

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

Friday, October 18, 1974

For further information call 225-9732

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

Announcing Agreement on Trade and Emigration
October 18, 1974

It has been two years since I first offered an amendment to the trade bill conditioning eligibility for trade concessions on respect for the right to emigrate.

Today, near the end of a long and often difficult road, I am pleased, on behalf of Senator Javits, Senator Ribicoff and myself, to announce that an agreement has been reached on emigration from the Soviet Union that should do much to advance the cause of human rights -- to reaffirm on the part of the American people the commitment to individual liberty that has made this nation a symbol to men and women everywhere.

I believe that we have reached a fair and productive compromise. We have agreed upon an unprecedented measure to bring the blessings of liberty to those brave men and women who have asked only for the chance to find freedom in a new land. We have acted on behalf of those of all faiths, of all religions -- on behalf of artists and dancers, workers and students, the educated and the unskilled.

The agreement we have reached and which is contained in an exchange of letters between myself and the Secretary of State should signal an end by the USSR to punitive actions against persons wishing to emigrate. It provides that no unreasonable impediments will be placed in the way of persons wishing to emigrate. It stipulates that applications for emigration will be processed in order without discrimination on the basis of race, religion, national origin, professional status or place of residence. It promises sympathetic and expeditious processing of hardship cases.

It provides that persons imprisoned, who, prior to their imprisonment, expressed an interest in emigrating will be given prompt consideration for emigration upon their release; and it states that sympathetic consideration may be given to the early release of these unfortunate persons.

The agreement is based on, and the Secretary's letter conveys, the assumption that the rate of emigration from the USSR will begin to rise promptly from the 1973 level -- and that it will continue to rise to correspond to the number of applicants. We have agreed with President Ford that a "minimum standard of initial compliance" will be the issuance of 60,000 visas per annum.

I wish to emphasize that this figure is not a quota. It is my judgment that,

if the agreement is implemented in good faith, the actual number will exceed 60,000 per annum since there is abundant evidence of a current backlog in excess of 130,000, and the agreement calls for the number to rise to correspond to the number of applicants.

The agreement provides that the Soviet leadership will give "sympathetic consideration and response" in the event that we have indications that these criteria and practices are not being applied.

In reaching this agreement, negotiated over the last several months, we have developed a set of guidelines appropriate for the purpose of determining whether eligibility for trade benefits extended to the USSR as a consequence of this agreement should be continued beyond an initial period of eighteen months. These understandings and interpretations, which have been accepted by the President as appropriate guidelines, are contained in my letter to the Secretary of State. The two letters taken together are a tribute to the perseverance of my fellow Senators and Congressmen and the spirit of cooperation on this issue that we have enjoyed from the first days of the Ford presidency.

When the trade bill reaches the floor of the Senate I will propose an amendment that will authorize the President to waive the restrictions in the Jackson Amendment in circumstances where doing so will substantially promote the objectives of the Jackson-Mills-Vanik Amendment.

This added authority will be renewable at the end of eighteen months if both Houses of Congress agree, by concurrent resolution. Thereafter the authority to further waive the restrictions of the Jackson Amendment can be renewed at one year intervals, provided that neither House of the Congress passes a resolution of disapproval.

I trust that this agreement will be implemented in all its parts, with a generosity of spirit and a full measure of good faith. Nothing would please me more than to join in cosponsoring the concurrent resolution that will be required if, 18 months from now, most-favored-nation treatment is to be continued. But I will not hesitate to oppose that resolution if there is a failure to comply with the understanding we have labored so long to achieve.

I share the joy with which news of this agreement will be greeted by so many who have waited so long. I hope and pray that we will one day look back on this agreement as an early step along the road of a genuine detente.

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

Friday, October 18, 1974

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LETTERS OF AGREEMENT ON TRADE AND EMIGRATION AMENDMENT FOR SIGNATURE

October 18, 1974

October 18, 1974

Dear Senator Jackson:

I am writing to you, as the sponsor of the Jackson Amendment, in regard to the Trade Bill (H.R. 10710) which is currently before the Senate and in whose early passage the Administration is deeply interested. As you know, Title IV of that Bill, as it emerged from the House, is not acceptable to the Administration. At the same time, the Administration respects the objectives with regard to emigration from the USSR that are sought by means of the stipulations in Title IV, even if it cannot accept the means employed. It respects in particular your own leadership in this field.

To advance the purposes we share both with regard to passage of the Trade Bill and to emigration from the USSR, and on the basis of discussions that have been conducted with Soviet representatives, I should like on behalf of the Administration to inform you that we have been assured that the following criteria and practices will henceforth govern emigration from the USSR.

First, punitive actions against individuals seeking to emigrate from the USSR would be violations of Soviet laws and regulations and will therefore not be permitted by the Government of the USSR. In particular, this applies to various kinds of intimidation or reprisal, such as, for example, the firing of a person from his job, his demotion to tasks beneath his professional qualifications, and his subjection to public or other kinds of recrimination.

Second, no unreasonable or unlawful impediments will be placed in the way of persons desiring to make application for emigration, such as interference with travel or communications necessary to complete an application, the withholding of necessary documentation and other obstacles including kinds frequently employed in the past.

Third, applications for emigration will be processed in order of receipt, including those previously filed, and on a non-discriminatory basis as regards the place of residence, race, religion, national origin and professional status of the applicant. Concerning professional status, we are informed that there are limitations on emigration under Soviet law in the case of individuals holding certain security clearances, but that such individuals who desire to emigrate will be informed of the date on which they may expect to become eligible for emigration.

Fourth, hardship cases will be processed sympathetically and expeditiously; persons imprisoned who, prior to imprisonment, expressed an interest in emigrating, will be given prompt consideration for emigration upon their release; and sympathetic consideration may be given to the early release of such persons.

Fifth, the collection of the so-called emigration tax on emigrants which was suspended last year will remain suspended.

Sixth, with respect to all the foregoing points, we will be in a position to bring to the attention of the Soviet leadership indications that we may have that these criteria and practices are not being applied. Our representations, which would include but not necessarily be limited to the precise matters enumerated in the foregoing points, will receive sympathetic consideration and response.

Finally, it will be our assumption that with the application of the criteria practices and procedures set forth in this letter, the rate of emigration from the USSR would begin to rise promptly from the 1973 level and would continue to rise to correspond to the number of applicants.

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I understand that you and your associates have, in addition, certain understandings incorporated in a letter dated today respecting the foregoing criteria and practices which will henceforth govern emigration from the USSR which you wish the President to accept as appropriate guidelines to determine whether the purposes sought through Title IV of the Trade Bill and further specified in our exchange of correspondence in regard to the emigration practices of non-market economy countries are being fulfilled. You have submitted this letter to me and I wish to advise you on behalf of the President that the understandings in your letter will be among the considerations to be applied by the President in exercising the authority provided for in Sec. ___* of Title IV of the Trade Bill.

I believe that the contents of this letter represent a good basis, consistent with our shared purposes, for proceeding with an acceptable formulation of Title IV of the Trade Bill, including procedures for periodic review, so that normal trading relations may go forward for the mutual benefit of the US and the USSR.

Best regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

*Statutory language authorizing the President to waive the restrictions in Title IV of the Trade Bill under certain conditions will be added as a new (and as yet undesignated) subsection.

October 18, 1974

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for your letter of October 18 which I have now had an opportunity to review. Subject to the further understandings and interpretations outlined in this letter, I agree that we have achieved a suitable basis upon which to modify Title IV by incorporating within it a provision that would enable the President to waive subsections designated (a) and (b) in Sec. 402 of Title IV as passed by the House in circumstances that would substantially promote the objectives of Title IV.

It is our understanding that the punitive actions, intimidation or reprisals that will not be permitted by the Government of the USSR include the use of punitive conscription against persons seeking to emigrate, or members of their families; and the bringing of criminal actions against persons in circumstances that suggest a relationship between their desire to emigrate and the criminal prosecution against them.

Second, we understand that among the unreasonable impediments that will no longer be placed in the way of persons seeking to emigrate is the requirement that adult applicants receive the permission of their parents or other relatives.

Third, we understand that the special regulations to be applied to persons who have had access to genuinely sensitive classified information will not constitute an unreasonable impediment to emigration. In this connection we would expect such persons to become eligible for emigration within three years of the date on which they last were exposed to sensitive and classified information.

Fourth, we understand that the actual number of emigrants would rise promptly from the 1973 level and would continue to rise to correspond to the number of applicants, and may therefore exceed 60,000 per annum. We would consider a benchmark -- a minimum standard of initial compliance -- to be the issuance of visas at the rate of 60,000 per annum; and we understand that the President proposes to use the same benchmark as the minimum standard of initial compliance. Until such time as the actual number of emigrants corresponds to the

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number of applicants the benchmark figure will not include categories of persons whose emigration has been the subject of discussion between Soviet officials and other European governments.

In agreeing to provide discretionary authority to waive the provisions of subsections designated (a) and (b) in Sec. 402 of Title IV as passed by the House, we share your anticipation of good faith in the implementation of the assurances contained in your letter of October 18 and the understandings conveyed by this letter. In particular, with respect to paragraphs three and four of your letter we wish it to be understood that the enumeration of types of punitive action and unreasonable impediments is not and cannot be considered comprehensive or complete, and that nothing in this exchange of correspondence shall be construed as permitting types of punitive action or unreasonable impediments not enumerated therein.

Finally, in order adequately to verify compliance with the standard set forth in these letters, we understand that communication by telephone, telegraph and post will be permitted.

Sincerely yours,

Henry M. Jackson, U.S.S.