

This memorandum provides a brief personal review of the history of DRL. Of course the human rights theme is both complicated and controversial, and I thought it would be helpful to attach extensive background material and press articles, in approximately chronological order.

Over the past 25 years I have become convinced that the development of our human rights policy was one of the best decisions the USG has ever made. Not only have we helped many millions of people around the globe, but the human rights factor has clearly given us a much better foreign policy. Just a few years ago who would have imagined the Soviet Union would disappear without a war, that Blacks and White would shake hands in South Africa, and that thousands of Chinese students would be coming to the U.S. and then returning safely home?

Clearly much remains to be done and many complicated problems are still unsolved, but the world has become much more open than ever before, and I feel this is the best chance the human race has ever had. A good many years ago ^I came to the conclusion that the human rights cause has become the authentic world revolution, democratic, peaceful and invincible, as long as we keep it honest, the same for every living person. But we must learn to make better use of this enormous opportunity.

~~I am sure you already have a good perspective on DRE's overall human rights history.~~ Many assume the human rights push began with the Carter Administration, but actually Cong. Don Fraser (D.-Minn.) and Sen. Tom Harkin (D.-Iowa) got things started around 1973. Then the Carter Administration created our Bureau ^(HA) in 1977, with a handful of personnel. Of course it was hard going at first. Bureaucratic inexperience plus bureaucratic resistance on the part of other Bureaus were a tough combination. Incredibly, one regional Bureau actually ordered its personnel to avoid contact with HA!. But HA pushed on under Patt Derian and things got off to a pretty good start. Then, early on, the Reagan Administration decided to sideline human rights, but soon realized that would be difficult and politically costly, since there already was strong and widespread support for the human rights cause. So after almost a year Elliott Abrams came on board and our policy became authentic and began to move ahead again. Since then, over the years, with Dick Schifter, John Shattuck, and now you, our policy has become more effective year by year, and there has been growing support for human rights around the world.

The following are some relevant details of this history, in approximately chronological order.

One of the first steps forward was the March, 1974 Report issued by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, by Don Fraser, Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements (attachment 1). As stated by Fraser, the Report was a call for U.S. human rights leadership in the world community.

Of course Secretary Kissinger was no advocate of human rights. He moderated his opposition somewhat as the support for human rights developed

