MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE SUMMIT GROUP

SUBJECT: Give-and-Take Session with the President
May 2, 1983, 11:00 a.m., Cabinet Room

Attached is the background paper sent to the President for the give-and-take session on Summit issues, May 2, 1983, at 11:00 a.m., Cabinet Room. Also attached is the agenda.

Attachment
Tab A - Background Paper
Tab B - Agenda

cc: The Vice President
Donald Regan
Edwin Meese
James Baker
Michael Deaver
Beryl Sprinkel
Allen Wallis
Mark Leland
David Gergen
Edwin Harper
Craig Fuller
Richard Darman
Michael McManus
Charles Tyson
Henry Nau

Declassify on: OADR
GIVE AND TAKE SESSION
ON SUMMIT ISSUES

Exchange Market Intervention Policies

May 2, Cabinet Room
11:00 - 11:30 a.m.

1. Results of Summit Finance
   Ministers' meeting of April 29 (2 minutes)
   Secretary Regan

2. Other Countries' Positions at Williamsburg (2 minutes)
   Beryl Sprinkel

3. Yen/Dollar Misalignment (2 minutes)
   Martin Feldstein

4. General Discussion with the President (17 minutes)

5. Results of April 28-29 COCOM High-Level Meeting (2 minutes)
   William Schneider

6. Summary and Next Steps (2 minutes)
   William Clark
STATEMENT ON THE INTERVENTION STUDY

On Friday, April 29, the Summit Finance Ministers, Central Bank Governors, and Representatives of the European Community met in Washington, D.C. and issued the following statement:

Exchange rate fluctuations and their effects on economic performance and international trade have been a matter of concern in each of our countries, and to the international financial community, since 1973, when the transition to wide-spread floating of exchange rates took place. At the first Economic Summit in Rambouillet, and most recently at last year's Versailles Summit, our governments agreed on the principle that orderly underlying economic and financial conditions are necessary to achieve stable exchange markets. Our governments pledged themselves to pursue economic policies designed to foster convergence in the economic performance of our countries, toward sustainable non-inflationary economic growth and high employment, as a primary means of attaining such conditions.

However, greater convergence toward economic performance of that kind takes time to accomplish and may not always be sufficient to prevent disorderly market conditions. Views have differed among us on the role of foreign exchange market intervention as an additional means of attaining greater exchange market stability, and our practices in this regard have differed widely from country to country and over time. In order to take stock of our experience with foreign exchange market intervention over the decade of floating exchange rates, and to gather evidence on the impacts of such intervention in the past, an international study of the topic was commissioned at the Versailles Summit.

This study, carried out by a working group of officials from our finance ministries and central banks, was completed in January, when the working group submitted its report to our Deputies for review. The scope of the study was limited, as far as possible, to the impacts of intervention. Since that time, the Deputies have discussed its policy implications; their discussions have not been limited to intervention alone. We in turn met this afternoon to review both their points of agreement and the policy issues which remained under active discussion.

We regard the working group's report as a significant and useful addition to the body of information and analysis on this topic, and are therefore making it public today. It distills a great deal of evidence and spans a number of points of view. Our policy-oriented discussions, based on the report, have already resulted in major improvements in our mutual understanding of issues, concepts and objectives related to exchange rate policy and foreign exchange market intervention.

We have reached agreement on the following:

A. The achievement of greater exchange rate stability, which does not imply rigidity, is a major objective and commitment of our countries.
B. The path to greater exchange rate stability must lie in the direction of compatible mixes of policies supporting sustainable non-inflationary growth. This will be the primary objective of a strengthened multilateral surveillance as agreed in Versailles.

C. In the formulation of our domestic economic and financial policies, our countries should have regard to the behavior of our exchange rates, as one possible indication of need for policy adjustment. Close attention should also be given to the interactions and wider international implications of policies in each of our countries.

D. Under present circumstances, the role of intervention can only be limited. Intervention can be useful to counter disorderly market conditions and to reduce short-term volatility. Intervention may also on occasion express an attitude toward exchange markets. Intervention will normally be useful only when complementing and supporting other policies. We are agreed on the need for closer consultations on policies and market conditions; and, while retaining our freedom to operate independently, are willing to undertake coordinated intervention in instances where it is agreed that such intervention would be helpful.

Washington, D.C.
April 29, 1983

IT IS AGREED TO
INTERVENE "WHERE
IT IS AGREED . . . ."
(WHICH IT ISN'T)

HENCE, BY OUR READING:
IT IS AGREED TO
INTERVENE NOWHERE
(EXCEPT WHERE MKTS
ARE DISORDERLY)
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Williamsburg Summit Preparatory Session on Foreign Exchange Market Intervention

Attached is a background paper discussing foreign exchange market intervention policy. It summarizes the views of other Summit countries, the results of the intervention study agreed at Versailles, and U.S. intervention policy. This will be the subject of our preparatory session on Monday, April 25.

Donald T. Regan

CONFIDENTIAL
Attachment
Foreign Exchange Market Intervention Policy

In Williamsburg, you may be pressed by some of your Summit colleagues to agree to intervention by the United States to smooth short-term exchange rate movements, or even to change basic exchange rate levels or trends. We do not believe there are economic reasons for the United States to intervene for either of these purposes:

-- We have no reason to think that short-term exchange rate fluctuations are a real economic problem.

-- Intervention is simply not capable of changing rate levels or trends.

This is essentially confirmed by the exchange market intervention study agreed to at Versailles (in response to a U.S. proposal). The study concludes:

-- Intervention can have a modest, transient impact on exchange rates; but it is basically incapable of changing underlying trends, and attempts to use it for this purpose can be counterproductive.

-- It is possible for governments to affect exchange rate levels or trends -- but to do so they must make significant changes in basic economic policies.

-- If countries are going to intervene, "coordinated" intervention by two or more countries has a bigger impact than the same amount of intervention by a single country; but there are no better economic reasons for this type of intervention.

Moreover, there are potential economic costs to increased U.S. intervention in foreign exchange markets.

-- It would be an attempt to have the judgement of government officials override the workings of a large and efficient market.

-- It would distract attention from the task which policy makers should really be focusing on: getting stable and non-inflationary policies in place, and thus bringing about stability in the fundamental determinants of exchange rate behavior.

-- It would be a waste of the taxpayers' money.

-- If we began intervening more often, even on a limited basis, it would be difficult to keep this from slipping into frequent and large-scale intervention.

-- Frequent or large-scale intervention could actually destabilize markets.
Therefore, we believe the United States should maintain the basic thrust of current U.S. policy: intervening only to counter "disorderly" conditions in exchange markets. We should keep any discussions strongly focused on the principle that stability in the underlying economic and financial conditions in major countries is the real basis for exchange rate stability (a principle on which all have agreed). The "multilateral surveillance" process, underway since agreement at the Versailles Summit, is designed to bring about convergence toward sustained, non-inflationary economic growth as a primary means of stabilizing exchange markets.

The views of our Summit partners on intervention vary widely, with:

-- the French and EC pressing for frequent large-scale intervention to fix or manage exchange rates;

-- the Canadians, Germans and British arguing that intervention itself is not very important, but that some show of greater U.S. willingness to intervene would help settle markets; and

-- the Italians and Japanese somewhere in between.

The intervention study and the general topic of intervention will be discussed by Finance Ministers in Washington on April 29. I hope that the meeting will be able to agree on a joint public statement which defuses the issue and avoids a confrontational discussion at the Summit. We will discuss this with you on Monday, April 25.
May 2, 1983

White House Summit Coordination Group
(Clark/Deaver, Co-Chairmen)

Meeting of May 2, 1983
4:00 p.m., Ward Room

Agenda

1. Strategy leading up to the Summit
   a) Role playing sessions.
   b) Domestic political considerations.
   c) Plan for May Sherpa Meeting.
   d) Papers created prior to the Summit.

2. Plan for creation of the joint statement

3. Press Guidelines
   a) Results of meeting with network chiefs.
   b) Sign off on guidelines.
   c) Rentschler group trip to Europe.
   d) Press Plan pre Summit.
**CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

**DATE:** 5/2/83  
**NUMBER:** 073293CA  
**DUE BY:** 

**SUBJECT:** President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

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**REMARKS:**

The attached statement has been forwarded to the President for review.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**ATTACHMENTS**

**RETURN TO:**  
- Craig L. Fuller  
  Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs  
  456-2823  
- Becky Norton Dunlop  
  Director, Office of Cabinet Affairs  
  456-2800
President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

The President is looking forward to the Williamsburg Summit with four priorities in mind:

1. Mark the real progress that has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery:
   - Economic recovery is underway in the United States.
   - Some other Summit countries - UK, Germany, and Japan - are experiencing improved economic circumstances.
   - The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a converging path than they have been in some time.
   - Confidence is growing that the recovery will spread to other industrial countries and the developing countries.

2. Make clear that only a sustained recovery can help the Summit and other countries, especially in Europe where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and in the developing countries where heavy debt obligations will persist for the rest of this decade.
   - Artificially stimulating the recovery may only increase expectations of inflation, which already remain high because of lingering concerns about government spending and excessive money creation.
   - Acting with steadiness and consistency across a range of policy areas that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth means:
     - Bringing inflation down in all countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
     - Reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
     - Supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade; to enhance recovery in the developed world through exports and to provide markets for the heavily indebted countries.
A sustained recovery requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system:

- Encouraging convergence of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years) thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.

- Continuing ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time further liberalization of trade in the GATT, particularly with developing countries, and to seek improvements in the international financial system.

- Continued emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers, and reduce inefficiency.

3. Stress that if the recovery is to be a sustained one, bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems. In particular, we must avoid a new round of world-wide inflation and rising interest rates.

4. Secure broad recognition that the concern of the Summit countries with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gain, but a reflection of the basic shared values of these countries of individual freedom and economic opportunity and an essential element of their security.

--- Economic progress and cooperation reinforce security commitments to maintain peace and defend freedom.

--- The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD, and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.

--- In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high technology product and knowledge which has a clear and important military application to the East.
**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

**DATE:** APRIL 30  
**ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:**

**SUBJECT:** PRESIDENT'S PRIORITIES FOR THE SUMMIT

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**Remarks:**

The attached was forwarded to the President today.

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
(x2702)
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Your Priorities for the Summit

Issue

The paper at Tab A identifies your principal priorities for the Williamsburg Summit.

Discussion

The four points in the paper are consistent with your previous instructions. They have been cleared by the Senior White House staff and summarize for the various government agencies and broader public your leadership intentions at the Summit. We intend to use these points to give structure and overview to the Summit as the preparations proceed.

Since this paper represents the communication of your Summit priorities to the wider public, you may wish to make some changes reflecting your personal expression of these ideas.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached paper.

Approve ________ Disapprove ________

Attachment

Tab A: Priorities

Prepared by:

Henry Nau
President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

The President is looking forward to the Williamsburg Summit with four priorities in mind:

1. First, secure broad recognition that our concern with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but is one of the consequences of our system of individual freedom and economic opportunity and is also an important source of our capability to provide for the security of the free world.

   -- Security commitments regarding missile deployments and arms control negotiations reflect our concern for freedom and peace, and are reinforced by improved economic circumstances and cooperation among the Summit countries.

   -- The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.

   -- In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high technology product and knowledge which has a clear and important military application to the East.

2. Very real progress has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery.

   -- The Summit countries are beginning a common economic recovery.

   -- The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a converging path than they have been in some time.

   -- The economic recovery will be spreading to other industrial countries and the developing countries.

3. Only a durable recovery can help Europe, where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and the developing countries, who will have heavy debt obligations for the rest of this decade.

   -- Artificially stimulating the recovery may only increase expectations of inflation, which already remain high because of lingering concerns about government spending and excessive money creation.
Acting with steadiness and consistency across a range of policy areas that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth means:

. bringing inflation down in all countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.

. reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.

. supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, particularly for the heavily indebted countries.

A durable recovery requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system:

. Encouraging convergence of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years), thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.

. Continuing ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time further liberalization of trade in the GATT, particularly with developing countries, and to seek improvements in the international financial system.

. Continued emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers and reduce inefficiency.

4. If the recovery is to be an enduring one bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems. In particular, we must avoid a new round of world wide inflation.
**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

**DATE:** April 28, 1983  
**ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** April 29, 1983

**SUBJECT:** President's Priorities at the Williamsburg Summit

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**Remarks:**
Please provide comments back to Henry Nau (by phone if that is most convenient) by 9:00 a.m. Friday morning. I apologize for the short notice. My office did not receive this until 7:15 p.m.

Thank you.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President

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**Response:**
MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: President's Priorities at the Summit

Attached is the document we discussed this morning, identifying the President's priorities for the Williamsburg Summit. It should be distributed and commented on tonight. My staff will then revise it for presentation to the President at tomorrow's give-and-take session, Friday, April 29, at 10:00 a.m.

Attachment
Tab A - President's Priorities
1. First, secure broad recognition that our concern with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but with strengthening the security of individual freedom and the free world's security.

- The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD, and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.

- In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high technology products and knowledge which has a clear and important military application to the East.

- Security decisions regarding missile deployments and arms control negotiations must reflect more our concern for freedom than short term economic gain.

2. Very real progress has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery.

- The summit countries are beginning a common economic recovery.

- The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a converging path that they have been in some time.

- The economic recovery of the summit countries gives hope that economic recovery will be spreading to the LDCs soon.

3. Only a durable recovery can help Europe, where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and the developing countries, who will have heavy debt obligations for the rest of this decade.

4. If the recovery is to be an enduring one bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems...in particular we must avoid a round of world wide inflation.

- A durable recovery requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system.

--Encouraging convergency of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years), thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.
Continuing ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time new comprehensive trade negotiations in the GATT in 1985 or 1986 and to seek improvements in the international financial system.

Continuing emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers and reduce inefficiency.

Acting with steadiness and consistency across a range of policy areas that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth means:

- bringing inflation down in all countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
- reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
- supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, particularly for the heavily indebted countries.
President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

The President is looking forward to the Williamsburg Summit with four priorities in mind:

1. The recognition that economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but a validation of our basic values of individual freedom and economic initiative, and an essential element of our security, which also guide our economic relations with the East.

   -- Note that Summit countries are strengthening economic cooperation and beginning a common economic recovery as they act this fall to implement security decisions on missile deployments and arms control negotiations.

2. First, it is important to mark the very real progress that we have achieved in beginning the economic recovery:

   -- The economic signs are improving not only in the U.S. but also in the UK, Germany and Japan.

   -- The major industrial nations are more in line with one another in terms of their determination to promote sound conditions for growth and fight inflation than ever before -- France is now also on this course.

   -- The improving situation in several countries signals the potential for a solid, widespread recovery, and raises confidence that it will soon spread to other countries in Europe and in the developing world.

3. Second, this recovery must be an enduring one, if it is going to reverse a decade of increasing world inflation and unemployment.

   -- Artificially stimulating the recovery may only increase expectations of inflation, which already remain high because of lingering concerns about government spending and excessive money creation.
Acting with steadiness (no quick fixes) and consistency (no dramatic moves that upset the apple-cart) across a range of policy areas (no single
panacea) that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth.

- bringing inflation down in all countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
- reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
- supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, particularly for the heavily indebted countries.

emphasizing that only a durable recovery (not like the Carter recovery of 1980) can help Europe, where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and the developing countries, who will have heavy debt obligations for the rest of this decade.

A durable recovery, which means avoiding renewed inflation, requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system:

- Strengthened consultations begun at Versailles to encourage convergence of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years), thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.

- Ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time new comprehensive trade negotiations in the GATT in 1985 or 1986 and to seek improvements in the international financial system.

- Continued emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers and reduce inefficiency.
1. First, secure broad recognition that our concern with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but with strengthening the security of individual freedom and the free world's security.

--The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.

--In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high priority technology products and knowledge which has a clear & important military application to the East.

--Security decisions regarding missile deployments and arms control negotiations must reflect more our concern for freedom that short term economic gain.

2. Very real progress has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery.

--The Summit countries are beginning a common economic recovery.

--The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a converging path than they have been in some time.

--The economic recovery of the summit countries gives hope that economic recovery will be spreading to the LDDS soon.

If the recovery is to be an enduring one bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems... in particular we must avoid a round of worldwide inflation.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE FISCHER
FLORENCE GANTT
SHIRLEY MOORE

FROM: MARGIE CRAWFORD

SUBJECT: Attendees of April 29th Summit Preparation Mtg.
with the President at 10:00am in the Cabinet Room

Mr. Baker
Mr. Deaver
Judge Clark
Mr. Meese
Ken Dam - State for Sec. Shultz
Sec. Regan
Allen Wallis
Beryl Sprinkel
Dave Gergen
Craig Fuller
Ed Harper
Dick Darman
Mike McManus
Henry Nau
Chuck Tyson
Larry Speakes
Marc Leland - Treasury
ID: 133582
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RECEIVED DATE 830429
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THE HONORABLE GERALDINE A. FERRARO
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CITY: WASHINGTON STATE: DC ZIP: 20515
COUNTRY:
SUBJECT: URGES THE PRESIDENT TO INITIATE AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN WILLIAMSBURG A LETTER FROM WORLD LEADERS TO SOVIET CHAIRMAN ANDROPOV
AGY/REF: ACTION CODE TRACKING DATE LADUBE ORG 830429
STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN MEDIA: L OPIID: LC TYPE: IBA
CODES: REPORT INDIV: 1230 1240 USER:
ADDNUMA 72
99 D05 R 83-05-12 B
(referred by NSC)

Acknowledgement sent ball degrees.

NSC ID 8303216
ORGANIZATION: U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

STREET:

CITY: WASHINGTON                      STATE: DC ZIP: 20515

COUNTRY:

SUBJECT: URGING THE HUMAN RIGHT OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION FOR IDA NUDEL AND OTHER SOVIET JEWS

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN

MEDIA: L OPID: LC TYPE: IBA

CODES: REPORT     INDIV:       USER:  DD

NS (Sommer) A 830510       C 830512

99 DOS R                  (See Comments) 830512       A 890527

MBC 8303216
STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN

MEDIA: L  OPID: LC  TYPE: IBA

CODES: REPORT  INDIV:  USER:
For: Mr. William P. Clark
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan
From: Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro
+ 73 others

Date: April 27, 1983
Subject: Ida Nudel

WH Referral Dated: May 12, 1983
NSC ID# 8303216
(if any)

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

Action Taken:

A draft reply is attached.
A draft reply will be forwarded.
A translation is attached.
X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.

Other.

Remarks:

UNCLASSIFIED
Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)
Dear Ms. Ferraro:

Thank you for the recent letter to the President from seventy-two of your Congressional colleagues and yourself expressing your concern for Ms. Ida Nudel, who has encountered numerous hardships as a result of her efforts to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

The United States Government has taken an active interest in Ida Nudel’s case since 1978, when she was denied permission to emigrate from the USSR and was sentenced to four years’ exile in Siberia. During the past year, Ms. Nudel’s case was cited by the U.S. delegation to the Madrid CSCE Review Conference as a prime example of how the Soviets have failed to honor the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords and her case has been raised with the Soviets via diplomatic channels. Her courage in the face of continued persecution from the Soviet authorities serves as a constant reminder of the plight of all those who stand up for fundamental rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union.

The Department of State has continued to follow closely developments in Ms. Nudel’s case since her release from internal exile in March 1982. We share your concern that the Soviet authorities have not acted expeditiously in considering her new application for exit permission. We understand that the Soviet authorities have refused to reinstate her residence permit in Moscow, and also denied her permission to reside in Riga, Latvia. Ms. Nudel is now living in a provincial town in Moldavia, effectively isolated from most of her friends and supporters in Moscow. Unfortunately, Ms. Nudel’s difficulties are all-too-typical of the procedural delays and bureaucratic runarounds that are encountered by large numbers of Soviet emigration applicants. We do not have information confirming that Ms. Nudel is gravely ill, but we consider it likely that her years of exile in Siberia did exact a toll on her health.

The Soviets maintain that their treatment of Ida Nudel is totally an internal Soviet matter. They also reject our right to discuss her desire to emigrate to Israel, since they acknowledge no direct U.S. interest in matters of emigration to

The Honorable
Geraldine A. Ferraro,
House of Representatives.
a third country. Nevertheless, we are hopeful that the Soviets will relent and at long last permit Ida Nudel to emigrate. Ms. Nudel's name is carried on the Department of State's list of Soviet Jews who have been denied emigration to Israel despite repeated applications. We present this list periodically to high Soviet officials to emphasize U.S. concern for those who are forced to stay in the USSR against their will. The Williamsburg Summit will also present the United States with an opportunity to focus on the plight of Ms. Nudel, and we are hopeful that we will be able to raise her case and the cases of other refuseniks during those talks.

Let me assure you once again that we will persist in taking every appropriate step in support of Ms. Nudel's emigration application and in making the Soviets aware of the ongoing American concern for all those who pursue their basic right of freedom of movement.

Please do not hesitate to contact us in the future if we can be of assistance in this or any other matter.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary
for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs
REFERRAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: PRESIDENT
SOURCE: FERRARO, GERALDINE A
DATE: 27 APR 83
KEYWORDS: CO WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT ANDROPOV, YURIY
USSR HUMAN RIGHTS NUDEL, IDA
SUBJ: LTR FM 73 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS URGING INITIATION OF LTR FM WORLD

REQUIRED ACTION: DIRECT REPLY FURNISH INFO COPY
COORDINATE RESPONSE WITH PAULA DOBRIANSKY (395-3912)
DUE DATE: 19 MAY 83

COMMENTS:

FOR MICHAEL O WHEELER
STAFF SECRETARY
May 6, 1983

Dear Joe:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of April 27, cosigned by 72 of your colleagues, on behalf of Ida Nudel and her efforts to obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union.

We appreciated hearing from you and having your recommendation for initiating, at the Williamsburg Summit or other appropriate forum, a letter from world leaders to Soviet Chairman Andropov regarding the human rights of Soviet Jews. Please know that your comments have been shared with the appropriate Presidential advisers for their prompt and careful review.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Kenneth M. Duberstein
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Joseph P. Addabbo
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

KMD/CMP/KRJ/sy6(KMD6)

cc: w/copy of inc. to NSC Secretariat - for DIRECT response.

WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIG. INC.
The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

April 27, 1983

Dear President Reagan:

We are writing to call your attention to the plight of Ida Nudel, a Soviet Jew and former Prisoner of Conscience, on the occasion of her 52nd birthday on April 27.

Ida Nudel has been seeking to leave the Soviet Union for more than a decade. Her only living relative is her sister, Elana Fridman, who lives in Israel.

Mrs. Fridman, her husband and son, were allowed to emigrate to Israel in 1972, leaving Ida without family in Russia. Ida Nudel was denied permission to leave with her sister allegedly because she had access to "unspecified secrets" in her job as a food industry cost accountant.

After years of fighting for permission to emigrate, Ida Nudel hung a banner out her apartment window proclaiming "KGB - Give Me My Visa." Three weeks after this display she was convicted of "malicious hooliganism" and sentenced to four years of internal exile in Siberia. She spent a portion of that time living in barracks that housed hardened male criminals and was forced to sleep with an axe under her pillow for protection.

Ida Nudel has worked on behalf of all Soviet refuseniks at great personal cost. She became known as the "Guardian Angel of Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience" for her work in providing food, clothing, reading material and support for Jews who had been sent to labor camps. Constant pressure by Soviet officials did not keep her silent. She continued to fight for the basic human rights to which she and all Soviet citizens are entitled under the Soviet Constitution and the Helsinki Accords.

After she was released from exile in Siberia, Ida Nudel faced continual harassment and abuse. For months she was forced to wander from town to town searching for a place where she might be permitted to live. She was even forced to spend a night on a bench in the Riga train station when authorities refused her permission to live in that city. Denied a permit to live in Moscow, her home, Ida Nudel has finally been permitted to settle in a small town in Moldavia.
April 27, 1983

President Reagan

This 52-year-old woman continues to suffer at the hands of Soviet authorities. Despite a chronic heart condition, she lives in an apartment without suitable amenities. She cannot find an appropriate job, although she is trained as an economist. She cannot return to Moscow nor emigrate to Israel, her most fervent desire for the past 10 years.

We call upon you, on the occasion of Ida Nudel's 52nd birthday, to do everything you can to persuade the Soviet government to accept her visa application and allow her to emigrate to Israel.

Specifically, we would like to ask you to initiate, at next month's Economic Summit in Williamsburg, or any other forum you consider most appropriate, a letter from world leaders to Soviet Chairman Andropov urging the human right of family reunification for Ida Nudel and other Soviet Jews in similar straits.

The religious and cultural rights of Soviet Jews are endangered. At the same time, the number allowed to emigrate has fallen drastically. The future of Ida Nudel and her fellow Soviet Jewish citizens is not simply an American concern but concerns all lovers of freedom and human rights.

It is time the Soviet Union lived up to the Helsinki Accords and allowed Ida Nudel to rejoin her only living relative in Israel. It is time for her to enjoy her fundamental human rights.

We thank you for your concern and support.

Sincerely,

GERALDINE A. FERRARO, MC
BARBARA A. MIKULSKI, MC
EDWARD MARKEY, MC
BERNARD J. Dwyer, MC
JOHN EDWARD PORTER, MC

BARBARA B. KENNELLY, MC
WILLIAM D. FORD, MC
CHRISS SMITH, MC
BRUCE MORRISON, MC
TOM LANTOS, MC
President Reagan

April 27, 1983

PETER W. RODINO JR., MC
HENRY J. HYDE, MC
DANTE FASCCELL, MC
LOUIS STOKES, MC
DOUG WALDRE, MC
WILLIAM LEHMAN, MC
JACK KEMP, MC
BENJAMIN GILMAN, MC
EDWARD P. BOLAND, MC
EDWIN B. FORSYTHE, MC
WILLIS D. GRADISON JR., MC
BOBBI FIEDLER, MC
STEWARD MCKINNEY, MC
EDWARD FEIGHAN, MC
WILLIAM P. GOODLING, MC
WALTER E. FAUNTROY, MC
ROBERT A. ROE, MC
TOM HARKIN, MC
NORMAN LENT, MC
GEORGE M. O'BRIEN, MC
BILLY KIRKLAND
BOB CARR, MC
JAMES L. OBERSTAR, MC
DALE KILDEE, MC
THOMAS CORCORAN, MC
MARCY KAPTUR, MC
ALAN WHEAT, MC
BARNEY FRANK, MC
April 27, 1983

cc: Powell Moore, U.S. State Department
REPORT ON TRIP TO ISRAEL AND LEBANON

HON. BARBARA A. MIKULSKI
OF MARYLAND

HON. GERALDINE A. FERRARO
OF NEW YORK

HON. BARBARA B. KENNELLY
OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1983

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we want to use this opportunity to report to our colleagues on our recent trip to Israel and Lebanon. Our purpose was to go and listen, observe and learn for ourselves the situation in the Middle East. We met with key ministers such as Shamir, Arens, Sadan, Bar-on and others advisor, in Israel. We also talked with those with a differing view—Mr. Peres, Peace Now; the Arab mayor of Beihlem, Elias Frei. In addition, we met with Elana Fridman, the sister of Idan Kudei; with settlers in Judea Sumeria (West Bank); with the leadership of N'Amot; and with families as we participated in individual family seders at Passover time. In Lebanon, we talked with our Ambassador Lewis and Special Ambassadors Lewis and Special Ambassador Draper that slow but steady progress was being made in achieving the withdrawal of Israel and Syrian troops from Israel. We were shocked that President Reagan blocked the delivery of the F-16's. Not only is the United States breaking a commitment to, and a contract with, and a commitment to, Israel, but the Reagan administration is also making arrogant statements about the issues. The settlement issue is an important issue that we in Congress must all look at closely.

There is no doubt in our minds that Lebanon now has the will to govern. However, we have serious questions about Lebanon's present capacity to govern, including its ability to protect Palestinian refugees and to insure the security of Israel's northern border. We believe that President Gemayel is taking positive steps to build an army that is capable of assuming responsibility for the security of Lebanon. However, he also believes that it will take more than the projected 1 year to build such a force. In all our discussions, both in Israel and in Lebanon, we grew quite concerned about what will be expected terms of a continued United States marine presence in Lebanon. Our impression is that it will take less than 2 years and all multinational forces can be withdrawn from Lebanon. Both the risk of such an ongoing U.S. presence and congressional involvement in such a decision is an issue that we in Congress must all look at closely.

This concern is particularly acute not only in the terms of the recent Embassy bombings in Beirut, but also in terms of continued friction between American and American troops. It is our understanding that such friction could be substantially diminished if the United States would adopt the protocol currently being used by French and American troops. By failing to sort out the United States various roles as an ally to Israel, as a negotiator in Lebanon, as a nation in the Middle East, and as a peacekeeper in Lebanon, the Reagan administration has refused to adopt a standard protocol out of fear that such a move would jeopardize the neutrality of the United States in the Lebanon negotiations. Although we can appreciate such a dilemma, it is essential that we adopt such a protocol immediately.

In addition, in our talks with both United States and Israeli officials, we strongly urged that communications between the two forces be maintained, and that field commanders be directed to avoid any further agitation. We do want to note how impressed we were with the fine job being done by our marines and by their captain, Jim Mead.

Another result of the Reagan administration's confused role in the Middle East is the President's action according to the final delivery of 75 F-16 fighter planes to Israel. While in the Middle East, we learned from discussions with Ambassador Lewis and Special Ambassador Draper that slow but steady, progress was being made in achieving the withdrawal of Israel and Syrian troops from Israel. We were shocked that President Reagan blocked the delivery of the F-16's. Not only is the United States breaking a contract with, and a commitment to, Israel, but the Reagan administration is also making arrogant statements about the issues. The settlement issue is an important issue that we in Congress must all look at closely.

While in Beirut, we also went to Shatilla and Sabsa, the sites of the terrible September massacre. These places are called camps, but they are in fact slums, with little visible support from anyone. The United Nations refugee assistance effort is not nearly strong enough in the terms of the Palestinian refugees. We did not see one UNRA sign pointing to the health station, nor were there any indicators assistance was available. We will be writing to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ask for a detailed account of activities in light of the current conditions. For example, the health station, the health station, that is mainly comprised of women and children. Palestinian refugees, for far too long, have lived in unstable social, economic, and political environment, their lives controlled by others.

One only has to visit the Golani heights and see the Syrian build-up, to see that this is not a military exercise, but a real military build-up. Indeed, one can see that the beautiful Golani heights are being used as a springboard for a major attack on the Golan. Israel is concerned about the Syrian build-up because it has called up more reservists to attain a preliminary stage of preparation. It is stated that it will not begin a defense even if there is a military attack. However, the future will bring both. In terms of
Israel and Syria is very unclear. We assume that the Reagan administration is acutely aware of this growing time bomb, and that actions being taken by the U.S. Government in the Middle East are taken within the context of this knowledge.

**CONCLUSION**

There is much more we could say about our experience in Israel and Lebanon. We will continue to speak with our colleagues informally about our impressions and continue to learn from them and from others deeply involved in the Middle East. We call on the President to clarify the United States role in the Middle East, and to insure that we do not step away from the only democracy and ally in the Middle East—Israel. Minister Bar-on commented, so accurately, that there are no margins of time or space—and we would add safety—in Israel. The threats to its security are real, and as long as so many deny the right of Israel to exist, these threats will remain.

We applaud the arrival of Secretary of State Shultz in the Middle East, and at the same time note that the United States cannot be seen as the only miracle worker in the region. Everyone with whom we talked viewed the United States as “Mr./Ms. Fix-it.” We heard time and time again, if only the United States would talk with Jordan, or if only the United States would pressure Israel, or if only the United States would encourage Egypt. The United States, as the leader of the free world, should be a leader in the Middle East. But at the same time peace will only come if there are free leaders in the Middle East as well. We look forward to that leadership.

Finally, we returned without answers to the Palestinian situation; to the question of the safety of the Palestinian refugees in Beirut, or the question of the Palestinians in Judea-Sumeria. We hope that the Palestinians in Judea-Sumeria find a way to speak for themselves, and not through the PLO. We hope that all Arab countries will join Israel in actively seeking to solve the problem, and not merely manage the situation. Similarly, we hope that all Arab countries will demonstrate the leadership that is needed to recognize each other’s and Israel’s right to exist, and truly bring about peace in the Middle East.

Peaceful coexistence can work. We saw it working in Jerusalem. Under the leadership of Mayor Teddy Kolleck, diverse peoples are able to maintain their centuries old traditions while managing to live in a modern world. Each time people succeed in living side by side in peace, we hope that the years of that peace increase, the number of people living in peace grows, and the example of peace spreads to encompass the region and then, the world.
REPORT ON TRIP TO ISRAEL AND LEBANON

HON. BARBARA A. MIKULSKI
OF MARYLAND

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OF NEW YORK

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OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1983

Mr. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we want to use this opportunity to report on our recent trip to Israel and Lebanon. Our purpose was to go and listen, observe and learn from others about the situation in the Middle East. We did not become experts on the Middle East, but this trip did provide a framework and a perspective that can only be obtained by seeing Israel and Lebanon firsthand.

We met with a wide range of people and visited many strategically important areas from Beirut to the Golan Heights. We talked with key ministers such as Shammur, Arens, Sadeh, Bar-on and with settlers in the security of Lebanon. Our impression confirms that Israel and Lebanon understand the importance of the security of Lebanon.

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One result of the Reagan administration's confused role in the Middle East is the President's action regarding the delivery of F-16 fighter planes to Israel. While in the Middle East, we learned of discussions with Ambassador Lewis and Special Ambassador Draper that now Syria is perhaps the most serious threat to Israel and to the Middle East, we learned of discussions with Ambassador Lewis and Special Ambassador Draper that now Syria is perhaps the most serious threat to Israel and to the Middle East.

We do believe that there are steps that can be taken to create an atmosphere in which the Syrian buildup that it has called up to its borders with the United States and Israeli troops. It is our impression that there will be no solution to the Palestinian problem in the near future.

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TO: PRESIDENT
FROM: FERRARO, GERALDINE A
KENNELLY, BARBARA
MIKULSKI, BARBARA A

KEYWORDS: CO
WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT
USSR
HUMAN RIGHTS
ANDROPOV, YURI
NUDEL, IDA

SUBJECT: LTR FM 73 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS URGING INITIATION OF LTR FM WORLD
LEADERS TO ANDROPOV RE HUMAN RIGHTS OF SOVIET JEWS

ACTION: **RECOMMENDATIONS
DUE: 13 MAY 83
STATUS: C
FILES: WH

FOR ACTION
SOMMER

FOR CONCURRENCE
NAU
LENZOWSKI
DOBRIANSKY
RAPHY
STEARMAN

COMMENTS
**NSC/S RECOMMENDS SENDING THIS TO STATE FOR DIRECT REPLY
YES ; NO ; OTHER

REF# LOG NSCIFID (C / C)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

DISPATCH W/ATTCH FILE (C)
SUBJECT: LTR FM 73 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS URGING INITIATION OF LTR FM WORLD LEADERS TO ANDROPOV RE HUMAN RIGHTS OF SOVIET JEWS

ACTION: **RECOMMENDATIONS

FOR ACTION:
SOMMER

FOR CONCURRENCE:

FOR INFO:
NAU
LENCZOWSKI
DOBRIANSKY
RAYMOND
STEARMAN
Kentschler

COMMENTS **NSC/S RECOMMENDS SENDING THIS TO STATE FOR DIRECT REPLY

YES ; NO ; OTHER

REF# LOG

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

State C 5/12 Direct Reply Swedish Info Copy

DISPATCH 5/13 06 W/ATTCH FILE WT (C)