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Mission (1)

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## **Ronald Reagan Library**

Collection Name EUROPEAN AND SOVIET AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC

: RECORDS

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File Folder

USSR - HUMAN RIGHTS/STOESSEL MISSION (1)

**FOIA** F06-004

**Box Number** 

91099-RAC BOX 17

**SNYDER** 

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ID Doc Type	Doc	ument Description	on	No of Pages		Restrictions
23021 MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE HUMAN RIGHTS		1	12/29/1984	B1	
	R	6/6/2008	<i>NLRRF06-004</i>			
23022 PAPER	RE H	UMAN RIGHTS		3	ND	B1
	R	6/6/2008	NLRRF06-004			
23023 PAPER	RE EI	MIGRATION		3	ND	B1
	R	6/6/2008	NLRRF06-004			
23024 LETTER	TO PA		KY RE EMIGRATION	2	11/8/1984	B6
23025 MEMO		ERT KIMMITT TO SULTATIONS	CHARLES HILL RE	1	10/25/1984	B1
23026 LETTER	PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD			2	10/25/1984	B1
23027 MEMO		ERT MCFARLANE AMPELMANS MIS	TO THE PRESIDENT	2	10/22/1984	B1
23028 MEMO		A DOBRIANSKY ARLANE RE KAM	TO ROBERT PLEMAN'S MISSION	1	10/19/1984	B1
23029 MEMO		RLES HILL TO RO AMPLEMAN'S MI	BERT MCFARLANE SSION	2	10/17/1984	B1

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages		Restrictions	
23030 MEMO	ROBER KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE PRESIDENTIAL MISSION	1	8/30/1984	B1	
23031 LETTER	REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER SORSA	2	9/6/1984	B1	
23032 LETTER	REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER PALME	2	9/6/1984	B1	
23033 LETTER	REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER WILLOCH	2	9/6/1984	B1	
23034 LETTER	ROBERT MCFARLANE TO THE PRESIDENT RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION	2	8/27/1984	B1	
23035 MEMO	PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION	2	8/22/1984	B1	
23036 MEMO	ROBERT MCFARLANE TO JAMES BAKER RE AIR FORCE SUPPORT	1	8/30/1984	B1	
23037 MEMO	ROBERT MCFARLANE TO JAMES BAKER RE AIRCRAFT SUPPORT	1	ND	B1	
23038 MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION	2	8/18/1984	B1	

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MCFARLANE

FROM HILL, C

DOCDATE 29 DEC 84

RECEIVED 31 DEC 84 10

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURESS MS 7 1172/65

KEYWORDS: ECONOMICS

DISPATCH \_\_\_

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

December 29, 1984

Charles Hill Executive Secretary

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Discussion of Human Rights at the U.S.-U.S.S.R Working Group of Experts Meeting

As our representative noted at the November 13 preparatory session for the Working Group of Experts meeting, we believe that it is very important that we use this meeting as an opportunity to express our concerns about Soviet human rights abuses and emigration policy. We must make it clear to the Soviets that their continued poor performance in these areas will have a serious negative effect on any effort to establish a more constructive bilateral relationship, including our economic/commercial relations. We should note, in particular, our dismay at the large number of arrests, psychiatric committals and political trials which have taken place since the conclusion of the Madrid CSCE conference, the treatment of the Sakharovs, the severe harassment of Hebrew teachers and other Jewish cultural activists, and the dramatic decline in levels of emigration.

Our manner of raising these issues is critical if we hope to produce an improvement in Soviet performance. We believe that these issues will be handled most effectively, from our perspective, if they are raised by our head of delegation in his private meetings with Deputy Minister Sushkov and other Soviet officials. We also should be prepared to discuss human rights and emigration in our plenary sessions in response to Soviet complaints concerning our denial of Most Favored Nation treatment. If the Soviets do not raise MFN, our delegation should be prepared in any case to state in the plenary our position on the connection between human rights and our bilateral relationship as well as making more specific points in the restricted meetings with Sushkov.

We have prepared background papers with talking points on emigration and human rights as guidance for the delegation. Copies of both papers are attached.

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Y CH NARADATE 6/6/08

# CONFIDENTIAL Human Rights

#### Issue

Improvement in the human rights situation in the Soviet Union continues to be an important objective of U.S foreign policy. We continue to speak out publicly against repressive Soviet policies and regularly raise the subject of human rights in bilateral exchanges and in multilateral fora. We have made it clear to the Soviets that their repressive behavior constitutes a serious obstacle to improved U.S.-Soviet relations. By keeping up the pressure, and this includes raising the subject in contexts such as the Experts Working Group, we seek to underline our resolve and committment to human rights.

### Talking Points

- -- Human rights continues to be an important part of the U.S. agenda in our bilateral relations and will remain so. Such emphasis is an accurate reflection of the importance the American people and all levels of the American Government attach to this issue.
- -- Soviet actions toward political prisoners and dissidents continue to present a serious obstacle to improved U.S.-Soviet relations, including ecnomic commercial relations.
- -- We are dismayed at the large number of arrests, psychiatric committals and political trials that have taken place since the conclusion of the Madrid CSCE conference and which continue unabated. We do not believe that the Soviet Union is living up to its undertakings in the field of human right:
- -- We are particularly troubled by the recent wave of arrests of Hebrew teachers and other Jewish cultural activists. These arrests appear to be part of an officially sanctioned campaign of anti-Semitism.
- -- We continue to be concerned about the welfare of Dr. Andrey Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, who have been forcibly cut off from contact with the outside world. The cases of Anatoliy Shcharanskiy and Yuriy Orlov also continue to be of great interest to the United States.
- -- Nothing could do more to improve the atmosphere of U.S.-Soviet relations than Soviet responsiveness to our human rights concerns.

CONFIDENTIAL (DECL:OADR)

NLRR 606-004# 23022

NARADATE 6/08

# CONFIDENTIAL

### U.S. Position

The Soviet Union has signed a number of international covenants, including the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document, in which they agree to respect basic human rights. The U.S. Government considers the Soviet Union to be in substantial violation of these undertakings in its persecution of human rights activists.

#### U.S.S.R. Position

The Soviets have consistently maintained that U.S. interest in human rights issues is self-serving, propagandistic and constitutes "interference in Soviet internal affairs." They deny that dissidents are persecuted for their human rights or religious beliefs, insisting that they are only charged when they engage in "anti-Soviet" or other illegal activities. The Soviets almost always refuse to discuss human rights during bilateral exchanges and are likely to regard raising the issue in the context of trade talks as particularly inappropriate.

#### Background

The situation for human rights activists in the Soviet Union is grim and has been deteriorating since the arrest and trials of Helsinki monitors Yuriy Orlov, Anatoliy Shcharanskiy and others in 1977-78. The Soviet authorities have moved decisively against the entire spectrum of dissent in the Soviet Union; Helsinki monitors, human rights and religious activists, nationalists, and independent peace and labor groups. Dissidents are usually charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" or "anti-Soviet slander" and sentenced to long terms in primitive labor camps followed by internal exile in remote areas. Many others have been incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals where they are treated with powerful and often painful drugs. Noted human rights activist Andrey Sakharov has been held incommunicado in the closed city of Gor'kiy since his detention following a hunger strike begun in May. In August, his wife, Yelena Bonner, was herself sentenced to five years of internal exile in Gor'kiy. Anatoliy Shcharanskiy was recently transferred from prison to one of the most brutal labor camps in the Soviet Union. His colleague, Yuriy Orlov, is in internal exile in Siberia. Recent targets for arrest have included Baptists, Catholics, Ukrainian and Baltic nationalists and Jewish refuseniks. Since late August, six prominent Jewish cultural activists in Moscow, Odessa and Leningrad have been arrested in what appears to be a mounting campaign against the revival of Jewish culture. We estimate that as many as 10,000 religious and political dissidents may be imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

(DECL:OADR)

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#### **EMIGRATION**

#### Issue .

Since 1979-80 there has been a precipitous decline in emigration from the Soviet Union.

#### Talking Points

- -- The rate of emigration from the USSR is now at its lowest point since the 1960's.
- -- The sharp decline in emigration from the Soviet Union remains a matter of great concern to our government and people. We receive thousands of appeals from Americans on behalf of Soviet citizens who wish to emigrate.
- -- Soviet policy on this issue, especially in the face of clear, broadly-based concern on the part of the American public, is a serious obstacle to improved U.S.-Soviet relations.
- -- We urge the Soviet Union to adopt a more forthcoming attitude toward emigration applications, in accordance with its CSCE undertakings.
- -- Some positive movement on this issue would do much to improve relations between our two countries.

#### U.S. Position

The Soviets are not meeting obligations they freely undertook by signing the U.N. Charter and other international documents, including the Helsinki Final Act. Because of the international nature of these documents we reject the Soviet claim that emigration policy is an internal affair.

#### U.S.S.R. Position

The U.S.S.R. generally claims that its emigration policy is an internal matter. While they will sometimes respond to queries concerning emigration from the U.S.S.R. to the U.S., they refuse to discuss with us the broader question of emigration or any question of emigration from the U.S.S.R. to a third country, such as Israel. In order to explain the sharp drop in emigration, they have frequently stated that all Soviet citizens who wish to emigrate have done so. We reject this claim; estimates of Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate range up to 440,000. The West German Government has estimated that hundreds of thousands of Soviet ethnic Germans still wish to emigrate.

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NLRR FOL-004 # 13023

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#### Background

Soviet law does not recognize the right of citizens to emigrate by choice. Reunification of divided families is the only recognized basis for emigration, and the Soviets are currently trying to erode this principle by claiming that if more members of a particular family are inside the U.S.S.R. than outside, the family is not divided.

During the 1970's, emigration increased significantly, although it was limited primarily to three groups -- Soviet Jews, Armenians, and ethnic Germans -- and the formal grounds remained unchanged (reunification of families). The peak year of Jewish emigration was 1979 when 51,320 Jews left the Soviet Union; by comparison, only 1,315 left in 1983, and only 721 had left through September 1984. The peak year for Soviet Armenians was 1980, when 6,109 Armenians emigrated; in 1983, the figure was down to 193, and in the first nine months of 1984 only 67 Armenians were permitted to leave. The peak for ethnic German emigration occurred in 1976, when 9,626 departed; last year only 1,447 Germans emigrated. Only 655 ethnic Germans have emigrated through September of 1984.

The overwhelming evidence is that the precipitous drop in emigration is a result of deliberately restrictive emigration policy. The mere attempt to submit an emigration application frequently involves a variety of administrative and extra-legal sanctions, including loss of employment, harassment, social ostracism, and long delays. Many Soviet Jews have waited in vain for more than ten years for permission to emigrate.

The situation of Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate has been aggravated by an anti-Semitic campaign led by the Soviet Government. Hebrew teachers and practicing Jews have been subjected to especially harsh treatment by the Government, and many have been arrested. Secretary Shultz addressed this issue in his October 22 speech to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (published by the Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs as Current Policy Item No. 628).

Many American citizens have family in the U.S.S.R. who wish to emigrate to the U.S. Specific cases of most concern to us are presented periodically to the Soviet authorities in the form of representation lists. These lists include the names of 104 divided families, 20 separated spouses, and 21 American citizens who wish to emigrate and have been repeatedly denied exit permission. We also present a list of over 3,000 Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 4, 1984

TO: SUSAN WAGNER

Department of State, EUR/Sov

Room 4225

FYI and appropriate action.

Paula Dobriansky

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**23024 LETTER** 

11/8/1984

**B6** 

TO PAULA DOBRIANSKY RE EMIGRATION **PROBLEM** 

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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23025 MEMO

10/25/1984 B1

ROBERT KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE **CONSULTATIONS** 

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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23026 LETTER

2 10/25/1984

B1

PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD

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THE WHITE HOUSE



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23027 MEMO

10/22/1984 B<sub>1</sub>

ROBERT MCFARLANE TO THE PRESIDENT RE KAMPELMANS MISSION

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23028 MEMO

10/19/1984

B1

PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION

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23029 MEMO

2 10/17/1984 B1

CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION

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23030 MEMO

8/30/1984

B1

ROBER KIMMITT TO CHARLES HILL RE PRESIDENTIAL MISSION

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23031 LETTER

9/6/1984

B<sub>1</sub>

REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER SORSA

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**23032 LETTER** 

2 9/6/1984

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REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER PALME

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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**23033 LETTER** 

9/6/1984 2

B<sub>1</sub>

REAGAN TO PRIME MINISTER WILLOCH

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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**23034 LETTER** 

2 8/27/1984

B1

ROBERT MCFARLANE TO THE PRESIDENT RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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23035 MEMO

8/22/1984

B1

PAULA DOBRIANSKY TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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23036 MEMO

1 8/30/1984

B<sub>1</sub>

ROBERT MCFARLANE TO JAMES BAKER RE AIR FORCE SUPPORT

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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23037 MEMO

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**B**1

ROBERT MCFARLANE TO JAMES BAKER RE AIRCRAFT SUPPORT

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23038 MEMO

8/18/1984

B<sub>1</sub>

CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE KAMPLEMAN'S MISSION

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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