MEMORANDUM FOR DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
THE WHITE HOUSE

April 17, 1980

Subject: US Government Initiatives on behalf of Human Rights in the USSR

Attached as requested is a record of United States Government actions, programs and statements on behalf of dissidents and human rights activists in the USSR. The attached list covers the period January, 1977 to the present. While comprehensive, the listing may not be inclusive of all actions undertaken by all agencies of the Executive Branch, especially by such specialized organizations as HEW, the National Institute of Health, and others.

Peter Tarnoff
Executive Secretary

Attachment: as stated
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EUR/SOV:WTShinn, Jr.
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HA/HR:JGreenwald
IO/HR:NShaft
S/MS:CKarman
EUR/SOV:EHurwitz
EUR:RLBarry

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United States Government actions and statements on behalf of human rights and human rights activists in the USSR have ranged from broadly programmatic policy initiatives to private diplomatic demarches on behalf of individuals who have suffered for their human rights beliefs.

Programmatic actions by the Government include:

--insistence on balanced implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, including the human rights provisions of Principle 7 and Basket III

--semi-annual reports on implementation of the Final Act

--US discussion at the Belgrade CSCE Review Meeting of the full range of human rights violations by the Soviets with mention both of violation of principles and of injustice in individual cases and US planning for a thorough review of CSCE implementation at the Madrid Meeting

--presentation to the Soviets, at least annually, of the U.S. Representation List of Divided Families and more frequent presentation of the special list of hardship cases drawn from the large list. (The Replist was last presented in May 1980 and the hardship list, at the Vienna Summit.)

--presentation to the Soviets of a list of those denied exit permission to Israel, including prisoners of conscience, (this list was presented at the Vienna Summit)

--US policy, on a case by case basis, of attempting to send diplomatic observers to trials of activists, as in the Shcharanskiy, Ginzburg, Bakhmin and other cases

--Embassy and Department's reporting and analysis program on human rights developments in the USSR

--policy of maintaining Embassy contacts with dissident groups and spokesmen, designed to perpetuate those contacts without unduly endangering Embassy personnel
-- long term assistance to those who have a special claim to our help, including the Ginzburg/Shibayev family and the Sakharov/Yankelevich family

--refuge and maintenance of two Pentacostalist families in Moscow Embassy

--full utilization of the mechanisms of the U.N., UNHRC and UNHCR on behalf of human rights

--special attention and concern by White House in human rights cases

--U.S. assistance to private groups concerned with promoting respect for human rights in the USSR, such as the Helsinki Watch Group, HIAS, Internet, and the Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights and U.S. policy not to prohibit legal, private contacts by Americans with Soviet citizens

--protection of rights of Americans who maintain such Soviet contacts

--VOA and RL programming

--support for the right of emigration through our intensive monitoring program and our support for the movement and resettlement of refugees both in the United States and third countries

--our effort to obtain "vyzovs" for special hardship categories of would-be emigrants such as Pentacostalists and dissidents forced to emigrate

--our coordination of human rights activities with other agencies and branches of the Government and with private groups

--liaison on human rights question with allies and other countries, especially as regards coordination of CSCE policy

--efforts, whenever practicable, to secure the release and emigration of imprisoned activists through exchanges, as was done in April 1979, when two convicted Soviet spies were exchanged for Ginzburg, Kuznetsov, Vins, Dymshits, and Moroz (and earlier, Vladimir Bukovskiy)
--our consultations with prominent human rights activists and with U.S. groups and individuals interested in human rights.

In addition to the above listed on-going programmatic activities of the US Government, many concrete actions have been taken since 1977. One such group of actions can be categorized as private diplomatic representations to the Soviets on individual cases. These have been very numerous. During the latter half of 1979, for example, there were 27 representations made in human rights cases, such as the problem of Shcharanskiy's health and the arrest of Father Gleb Yakunin. At least 40 additional representations were also made in family reunification cases during that period. Other rights questions, including travel, marriage, and media representation, were raised over sixty times in the latter part of 1979.

Noteworthy actions and statements on behalf of human rights and human rights activists in the USSR include:

(See attached pages.)
President Carter's Inaugural Address emphasized human rights, January 20, 1977

State Department warning to Soviets on possible repression of Sakharov, January 27, 1977

President Carter told Dobrynin U.S. will not back down on human rights, February 1, 1977

President Carter's letter to Sakharov, February 5, 1977

Carter Administration issued statement on Ginzberg arrest, February 5, 1977

President Carter said he will support human rights despite risk to arms control, February 8, 1977

Carter Administration criticized Drlov arrest, raised it in UN, February 11, 1977

USUN Delegate Lowenstein spoke to Soviet delegate Zorin at UN, raised Drlov question and asked inquiry, February 15, 1977

President Carter asked UNHRC to urge USSR to disclose fate of arrested dissidents, February 18, 1977

Bukovsky visited White House, March 1, 1977

Lowenstein asked UNHRC to seek information from USSR on HR activists, March 5, 1977

Secretary Vance statement on HR at Law Day, University of Georgia, March 26, 1977

President Carter expressed disagreement with Chairman Brezhnev over HR in USSR, March 24, 1977

President Carter and State Department statement on Shcharanskiy, June 2, 1977
--- Secretary Vance pledged to Congress to bring pressure on Soviets over lack of CSCE implementation at Belgrade meeting, June 6, 1977

--- President Carter denied Shcharanskiy is a U.S. spy, June 13, 1977

--- President Carter statement on human rights in USSR, June 30, 1977

--- President Carter signed International Covenants on political and civil and social and cultural rights at UN, September 1977

--- U.S. criticized Soviets on broad range of Human Rights violations, including specific cases, at Belgrade CSCE review meeting October 1977 - March 1978

--- President Carter statement on human rights in Warsaw, December 26, 1977

--- President Carter and Secretary Vance warned USSR on impact of human rights situation on U.S.-Soviet relations, November 1, 1977

--- Ambassador Goldberg criticized Soviets for repression of SMOD activists, December 1977

--- General Attorney/Bell extended parole authority for admission to U.S. of 5,000 Jews in Italy, December 3, 1977


--- U.S. told UNHRC it should be concerned with human rights in USSR, March 7, 1978

--- U.S. statement on impact of Shcharanskiy case on U.S.-USSR relations March 7, 1978

--- Secretary Vance raised Shcharanskiy case with Gromyko, April 20, 1978

--- Patt Derian spoke out for Mykola Rudenko at meeting with Soviet writers' delegation, May 11, 1978

--- U.S. statement on Orlov trial, May 15, 1978
-- U.S. reaction to Orlov trial, May 18, 1978
-- Cancellation of visits by two exchange groups under bilateral agreements over Orlov trial
-- Carter concerned over Orlov and other dissidents, May 27, 1978
-- National Security Adviser Brzezinski advised HEW Secretary Califano to cancel trip to U.S.S.R. in retaliation for Orlov trial
-- Request to Soviets for Gamsakhurdia trial transcripts, June 5, 1978
-- Patt Derian criticized Soviet emigration policy, June 27, 1978
-- State Department expressed concern over Shcharanskiy and Ginzberg, July 7, 1978
-- Secretary Vance canceled two government missions over Shcharanskiy and Ginzberg trial, July 8, 1978
-- Secretary Vance to talk to Gromyko on dissidents, July 8, 1978
-- USUN delegate Mezvinsky spoke out at rally for Shcharanskiy, July 10, 1978
-- White House reconsiders/drilling equipment, July 11, 1978
-- President Carter statement on trials, July 12, 1978
-- Secretary Vance received Avital Shcharanskiy in Geneva suite during SALT talks, July 13, 1978
-- White House Science Counselor Press postponed U.S.-U.S.S.R. Science-Technology Meeting over treatment of dissidents
-- Carter deplored Shcharanskiy trial, July 14, 1978
-- Carter Administration considering alternative reactions to dissidents’ trials, July 15, 1978
-- Vice President Mondale met with Avital Shcharanskiy, July 17, 1978
President Carter's reaction: no oil drilling equipment or Sperry computer for Soviets, July 18, 1978

President Carter again deplored recent conviction of activists, July 20, 1978

Secretary Vance statement on human rights in USSR, July 23, 1978

President Carter canceled HUD visit to USSR, July 25, 1978

Department Deputy Assistant Secretary Schneider statement on human rights in the USSR, July 25, 1978

Commerce Department restricted oil and gas equipment sales to Soviets, July 31, 1978

Ambassador Toon met emigre dissidents in U.S., September 22, 1978

Dr. Shulman and Ambassador Toon raised Elena Bonner eye problem with Ambassador-Dobrynin at Geneva, December 1978

President Carter and Dr. Brzezinski statements on 30th anniversary of UN Declaration of Human Rights, December 6, 1978

White House Science Counselor Frank Press raised HR Issues in Moscow: February 5-7, 1979

USUN Delegate Mezvinsky urged protest on cases of 22 Soviet dissidents, March 13, 1979

Attorney General Bell approved parole extension to 25,000 for Jewish refugees, March 26, 1979

Prisoner exchange with Soviets, April 27, 1979

President Carter and Pastor Georgiy Vins attended Bible class and prayer, April 29, 1979
President Carter voiced expectation exchanged with prisoners' families to emigrate, May 29, 1979.

Carter-Brezhnev summit in Vienna, June 18, 1979—human rights discussed, Jewish refuseniks list and U.S. list of hardship family reunification cases presented.

DAS Schneider demarche to Soviet DCM Vasiev on mail problem, June 5, 1979.

Presidential statement on anniversary of Helsinki Final Act criticized Soviet and other East European states' failures in implementation, August 1, 1979.


Ambassador Toon met Acting Soviet Minister of Internal Affairs concerning plight of Pentecostalists, September 21, 1979.

Ambassador Toon met Embassy Pentecostalists, September 21, 1979.

Human rights raised at U.S.-Soviet CSCE bilateral consultation planning meeting, September 24, 1979.


Cases of four Soviet citizens condemned for economic crimes, Shcharanskiy, Orlov, and Mendelevich raised October 21, 1979.

DAS Goodby protested Soviets' arrest of Terleckas, Yakunin and Velikanova, November 1979.

Department statement on Sakharov exile, January 22, 1980.
White House statement on Sakharov exile, January 23, 1980

Criticism of Soviet repression of activists at CSCE Scientific Forum in Hamburg, February 1980

Patt Derian statement on Sakharov exile on VOA, February 1, 1980

U.S. support for lawyers' group seeking UNESCO action on Sakharov case, February 1980

First Annual Human Rights Report (included criticism of USSR and EE countries), February 4, 1980

White House Science Counselor wrote Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology Chief about Sakharov case, February 12, 1980

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