet Union will not be in compliance with the international standard that "everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." We hope that this issue, too, will be one which Soviet authorities will decide to put behind them by ending government regulation of religion.

The issue of emigration has been another matter of concern to us. The international standard provides that "everyone has a right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." We have a hard time understanding why any country wants to keep someone forcibly within its borders who wants to leave. In this connection, too, we are glad to see that the Soviet Union has now made some modification in its rules and regulations. During the last twelve months, more persons have been allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union than were permitted to leave during the preceding six years. A good many persons who had for more than a decade been denied the opportunity of leaving the country were finally allowed to go. Also, most recently there has been a substantial increase in the number of persons allowed to leave the Soviet Union on

short trips, on family visits.

Here, too, we are pleased at the progress, but continue to be concerned about the limits on forward movement. Some people continue to be denied the right to leave on the ground that they have secret information even though they have been separated from any secret work for many years and the information they possessed has by now become either publicly known or is totally obsolete. We hope that these cases will now be looked at rationally and the decision will be made to let these people and their families leave at long last.



(Robinson/ARD)
April 29, 1988
2:30 p.m. SS

Part

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1988

Thank you, Morris, and thank you all. It's a pleasure to be back in Chicago -- Chicago always has been my kind of town -- and an honor to be able to speak to you, the members of the National Strategy Forum. I'll keep my remarks brief today so that we'll have ample time for questions. But I can't help but reflect here at the opening that it can be pretty tough in this State for Chief Executive. In fact, let me tell you what The Illinois State Register had to say about the occupant of the White House. They said, and I quote, "the craftiest and most dishonest politician that ever disgraced an office in America." Can you believe that? Of course that wasn't me they were writing about, that was Abraham Lincoln. Come to think of it, I must be doing something right.

Now, preparing for the coming Moscow summit is, of course, a very earnest business, but I've discovered over the years that even U.S.-Soviet relations have their lighter side -- and it's become something of a habit with me to collect stories from inside the Soviet Union. These stories are a testimony to the resilience and goodness of the Russian people. And by the way, Mr. Gorbachev has a good sense of humor himself and has told me a few good tales. Anyway, I thought I might begin today by sharing one that has become a favorite of mine.

It seems an American and a Soviet were comparing political freedom in their two countries. The American boasted: "Why, I

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Anecdotes
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*Pres
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Knight
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could go to the front gates of the White House and shout, 'Down with Reagan!' and nothing would happen to me." And, yes, I did tell that to Mr. Gorbachev. And yes he laughed. Boy, was I glad he laughed.

"But comrade," answered the Soviet, "we have just the same freedom in the Soviet Union. I could go to the gates of the Kremlin, shout 'Down with Reagan!' and nothing would happen to me."

~~But~~ as you know, our agenda for U.S.-Soviet relations has four main parts -- regional conflicts, bilateral exchanges, arms reductions, and human rights. I've spoken elsewhere at some length about the first three. Today I'd like to take a moment to discuss with you the ~~subject dealt with in such an amusing but powerful way in the story I just told~~ -- the subject of human rights.

We Americans of course use the phrase "human rights" often. We know that the promotion of human rights represents a central tenet of our foreign policy; we even believe that a passionate commitment to human rights is one of the special characteristics that helps to make America, America. And it is worth noting that the American emphasis on human rights represents much more than merely a vague respect for human dignity. No, part of our heritage as Americans is a very specific and definite understanding of human rights -- a definition of human rights that we can assert to challenge ourselves and our own institutions, and that we can hold up as a standard for all the world.

Pres
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Radio
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World
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Springfield
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of
Newspaper
Editors
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Ultimately, our view of human rights derives from our Judeo-Christian heritage and the view that each individual life is sacred. It takes more detailed form in the works of the French and English writers of the 18th-century Enlightenment. Government, they argued, should derive its mandate from the consent of the governed, this consent being expressed in free elections. And there you have the first human right, the right to have a voice in Government -- the right to vote.

Elected governments would reflect the will of the majority, but the Enlightenment writers and our own Founding Fathers gave the concept of human rights still more definite, specific form. For they held that each individual has certain rights that are so basic, so fundamental to his dignity as a human being, that no government -- however large the majority it represents -- no government may violate them.

Freedom of speech. Freedom of religion. Freedom of assembly. Freedom of the press.

These and other rights enshrined in the Constitution consist in severe limitations upon the power of Government. They are rights -- and this is another, basic point -- they are rights that every citizen can call upon our independent court system to uphold. They proclaim the belief -- and represent a specific means of enforcing the belief -- that the individual comes first: That the Government is the servant of the people, and not the other way around.

~~In the Soviet Union, the contrast could hardly be more pronounced. Yes, certain articles in the Soviet Constitution~~

Encl.
Americana
Vol 10
P468-
471

Bill
of
Rights -
U.S. Constitution

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"The Soviet Constitution: rights and liberties" by Richard Shifter, Asst Sec. for Human Rights - State Dept speech 5/10-87 # 994 p2

might appear to deal with human rights -- but not when one understands the way the Soviets themselves understand that Constitution.

Lenin -- if you will, the Founding Father of the Soviet state -- stated in a report to the Soviet Communist Party: "[W]e constitute the single legal party in Russia.... We have taken away political freedom from our opponents...."

quote from Sigoy Zinoviev

Within the Party itself, Lenin asserted that decision-making was to be tightly concentrated at the top. By the way, you might note the use of the word "democracy" in this quotation: "Soviet socialist democracy is not in the least incompatible with individual rule and dictatorship.... What is necessary is individual rule, the recognition of the dictatorial powers of one man.... All phrases about equal rights are nonsense."

It is against this background that the Soviets interpret their Constitution. Consider, for example, Article 50:

"In accordance with the interests of the people and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system, citizens of the U.S.S. R. are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions, and of demonstration."

That of course sounds very much like the guarantees of human rights in our own Constitution. But the way Article 50 is actually applied in the Soviet Union, freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly are granted -- only if they accord with the interest of the people and if it strengthens and develops the socialist system. And who decides what is in the interest of the people? Who decides what strengthens the socialist system?

7
ibid p2

The answer, of course, is simple: The Communist Party.

Shifter
speech

In the Soviet Union, then, it is not the individual who comes first. It is not even the State that comes first. It is the Communist Party -- and within the Party, the leadership at the highest reaches. Human rights as we understand them -- the civil and political rights basic to the dignity of every human being -- possess no standing.

None of this is new, of course. And while it is always useful to remind ourselves of these basic distinctions between our two systems, today I have much more in mind. For in recent months, the Soviet Union has shown a willingness -- albeit a very limited willingness -- to respect at least some human rights. It is my belief that there is hope for still further change, hope that in the days ahead the Soviets will grant further recognition to the fundamental civil and political rights of all men.

Lisa
Jameson
NSC

But before discussing our hopes for the future, I'd like to turn for a moment to a subject that the Soviets themselves often raise.

The United States may recognize civil and political rights, the Soviets often assert, but what of economic and social rights?

The Soviets point out, for example, that while the United States has an unemployment problem, everyone in the Soviet Union is guaranteed a job. Or they point to the American problem of homelessness. Or to racial discrimination. Believe me, I heard quite a lot about this when Mr. Gorbachev was in Washington -- and it deserves a full response.

Lisa
Jameson
NSC
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To begin with, so-called economic and social "rights" -- it would probably be more fitting to use the term economic and social "conditions" -- belong to an essentially different category from civil and political rights. The economic and social conditions in any society are constantly changing -- new social groupings constantly taking shape; new markets forming as old markets disappear. Yet there is nothing shifting about civil and political rights like freedom of speech or worship: They are constant and immutable, forever basic to the dignity of each human being.

But to proceed to the substance of the Soviet charges: Yes, the United States has social and economic failings, serious ones. Unemployment remains too high. As a free people, we have created an economic expansion that over the past 5 years has created nearly 16 million jobs -- but we need to do more.

Homelessness is indeed a problem, an agonizing one. To some extent, we are bound in dealing with it by our very commitment to liberty. Laws have been passed in recent years that make it illegal to force those who live on our sidewalks into hospitals or shelters unless they represent a threat to society or themselves. It is true that as a free people, we spend hundreds of millions of dollars a year through our Federal and State governments to care for the homeless. As a free people, our churches, synagogues, and a host of volunteer organizations do much to provide the homeless with food, clothing, and medicines. And yet -- there is no denying that the problem remains.

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Feature
11-23-87
"The
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"Homeless
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*while we reach out to the homeless, among us
restrains our ability to care those homeless
individuals who choose to reject our help.*

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address the problem of homelessness

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Civil Rights Act
1964
Documents
& American
History
Vol. II
pp 657-88

Racial discrimination -- our strides as a free people during just the past three decades have been dramatic. Yet the problem lingers, and we continue to battle bigotry and prejudice.

The problems, as I said, are serious -- no one would seek to deny that. Yet in freedom we are constantly confronting them, criticizing ourselves, always seeking to do better.

But consider, if you will, the social and economic failings of the Soviet Union itself.

Financial
Times
London
7-30-87

We know, for example, that there are considerable tensions between the various peoples of the Soviet Union -- the issue is so sensitive, indeed, that I will do no more than mention it in passing.

Is there homelessness in the Soviet Union? Not exactly; those on the streets are often picked up on charges of vagrancy or parasitism.

Soviet
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law-violators
not homeless.

But housing in the Soviet Union is more cramped than that in any other developed country in the world. The figures indicate that there are approximately 2 people for every room in the Soviet Union, compared to an average of 2 rooms for every person in the United States. In 1983, nearly one-third of all Soviet urban housing had no hot water, while nearly one-tenth had no water at all. At the current rate of construction, the per capita space available to Soviet citizens will begin to approach the Western standard in 150 years.

It's true that unemployment as we understand it does not exist in the Soviet Union -- without a free labor market, it cannot. But today, the Soviet standard of living remains barely

one-third that of our own -- while the average Soviet citizen lives less well than does an American living at the official U.S. poverty line. Soviet food shortages, to name just one example, have become famous the world over.

"Why is there a meat shortage in the Soviet Union?" goes another Soviet joke. Answer: "Because the Party has made great strides toward Communism, and the cattle just couldn't keep up."

Now, I do not mean to suggest that the Soviet economy has made no progress. But the limited successes of the past arose largely from constant additions to the labor force and the availability of inexpensive resources. Now that these have been to a great extent depleted, the Soviet Union is no longer closing the gap between itself and the West. Indeed, given the enormous new creativity of Western technology, the gap is likely to widen.

I have no desire here to berate the Soviets. I mention their backwardness because in recent months -- and this is a development of tremendous significance -- in recent months they have begun to mention it themselves. Soviet economists have begun to publish articles about Soviet shortcomings -- one recent article dealt frankly and in detail with the inadequacies of Soviet housing. The Soviet press is filled with stories about the need for progress. And, of course, Soviet economic progress is one of Mr. Gorbachev's chief aims.

And this brings us back to the subject of the day, human rights. For I believe that the Soviets may at last be coming to understand something of the connection -- the necessary and

U.S. - Soviet
Quality
of Life
A Comparison
by Arto
Richard
Schifter
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of
Lisa
James
NSC

inextricable connection -- between human rights and economic growth.

The connection between economic productivity and certain kinds of freedom is obvious. Private plots take up only 3 percent of the arable land in the Soviet Union but account for a quarter of the produce, ~~because the owners of these plots are free to keep the rewards of their own labor.~~ Freedom of information, to provide another example, will clearly prove vital if Soviet scientists are to have any hope of reaching Western standards.

Soviet
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 Affairs State
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 Leslie
 Sternberg
 Grand
 Ken
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 U.S.A.

And yet there is a still deeper connection.

For it is the individual who is always the source of economic creativity -- the trained mind that produces a technical breakthrough, the imagination that conceives of new products and markets. And in order for the individual to create, he must have a sense of just that -- his own individuality, his own self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and yes, that his nation respects him. Respects him enough to permit him his own opinions. Respects the relationship between the individual and his God enough to permit him to worship as he chooses. Even respects him enough to permit him, if he chooses to do so, to leave.

The Soviets should recognize human rights because it is the right thing to do. But if they begin to recognize human rights for other reasons -- because they seek economic growth, or because they want to enter into a more normal relationship with

the United States and other nations -- well, I want to say here and now, that's fine by me.

The signs, as I've said, have been hopeful.

Over the past 3 years, some 300 political and religious prisoners have been released from labor camps. More recently, the incarceration of dissidents in mental hospitals has slowed. ~~During the past 20 months, no one has been sent to prison under Article 70 of the Soviet Constitution, the article the Soviets had previously used as their umbrella law for imprisoning dissidents.~~ And while the press remains tightly controlled by the Party and state, we've seen the publication of stories on topics that used to be forbidden -- topics like crime, drug addictions, corruption, even police brutality.

These changes are limited, very limited, and the basic standards contained in the Helsinki Accords still are not being met. But we applaud the changes that have taken place -- and urge the Soviets to go farther. And if I may, I'd like now to share with you a brief summary of the human rights agenda that I'll be pressing in my meetings with Mr. Gorbachev. It has four main aims.

First, freedom of religion. Despite the recent relaxation of some controls on the exercise of religion, it is still true that no church, synagogue, mosque, or other house of worship may exist unless the government has granted it permission. Large numbers of the faithful suffer -- the entire Ukrainian Catholic Church, for example, has been declared illegal. Many are in prison for acts of worship. And yet -- to quote the Universal

USA
Jameson
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Amb.
Shifter
State
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Human
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Declaration of Human Rights -- "everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;" I know you agree: It's time for the Soviets to bring government regulation of religion to an end.

Second, freedom of speech. I regret to say that there are still many men serving long prison sentences at hard labor in Siberian camps for offenses that involve only the spoken or written word. Yet the clear, internationally-recognized standard, as defined, once again, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is that -- and I quote -- "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression;" The Soviet Union must grant full recognition to this basic human right. And I know you join me in urging them to begin freeing, right now, every last person imprisoned for nothing more than the expression of his views.

Emigration, third, has long represented a matter of great concern to us. The Universal Declaration states that, quote, "everyone has a right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." It is true that during the past 12 months, ~~more~~ ^{the rate of} people have been permitted to leave the Soviet Union, than during the preceding 6 years. And it is true as well that the numbers of those permitted to leave for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up. We're heartened by this progress. But we cannot be satisfied until the Soviets grant all their peoples complete freedom of movement.

In the meantime, I'll raise one point in particular with Mr. Gorbachev. You see, the Soviets refuse many the right to

Univ. Declaration of Human Rights Art. 18 Everyone's United Nations P414
Amb. Shultz State of Human Rts.
Univ. Art 19 P414

Article 13 UNO Dec. P413

NSC Corrector

Amb. Shultz State of Human Rights

OR Kathy Chumbar St Dept Human Rights

leave on the grounds that they possess secret information -- even though they had ended their secret work many years before, and whatever information they had has become public or obsolete. I will urge Mr. Gorbachev to review these cases -- and to free these people and their families.

This brings me now to the fourth and final area I want to discuss, the institutionalization of progress.

As I've said a number of times now, we welcome the human rights progress that the Soviets have made -- and believe there is good reason to hope for still more. Yet it is only being realistic to point out that we have seen progress in the Soviet Union before. Khrushchev permitted ~~relatively wide freedoms~~, particularly freedom of speech. The intellectual and cultural life of the Soviet Union underwent a kind of thaw, a kind of springtime.

loosened things - NSC comments

But it was a springtime followed by winter -- for Khrushchev's relaxations were fiercely reversed. And for the nearly three decades until our own day, oppression and stagnation -- and, yes, fear -- once again became the determining characteristics of Soviet life.

And that is why those of us in the West both publicly and in direct conversation with the Soviets must continue to make candor and realism the basis of our bilateral relationship. My Chief of Staff Howard Baker told me recently of an old Tennessee saying, "Plain talk -- easy understood." Exactly. And just as previous hopeful moments in Soviet history ended all too soon, so, too, "perestroika" -- today's new openness -- may not prosper --

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(glasnost?)

unless the Soviets take steps to make it permanent, to institutionalize it. Deep reforms are needed. New laws must be passed. And the courts must be granted a measure of independence.

Of course, none of this can be accomplished quickly. But there is one specific reform the Soviets can make, one that in itself would do much to ratify their progress and hearten their peoples. ~~I mentioned that for some 20 months now, no one has been sent to prison under Article 70, what is in effect an anti-dissident article.~~ I would suggest -- and indeed, in Moscow I will suggest -- that it is time for Article 70 to be rewritten or struck.

Freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom to emigrate -- and the willingness to make new freedoms permanent: These are our hopes -- these are our prayers -- for the future of human rights in the Soviet Union.

In granting greater liberty, I am confident, the Soviets will discover that they have made possible economic growth. But even more important, the recognition of human rights in the Soviet Union will advance the cause of peace. For in the words

of Andrei Sakharov -- a man who has suffered much under the

Soviet system, but who has also experienced the benefits of

"glasnost" -- in the words of Andrei Sakharov: "Human rights,

peace, and security are indivisible [Barbara, please get the one another]

exact quotation from Lisa Jameson]."

Thank you all, and God bless you.

And now I'd be happy to answer your questions.

*Sakharov's
Acceptance
of Nobel
Peace Prize
12-10 and
12-11-1975
Historical
Documents
8/1975
pp 918*

*Peace, progress
Human rights
These three goals are inseparably linked to
one another
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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM

Additional edits/comments from Tom Griscom 5/2/88 - 1:50pm

TO: Tony Dolan/~~Peter~~ Robinson
Rhett Dawson
General Powell

insert....

--on page 3, following this sentence: That the government is the servant of the people, and not the other way around.

--delete everything else (including my edits) from that point, page 4, and to page 5, following first full paragraph.

INSERT:

That contrasts with those systems of government which provide no limit on the power of the government over its people.

Within the Soviet Union, decision-making is tightly concentrated at the top. The authority of the Communist Party ~~leadership~~ is not determined by a document -- a Constitution, if you will -- but by the leadership who determine what is right for the people. Rights such as free speech, free press, and free assembly are granted if they are " in accordance with the interests of the people and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system."

So there are ^{contrasts} ~~differences~~ between the United States and the Soviet Union. Our differing points of view concerning civil and political rights leave room for further discussion.

--pick up, page 5, beginning None of this is new, of course.