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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name RAYMOND, WALTER: FILES

Withdrawer

SMF 7/13/2011

File Folder [UNFOLDERED-PROJECT TRUTH, PROJECT
DEMOCRACY, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND NED 1977-
AUGUST 1982]

FOIA
M430

Box Number 7

LAMB,
CHRISTOPHER

64

ID	Description	No. of Pages	Date	Classification
115043 NOTES	IRAN DISCUSSION <i>D</i> 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #15; R 5/9/2019 M430/2 #115043	1	12/15/1978	B1 B3
115046 REPORT	SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES <i>D</i> 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #16; UPHELD M430/2 #115046 3/31/2015	30	8/1/1981	B1 B3
115048 MEMO	RE ACTIVE MEASURES <i>D</i> 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #16; UPHELD M430/2 #115048 3/31/2015	2	11/4/1981	B1
115049 NOTE	LES LENKOWSKY TO RAYMOND	1	11/22/1981	P5
115051 LIST	THEMES <i>D</i> 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #18; PAR M430/2 #115051 3/31/2015	4	5/20/1981	B1
115053 NOTES	HANDWRITTEN INPENCIL ON YELLOW LEGAL PAPER <i>D</i> 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #19; UPHELD M430/2 #115053 3/31/2015	1	ND	B1
115055 MEMO	FOR SPG PRINCIPALS RE NSDD <i>R</i> 7/3/2000 NLSF95-041/2 #20	3	ND	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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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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115057 LIST	NSDD 130 FOLLOW UP ACTIONS <i>R</i> 7/3/2000 <i>NLSF95-041/2 #21</i>	1	ND	B1
115059 MEMO	RE HEIGHTENING AWARENESS <i>R</i> 7/3/2000 <i>NLSF95-041/2 #22</i>	1	10/19/1981	B1
115061 CABLE	310134Z OCT 81 [USICA 55125] <i>P</i> 7/18/2000 <i>NLSF95-041/2 #23; R</i> <i>11/2/2012 M430/2</i>	1	10/31/1981	B1

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Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: RAYMOND, WALTER: Files

Archivist: lov

File Folder: [Project Truth, Project Democracy, Public
Diplomacy, and NED 1977-8/82] OA 91162

Date: January 27, 1998

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. notes	Iran discussion (1) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #15</i>	12/15/78	F1/F3 8/83
2. publication	"Soviet Active Measures" (29) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #16</i>	8/81	P1/F3 8/83
3. memo	"Active Measures" (2) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #17</i>	nd	P1 B1
4. note	Les Lenkowsky to Raymond (1)	11/22	P50 pen
5. list	of themes (4) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #18</i>	5/20/81	P1 B1
6. notes	handwritten in pencil on yellow legal paper (1) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #19</i>	nd	P1 B1
7. memo [90391]	for SPG principals, re NSDD (3) <i>R 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #20</i>	nd	P1
8. list	NSDD 130 Follow up actions (1) <i>A 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #21</i>	nd	P1
9. memo	re heightening awareness (1) <i>R 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #22</i>	10/19/81	P1
10. cable	310134Z OCT 81 (1) <i>P 7/18/00 NLSF95-041/2 #23</i>	10/31/81	P1 B1

LS 12/14/00

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
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6. notes	handwritten in pencil on yellow legal paper (1) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #19</i>	nd	P1
7. memo [90391]	for SPG principals, re NSDD (3) <i>A 7/3/00 NLSF95-041/2 #20</i>	nd	P1
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VALERY CHALIDZE
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

December 1977

THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE USSR AND KHRONIKA PRESS

The Human Rights Movement in the USSR

The petition campaign protesting the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial (1965-66) surprised the West and probably the Soviet leaders as well. The Soviet response to the evolving human rights movement* was gradually escalating repression, but this policy remained somewhat ambivalent until 1968. Since the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet authorities have been consistently hostile to dissidents advocating respect for human rights, and they have adhered to a strategy of total repression while varying the tactics used to achieve that goal. (On the other hand, the Soviet authorities have shown an occasional willingness to compromise with the demands of religious dissenters, the Jewish emigration movement, and other groups with specific and limited grievances).

The West was astounded and quite pleased by the emergence of a human rights movement in the USSR although in the 1966-68 period there was little contact between Soviet dissenters and interested Westerners. Gradually Western correspondents met leading Moscow dissidents, reports of their activities appeared in the Western press, and samizdat began to flow to the West. A Russian emigre organization, the NTS, and Radio Liberty became the principal agencies for the collection, analysis, publication and broadcast of samizdat. While both organizations played (and continue to play) a vital role in documenting and publicizing the human rights movement, the relationship between the NTS and Radio Liberty and the human rights movement was essentially a marriage of convenience. The NTS is a secret, authoritarian organization which avows a nationalistic and expressly anti-Soviet program. Radio Liberty is an agency of the US government. As the human rights movement became increasingly self-conscious, it sought support from Western organizations which share common goals: affiliation of the Moscow Human Rights Committee with the International League for Human Rights (1972), registration of a Moscow Group of Amnesty International (1975), close cooperation of the Helsinki Watch Groups in the USSR with related groups in the United States and Belgium, and other, less formal affiliations. Since 1971 when "third-wave" Soviet emigrants

*I use the term "human rights movement" to designate those Soviet citizens who are consciously working to achieve respect for human rights (as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and the rule of law in the USSR. Also called the Democractic Movement, it has never constituted a well-defined organization, but is rather a loose coalition of individuals sharing some common goals. See Valery Chalidze, To Defend These Rights, New York, 1974, and Frederick Barghoorn, Detente and the Democractic Movement in the USSR, New York, 1976.

began arriving in Israel and the United States, Western information about and support for the human rights movement have steadily expanded.

Organization of Khronika Press

Valery Chalidze arrived in New York in November, 1972 when one of the periodic Soviet anti-dissident drives was in full swing. Chalidze and Alexander Volpin were the first prominent main-stream human rights dissidents to leave the USSR. Chalidze believed that continuation of the accurate reporting initiated by the Chronicle of Current Events would serve the interests of the human rights movement. (The Moscow-based Chronicle of Current Events had served the human rights movement as newspaper of record and organizing center since April 1968. The Moscow Chronicle had been forced to suspend publication in October 1972 under severe KGB pressure). Chalidze's judgment in organizing Khronika Press and publishing the New York Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR was endorsed in May 1974 when the Moscow Chronicle resumed publication, asked Khronika Press to print a Russian-language edition of the Moscow Chronicle in New York, and expressed gratitude for Khronika Press support.

Publication of the New York and Moscow Chronicles inevitably involved Khronika Press in the Russian-language publication of books and documents written by members of the human rights movement: Sakharov's My Country and the World, Marchenko's From Tarusa to Chuna, Turchin's The Inertia of Fear, three volumes of Helsinki Watch Group documents, and more than 25 other books and brochures. Khronika Press also became an information center for many individuals and organizations concerned with Soviet dissent: the US press, Amnesty International and other human rights groups, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and so forth.

Western support for Soviet dissidents

Dissident groups in the USSR have come gradually and informally to rely upon various organizations abroad for support and representation. Dissidents working for a revival of the Russian Orthodox Church (Dudko, Shafarevich, Yakunin, Solzhenitsyn to some degree) have established ties to YMCA Press in Paris; Russian Protestants to the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism (Kent, England); dissident writers to Kontinent; Jewish activists to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and similar organizations; Lithuanian, Ukrainian and other ethnic dissidents to the appropriate organizations of their co-nationals abroad. (Crimean Tatars, Meskhi and, to some extent, Georgians lack effective representation by emigre co-nationals and depend on the support of the main-stream human rights movement). Ties have been formed between other Western organizations and their Soviet counterparts: The British-based Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals has served as a spokesman for Soviet dissenters concerned with this problem; the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has published works by Roy Medvedev; the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe has assisted the Helsinki Watch Groups in the USSR; the Comite des Mathematiens have supported their colleagues in the USSR (and elsewhere) who are dissenters.

The Khronika Press program

Khronika Press has focused on the main-stream human rights movement: the editors of the Moscow Chronicles; Sakharov and his close associates; and (in collaboration with Ludmilla Alexeyeva) the Moscow Helsinki Watch Groups.

Pressure to increase the scope (and cost) of Khronika Press activities arises from three sources:

An increased flow of manuscripts have been directed to Khronika Press with the express or implied hope that we will arrange for their publication in the West. Khronika Press is now in the process of publishing: A Chronicle of Current Events, Nos. 45 and 46; A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR, Nos. 27 and 28; Andrei Sakharov's recent statements edited by his son-in-law Efrem Yaknelevich; volume 4 of the documents of the Helsinki Watch Groups; Petr Grigorenko's recent writings; Alexander Podrabinek's Punitive Medicine; Alexander Nekrich's book on deported nationalities; Maria Iofe's memoirs (paid for in part by a contribution from the author); the first two volumes of the historical samizdat journal Memory. (The Institute on Socialist Law is publishing a second volume of documents, and Chekhov Press is publishing Koestler's Darkness at Noon which was translated in the USSR). This schedule, which roughly covers a six month period (with some additions and some postponements probable), totals about 3,000 printed pages. The cost of these publications will run about \$50,000 without general overhead costs or payment of royalties. (The cost for editing, typesetting, proof-reading, and printing in editions of 500 to 1,500 copies is \$15 to \$20 per printed page). This increased flow of samizdat to the West has doubtless been stimulated by the dissidents' awareness through Russian-language broadcasts and printed copies which reach the USSR that publication of their works in the West is possible.

Khronika Press has received direct or implied requests to provide supplementary services for the individuals and groups whose works we publish including: copying and circulating samizdat which does not warrant printed publication; arranging for English-language publication of samizdat; supplying information on the human rights movement and encouraging Western support for its goals; assisting Western efforts to defend dissenters from persecution by the Soviet authorities; sending material assistance to dissenters or to their dependents when they are imprisoned or lose their jobs because of dissident activity; aiding in US resettlement of dissidents who have been forced to emigrate. Mr. Chalidze has sought to limit Khronika Press involvement in welfare and other collateral activities, but real and present needs exist. Khronika Press and its editors individually have devoted substantial time (and sometimes money) to such activities when we have been unable to locate other organizations prepared to meet these needs.

Khronika Press has received direct or implied requests to publish works for Soviet dissident groups outside our traditional range (such as the Crimean Tatars). In such instances we have tried to confine our activities to locating alternate facilities. We have agreed to publish the journal Memory because the subjects it treats are closely related to the human rights movement, because of its editorial quality, and because other possibilities for Russian-language publication seem remote (Natasha Gorbanevskaya, the first editor of the Chronicle of Current Events, is Memory's representative abroad).

As outlined above, Khronika Press's projected publication costs for the next twelve months are about \$100,000. General overhead (salaries for Valery Chalidze and Lena Stein, rent utilities, etc.) total another \$50,000 annually. Sales revenues and grants in sight cannot sustain our present scale of operations, let alone expand our activities. We can, if necessary, cut down our publishing program, but in my opinion, Mr. Chalidze has been skillful in selecting works which are most likely to benefit the human rights movement. I do believe there are strong arguments for maintaining Khronika Press's program and even for selective expansion of that program, but that judgment depends on an appraisal of the prospects of the human rights movement and its current potential support in the West.

Prospects and Recommendations

So long as gross violations of human rights persist in the USSR, it seems inevitable that the human rights movement will continue in some form. It is difficult to predict the specific issues and personalities that will emerge in the future, but certainly the past five years have witnessed an expansion, diversification and sophistication of dissident activity. Opportunities for Western support of the human rights movement and other dissident groups have grown rapidly, outstripping the also-growing but still-scanty financial and human resources of Khronika Press and other involved organizations (see the Appendix for a list of such organizations). President Carter's human rights policy deserves some of the credit (others might say blame) for this situation; the Helsinki Final Act and the Belgrade Conference have also contributed to increased interest in human rights problems in Eastern Europe.

Among those Americans aware of the issues posed by the human rights movement in the USSR, some oppose any assistance for that movement. American businessmen fear that overt support for Soviet dissenters will impede US-USSR trade. A majority of the foreign policy establishment believe that the Soviet dissidents and the sympathy they have attracted in the West impede closer Soviet-American relations in general and arms control in particular; while endorsing the goal of liberalization of Soviet society, such "realists" maintain that this goal can best be achieved by strengthening official and trade contacts, thereby gaining some economic and political leverage with respect to the Soviet Union. Kissinger discouraged overt support for dissidents, apparently believing that the human rights movement in Eastern Europe, while admirable in principle and occasionally useful as a bargaining chip, interfered with his long-term strategy of detente. Others in the West, citing Roy Medvedev, fear that Western support will distort or retard the natural evolution of internal opposition to the Soviet regime. I shall not try to answer these objections in this letter. Sakharov has argued the case for serious Western support of the human rights movement in his book My Country and the World and in his recent article "Alarm and Hope"*. In personal terms, I share the dissenters' belief in human rights and the rule of law as the only secure foundations for a decent world. And it is evident that Soviet doctrine and practice will influence the evolution of human rights standards in many parts of the world.

Once we accept the hypothesis that Western support for the human rights movement is desirable, we are still faced by the difficult question: what can we usefully do?

I believe that priority should be given to the main-stream human rights movement for two reasons. First, because their efforts to secure civil rights -- the rights of free expression, of association, of free movement -- foster the goals of all the dissident groups. Second, because they have no natural, organized constituency abroad (in contrast to the national and religious groups).

Almost invariably, the first request of Soviet dissenters is publicity for their actions and for Soviet violations of human rights. The most effective means of acquainting the Soviet public with the dissenters' ideas and actions is Russian-language broadcasting. Only governments can maintain radio stations such as Voice of America and Radio Liberty, but non-governmental groups can perhaps influence the content and quality of programming. Russian-language publications

*See also Valery Chalidze's article "How Important Is Soviet Dissent?", Commentary, June 1977.

printed in the West play a subsidiary but still vital role in the circulation of the dissenters' ideas inside the Soviet Union. Radio is not an effective media for developing complex ideas or for conveying detailed information. Although the number of Russian-language books that reach the USSR from the West is limited, their impact is multiplied by photocopying, multiple lending and word-of-mouth. The appendix lists Western publishers of Russian-language materials.

Information about the human rights movement reaches the general public in the West through reports filed by foreign correspondents in Moscow and published by newspapers, news magazines and wire services. The role of specialized English-language journals such as A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR is to supply full texts, background information and accurate details to the press, to human rights organizations, and to interested government officials, scholars, and students. Replies to specific inquiries, press releases, research papers, and so forth, are natural extensions of this function.

Material assistance to dissenters and their families has assumed importance since the regime has applied economic sanctions such as dismissals from jobs and fines to discourage dissent and has used financial pressures on political prisoners' families in attempts to coerce recantations. Dissenters forced into exile in the West also merit assistance in resettlement. (A distinction should be made between those who have been forced into reluctant exile because of their dissenting activities and those who have sought to emigrate of their own accord). The Soviet dissenters have always recognized the crucial importance of mutual aid for the survival of the human rights movement. Solzhenitsyn has organized a fund to aid political prisoners and their families and Sakharov has provided support for the children of prisoners. But needs have increased, and the Soviet authorities have deliberately disrupted mutual aid efforts. Western material aid to dissenters and their families in the USSR is a complex and difficult proposition (but not impossible). Resettlement of political exiles is a more practical opportunity for Western assistance.

The US government has played a significant role in the evolution of the human rights movement in the USSR. Radio Liberty (and its samizdat archive), and Voice of America are major factors in the collection and communication of Soviet dissent documents. There are official and unofficial contacts between US Embassy personnel in Moscow and Soviet dissidents. The Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Justice Department controls the entry of emigrants into the United States. US government funds help to finance the transit costs of Soviet emigrants and their resettlement in the United States and elsewhere. Harry Rositzke's book The CIA's Secret Operations outlines the past role of the CIA in supporting anti-Soviet propaganda and emigre organizations. The Katzenbach Committee report (1967) led to a reduction in CIA involvement in such activities, and press reports indicate that The Carter Administration is likely to curb or eliminate entirely covert funding of such activities. Many other governmental and quasi-governmental agencies (the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, International Research and Exchanges Board, National Academy of Science, Library of Congress, etc) are also involved in programs which directly or indirectly affect the human rights movement.

The appendix reflects the diversity of non-governmental organizations concerned with some aspect of the human rights movement. I have listed only a small fraction of such organizations. It is important to remember, however, that most have limited resources and depend on the efforts of one or two individuals for whatever effectiveness they may possess.

I have obviously made the personal decision that the human rights movement in the USSR is worthy of major support. My personal commitment is largely inspired by admiration for the courage, intelligence and values of the dissenters, but I recognize the crucial importance of the human rights movement in the USSR for the evolution of human rights standards and practices everywhere. It is a serious and persistent test of the possibilities (and limitations) of an internal civil rights movement functioning within the framework of a repressive state.

Khronika Press needs additional financing just to maintain its program and could usefully expand its program to some extent. (I like to think that this appeal is based not just on personal bias, but on the fact that Khronika Press has functioned for five years, has earned the confidence and cooperation of members of the human rights movement, and perhaps most important of all, is directed by Valery Chalidze, a member of the human rights movement with a distinguished record of accomplishment both inside the USSR and as an exile, who understands the function of Khronika Press to be one of serving the aims set by the human rights movement within the USSR rather than imposing an external program on Soviet dissent).

I could have confined myself to the simple and direct message that Khronika Press needs money (which is true). But the usefulness and needs of Khronika Press are totally dependent on the fate of the human rights movement in the USSR as a whole. Therefore, this letter is an attempt to convey my perspective of the larger problem in hopes of stimulating you to make an independent judgment of the issues involved.

Edward Kline

APPENDIX

This list is not intended to be comprehensive. Neither inclusion nor omission should be construed as a value judgment.

Publishers of Russian-language books

YMCA Press (Paris)

Possev (Frankfurt)

Alexander Herzen Foundation (Amsterdam)

Overseas Publications Interchange (London)

Khronika Press (New York)

Ardis (Ann Arbor -- primarily belles-lettres)

Russian language periodicals

Vestnik RKhD (Paris)

Kontinent (Paris-Berlin)

Possev (Frankfurt)

Russkaya Mysl (Paris)

Vrema i my (Israel)

Khronika zashchitu prav (New York)

Grani (Frankfurt)

Novoye Russkoye slovo (New York)

Materialy samizdata (Radio Liberty, Munich -- for internal use but available to scholars)

English-language periodicals

A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR (New York)

A Chronicle of Current Events (Amnesty International, London)

Religion in Communist Lands (Kent)

Soviet Jewish Affairs (London)

Religion in Communist Dominated Areas (New York)

The Samizdat Bulletin (San Mateo, California)

Survey (London)

Problems of Communism (Washington)

Index (London)

Prisoner Defense and Human Rights Organizations

Amnesty International (London)

International League for Human Rights (New York)

Solzhenitsyn's Russian Prisoners' Aid Fund (Cavendish, Vermont)

Help and Action (Paris)

Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (New York -- primarily Ukrainian)

Working Group on the internment of Dissenters in Psychiatric Hospitals (London)

Organizations concerned with Religious Liberty and Minority Rights in the USSR

Center for the Study of Religion and Communism (Kent, England)

Glaube in der 2 Welt (Zurich)

National Conference on Soviet Jewry (New York)

Institute of Jewish Affairs (London)

Smoloskyp (Ukrainian -- Baltimore)

ELTA (Lithuanian -- New York)

Ukrainian Congress Committee

National Center of Crimean Tatars (New York)

Estonian Information Center (Stockholm)

Other organizations actively involved in Soviet human rights problems

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Washington)

HAIG (Brussels)

International Freedom to Publish Committee (New York)

• AFL-CIO (Washington-Paris)

• NTS (Russian emigre organization, Frankfurt)

Organizations involved in resettlement of emigres in the US

HIAS-NYANNA

International Rescue Committee

Tolstoy Foundation

American Council for Emigres in the Professions

Russian-language Radio stations

BBC (London)

Voice of America (Washington)

Deutsche Welle (Germany)

Radio Liberty (Munich)

Also: Vatican Radio and Kol Israel

Western "Dissidentologists"

USA: Alfred Friendly, Jr. (Washington); Abraham Brumberg (Washington); Rudolf Tokes (Connecticut); Gene Sosin (New York); Frederick Barghoorn (New Haven)

England: Peter Reddaway (London); Clayton Yeo (London); Martin Dewhirst (Glasgow)

Israel: Theodore Friedgut (Jerusalem)

Holland: Karel van het Reve (Amsterdam); F.J.M. Feldbrugge (Leyden)

Germany: Albert Boiter (Munich); Peter Dornan (Munich); Cornelia Gerstenmaier

Belgium: Anthony de Meeus

Italy: Mario Corti (Milan)

France: Nikita Struve (Nanterre); George Haupt (Paris)

Canada: Bohdan Bociurkiw (Ottawa)

Norway: Per Egil Hegge (Oslo)

Third-wave emigres involved in the human rights movement

Ludmilla Alexeyeva (New York), Andrei Amalrik (Washington), Vladimir Bukovsky (Zurich-Cambridge), Valery Chalidze (New York), Natasha Gorbanevskaya (Paris), Pavel Litvinov (New York), Vladimir Maximov (Paris), Zhores Medvedev (London), Lev Kvachevsky (Vienna), Leonid Plyushch (Paris), Alexander Solzhenitsyn (Cavendish), Valentin Turchin (New York), Veronica Stein (New York), Anatoly Levitin-Krasnov (Zurich), Tomas Venclova (San Francisco), Kronid Lyubarsky (Vienna transit), Tatianna Khodorovich (Vienna, transit), Alexander Volpin (Boston), Boris Shragin (New York).

~~Secret~~

IRAN DISCUSSION

12/15/78

115043

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M430/2 #115043

JY RW NARA DATE 5/9/19

I found the general drift of the conversation, particularly the ORPA views, very disquieting. Specifically, I fear we are drifting into a trendy position that "everyone" is opposed to the Shah, every thing he does is wrong, he must go more or less immediately and that there is something like a "united" opposition out there.

The Bill/Zonis school have been anti-Shah for many years, as have many in the Department of State and elsewhere: to wit, Bill Miller, Senior Staffer of the SSCI. Having been vindicated (if you predict rain, sooner or later you may be right), they now are now respected as the experts and their views stand the danger of receiving disproportionately greater attention than they deserve. Example: Zonis' private session with Ball and Christopher.

My reading of the material indicates that there is a large, somewhat inchoate moderate opposition that has certain demands that can be met short of revolution; they want an honest sharing of power and guarantees that the regime will not slip back to its old ways. The extreme Islamic fundamentalists and the Tudeh element will not support this and their agitation skews the Western perception of what the opposition stands for. When ORPA can state that the Shah is seeking to split the opposition and this is an example of his reversion to old, tried and discredited tactics, I have to pass. What is wrong with splitting the opposition? First of all, it is not a united opposition. Second, I read this as trying to split off the realistic moderate (the majority) from the left or right radical (Kolmeini-Islamic fundamentalist; Tudeh) and thus opening up a basis for negotiation.

From a political point of view, I would judge that there are some possibilities for the four point program (council of notables; council selecting a government; reduced Shah role; council control of the monarchy). It will be necessary to put pressure on the elements to agree, but an examination of the alternatives may facilitate this:

--Failure to identify some political/military coalition mix (the essence of the above) will likely result in increased confrontation, bloodshed and heightened violence, has probably ~~three consequences~~:

--Military takeover coupled with suppression (probably but not certainly Shah goes)

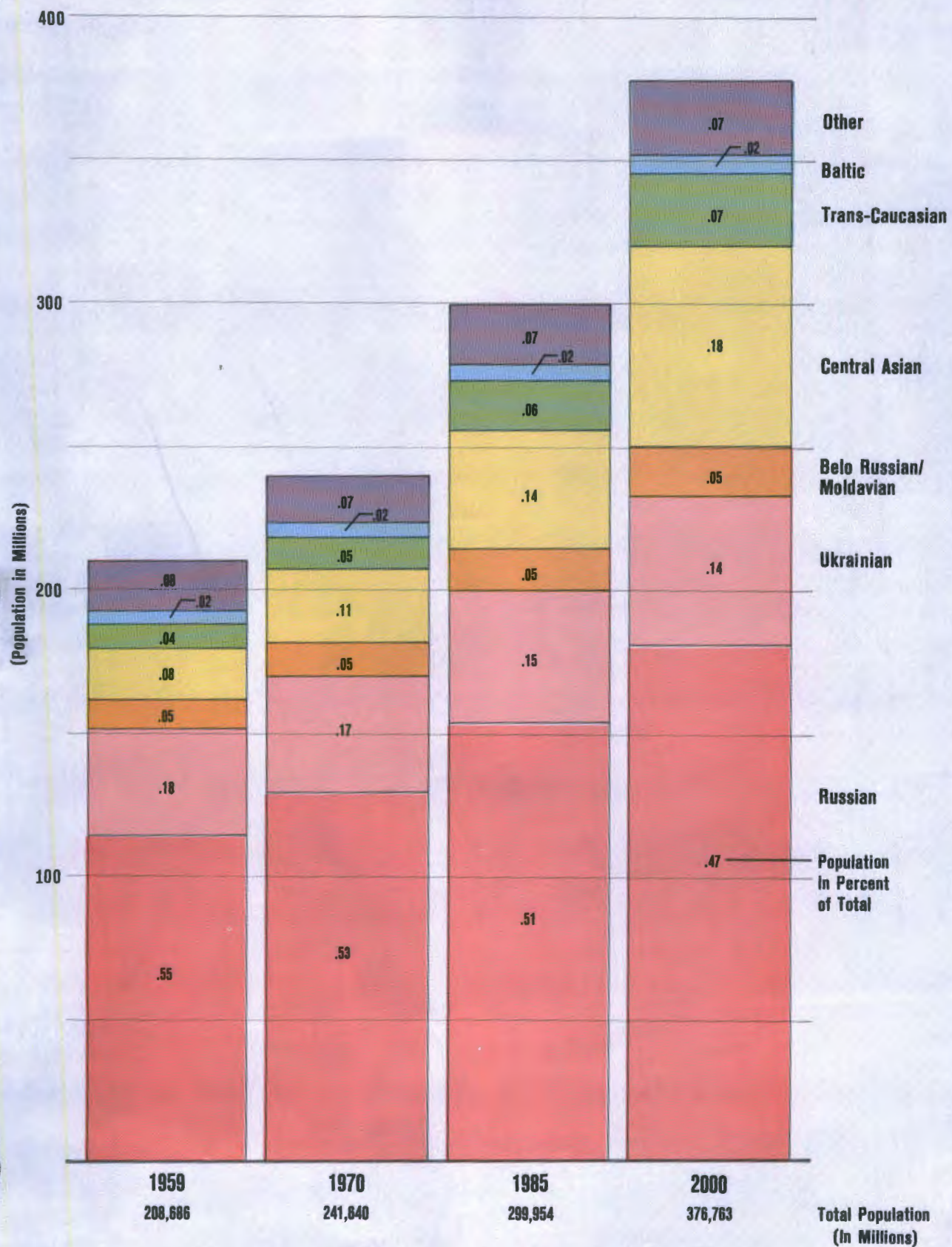
--Military splits over issue of killing its fellow citizens (chaotic situation; unstable government; dangers for all including USG)

--Preemptive military coup, deposing Shah (with or without the creation of a regency council), pledges to restore civilian government, honor Iranian nationalism, Islamic fundamentalism etc

--In none of the three scenarios do either the Shah or the opposition benefit as clearly as they would under ~~the~~ negotiated settlement. ~~Given~~ the fact that the "negotiated" settlement permits the orderly transfer/broadening of power, one should be able to pressure the Shah and the Opposition. The military remain a key and, in the last analysis, may play the key role as to who is and is not on the Council. Council composition may be the ~~the~~ obstacle.

~~Secret~~

Ethno-Demographic Trends In Soviet Population



RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 2 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 3 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

From the office of:

Les Lenkowsky

11/22

Walt:

Here's some evidence for my assertion that foundations have not turned inward so much as leftward. I believe we will send an observer.

It looks like I will be in Washington on December 1. Would you be free for dinner?

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Les' followed by a stylized surname.

Send to: Walter Raymond
National Security Council



~~SECRET~~ Defina

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MEMORANDUM FOR: William Schneider, Jr.

FROM: Philip A. DuSault *Philip A. DuSault*

SUBJECT: Political Action Proposals (S)

The political action proposals are divided into two groupings: \$103 million for increased international broadcasting, which the Budget Review Board approved on June 30, 1982, and \$97 million of various other projects and activities. (S)

International broadcasting

We have not further analyzed the \$103 million broadcasting package in view of the BRB earlier decision. As you recall, the Budget Review Board requested OMB to identify offsets for the \$103 million budget authority and \$57 million outlays required for the increased international broadcasting effort approved by the Board. The following were provided on July 1, 1982, to the NSC and the State Department. (U)

(millions of dollars)

	<u>BA</u>	<u>Outlays</u>
State: Salaries and expenses -----	20	16
AID: Operating expenses -----	20	16
AID: International Orgn. and Progs.--	30	22
AID: Functional Development Asst.----	33	3
Total -----	103	57

The State Department has objected to these offsets and has proposed no alternatives. No budget amendment can be transmitted to the Congress until this issue is settled. (U)

Other proposals:

In our quick analysis of the \$97 million other proposals (which, in fact, add to \$98.106M) we have tried to separate the wheat from the chaff and identify appropriate budget offsets. The proposals are very sketchy, have obvious pricing deficiencies, and appear to include excessive overhead costs for the programming provided. We have no basis for estimating the 1983 outlay effects or outyear costs. (S)

Even though the proposals are vague in content we have made a best effort to separate them into three categories: (1) those that have the clearest relationship to the promotion of democratic institutions in other countries; (2) those that may have such a

Ed Strait - IAD

DERIVATIVE CL BY ☒ DECL ☐ REVW ON 8/23/88

DERIVED FROM NSC memo 8/23/82

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relationship but are of a lower priority (in most instances the projects support institutions in countries that already have strong democratic traditions); and (3) those that, in our view, have little or no relationship to the project's purpose (in most instances are intended to increase general support for USIA). (S)

Related to Project Purpose

New magazine "Democracy"	\$1,291,000
Dissemination of democratic literature	527,500
Democracy institute endowment	7,000,000
Democracy award endowment	3,000,000
American Political Foundation	2,000,000
American Council of Young Political Leaders	3,000,000
United States Youth Council	1,400,000
National Conference of State Legislatures	540,000
American Bar Foundation	200,000
International Free Labor Institutes	9,000,000
United States Youth Council-Labor Desk	1,000,000
Free Labor Institutes - Africa	1,000,000
Asia Foundation	5,000,000
Council for Inter-American Security Ed. Institute	250,000
Inter-American Foundation	5,000,000
The Ferre Foundation	3,000,000
The Getulio Vargas Foundation	500,000
The Televisa Foundation	1,500,000
Partners of the Americas	750,000
Caribbean - Central American Action	750,000
Florida State University	500,000
African Studies Center at Georgetown CSIS	1,000,000
Operations Crossroads Africa	1,000,000
United States Students Association	1,000,000
Educators	5,000,000
Support for democratic press and communication	5,000,000
Democracy Publishing Clearing House	310,000
Total	<u>60,518,000</u>

Lower priority proposals

Language versions of "Problems of Communism"	625,000
Democracy Workshops (Europe)	3,000,000
Revitalization of Atlantic Councils of Europe	640,000
Atlantic Research Fellowship Program	500,000
Bi-national conferences (Germany, France, Britain)	300,000
Tours European parliamentarians and journalists	300,000
Student Conferences (Europe)	100,000
Centers for the study of the United States abroad	5,000,000
Young professionals exchanges	7,000,000
Total	<u>17,465,000</u>

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Proposals unrelated to project

Interagency foreign policy database	515,000
Secure facsimile system	250,000
Public diplomacy data base	2,670,000
Research policy enhancement	690,000
Coherent media strategy	550,000
USSR research enhancement	300,000
Propaganda library	375,000
Teleconferencing facilities	674,000
World-wide communications facilities	750,000
Library satellite support	1,365,000
Roving ambassadors	337,000
Foreign journalists tours	326,000
Magazine on communication policy	943,000
Magazine on China	963,000
Block grants to European institutions	500,000
National Association of Attorneys General	190,000
National Governors Association	210,000
Mayors exchanges	340,000
County exchanges	175,000
European Labor Information Office subsidy	1,000,000
Foreign students in U.S. support	4,000,000
African-American Institute business exchanges	3,000,000
Total	<u>20,123,000</u>

The above lists use the raw estimates contained in the materials and require further refinement before programmatic and budget offset decisions are made. (S)

The following offsets from the 1983 President's budget are recommended in addition to the \$103 million offsets identified above for the proposed international broadcasting amendment. These offsets are restricted to activities of State, ICA and BIB appropriated in the Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary and Related Agencies Appropriation Act. (S)

(millions of dollars)

	<u>BA</u>	<u>Outlays</u>
State: Salaries and expenses -----	15.0	12.0
Representation -----	0.5	0.5
Emergencies -----	0.5	0.5
Foreign buildings operations -	10.0	8.0
Buying Power Maintenance -----	15.0	--
USIA: Salaries and expenses -----	10.0	8.0
East West Center -----	2.0	2.0
BIB (exchange gains) -----	5.0	5.0
Total -----	<u>58.0</u>	<u>36.0</u>

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While these reductions will be opposed by the agencies, they will not cripple ongoing operations. (S)

Any additional offsets probably would have to be obtained from other agencies covered in the Commerce, Justice, State bill. (S)

However, we understand that Defense and CIA have played a strong role in the preparation of this proposal and that those agencies' participants assume that Defense funds can cover some of these activities. We are unaware of what legal authorities Defense has for this purpose. (S)

If the program is to be carried out under USIA's existing authorities and offset by Defense funds, a supplemental or amendment adding to USIA's appropriations could be accompanied by language deriving the amount by transfer from a DOD account. This introduces the complication of crossing functional and subcommittee lines relative to the Budget Resolution. (S)

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TITLE X
PROJECT DIPLOMACY

Statement of Policy

SEC. 1001. It is the sense of Congress that [insert statement describing and justifying concept]....

General Authority

SEC. 1002. The President is authorized to carry out a coordinated program of public diplomacy, through such agencies as he may designate, in order to carry out the policy of this title. Such program shall be carried out in accordance with the laws applicable to the operations of the agencies designated by the President and, under the direction of the President, shall be subject to the general direction of the Secretary of State to the end that the program and its components are effectively integrated and the foreign policy of the United States is best served thereby.

Authorization of Appropriations

SEC. 1003. (a) There is authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out the purposes of this title, in addition to amounts otherwise available for such purposes, \$_____ for the fiscal year 1984 and \$_____ for the fiscal year 1985.

(b) Funds appropriated under this section may be allocated or transferred to any agency of the United States Government and shall be available for obligation and expenditure for the purposes for which authorized, in accordance with the authorities governing the activities of the agencies to which such funds are allocated or transferred.

aa # 2

IRO-FIET (INTERAMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL
FEDERATION OF COMMERCIAL, CLERICAL, TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES)

and

C.A.B. (AMERICAN BANK CONFEDERATION)

The Peruvian Bank workers' union is the last bastion of communist trade union strength outside of Cuba. For thirteen long years the communists have used this base to promote their ideology. We are convinced that now is the time to take back what we lost in 1968. We, IRO-FIET are prepared to put our two best men in Perú to work and direct a successful campaign to bring democracy to this union. We need financial help. This will be a battle with no holds barred.

FEB - PERUVIAN BANK FEDERATION

Total of Bank workers: 24,000

Total of organized and due paying workers: 17,500

They have a Consumers' Cooperative that is used by all the affiliates of the Bank workers' Federation "FEB" and which supplies them with: basic articles (food and clothing): housing; furnishing and the buying of cars. This broad commercial field naturally produces a commercial income, which, added to the direct income of FEB, due to monthly trade union fees from their 17,500 affiliates, US\$ 2.50 per capita, in the context of Peruvian trade unionism, puts FEB in the first place among them, according to their organizing force and tremendous financial power, over 50,000.-- US\$ per month.

The FEB Executive Committee is formed by 15 members. According to political parties, the Communist Party controls this Body, through 8 active party members. The communists also have the major control of the Bank Cooperative.

The ~~Council~~ of Delegates (dependent of the Executive Board), is formed by 84 delegates representing all the unions all around the country. A large part of these delegates are active democratic militants.

The military dictatorship that during the 12 past years ruled the destiny of Peru, supported and helped, in every way, the present communist leaders of FEB, who, besides, are intellectually able people, performing efficient and active trade union activities.

During the mentioned period, the democrats did not have any motivation or reason to organize themselves trade-union-wise, in view of a majority in the Executive of FEB, that was operating and still does, within a strong and ideological discipline, moreover, they were democrats that were not allowed any kind of militancy, did not have political parties to back them up, neither did they have communication media (newspaper, radio or TV) to be able to speak up their minds, and besides had to cope with a hostile employer, who, in Latin America generally prefers to negotiate with communist unions.

The preceding facts created adverse conditions for the democratic trade union militancy and formed an obstacle to the formation of an important leader with sufficient national support, to be able, within the present political conjunction of Perú, and through his own and personal action, take the leadership of the democratic workers and defeat in a free election, the communists of FEB. The FEB, according to their Statutes, should have their elections for their Executive Board and Council of Delegates in the months of June or July, 1982. We should point out, moreover, that the leftist militancy dictatorship which in 1968 put General Velasco Alvarado in Power, promoted the creation of the Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP) - with a communist leadership - and with the financial support of FEB.

A year ago Peru started to normalize as a democratic institution and all the people express their support and encouragement towards all the manifestations to conform and solidify the standing of Right and the eradication of leftism in the national life. A proof of this is the total support the present Government, headed by architect Fernando Belaúnde, receives when he returns the newspapers to their former owners; when he returns to the private state, the industries that have been nationalized; when he has fired communist officers and has re-installed an economy of free enterprise, etc.

The new current of public opinion in the labor movement has been clear as the result of the last three big strikes.

- 1.- The medical strike could count on the massive support of all physicians and para-medical personnel of the country, regardless of ideologies. It was carried out under the leadership of democratic doctors.
- 2.- FEB presented a Sheet of Grievances requesting salary increase and social benefits that meant a 125% increase per month per bank worker, and from the moment the Collective Bargaining started, before the Tripartite Commission at the Ministry of Labor and as a MASSIVE SUPPORT TO THEIR GRIEVANCES, it called for a national Bank workers' strike. The negotiations lasted almost 20 days. Not all the Banks suspended their work, and moreover, as during the negotiations before the Tripartite Commission, the FEB was intransigent in their request for improvement, and the Bankers, as a maximum, only offered a 25% increase, Sunday, September 6th, the Minister of Labor, Mr. Grado Bertolini, legally announced a salary increase of 30% for every Bankworker with more than 10 years of service, and also admonished the Bank workers to normalize their activities starting from Zero Hours on Monday, September 7th. Almost immediately FEB announced their rejection of these increases due to insufficiency and called for a meeting of its Council of Delegates, to meet on September 7th, at 18.00 hours, in order to reject "the proposal of the Minister of Labor and continue the strike". They met during more than 7 hours and, finally, the Delegates, as a majority, decided to accept the proposal of the Minister and to normalize their bank activities. This shows that the communist majority of the Executive Board of FEB lost control of the organization.

3.- The CGTP called a national strike of its workers for August 21st and 22nd. Skilfully they pretended to have received the support of the other two democratic centers - CTP and CNT - and it was evident that they wanted to support the bank workers' conflict. The CTP and CNT denied their solidarity and accused them of holding a political strike with the purpose to unstabilize Democracy. The strike of the Communist Center was a total failure. They lost the affiliation of the local transport people and the bank workers did not stop working.

These facts happen in Peru, regardless of the economic crisis affecting the country, regardless of the inflation and the constant devaluation of the money and of unemployment.

Our opinion is that the mass of workers are aware of the demagogy they have been submitted to during more than 13 years by the marxist leaders and that now they do not want to lose the benefits of democracy.

Another fact that supports our viewpoint about the present democratic and spiritual attitude of the Peruvian worker is the result of the recent elections in the Federation of Journalists, in which the list, headed by a democrat Dr. Chirinos was elected by ample majority regardless of the strong attack of the left and of some pro-government journalistic sectors. The journalists promise to help up.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, we estimate that the trade union conditions, politically and psychologically, are at hand to start organizing the fight to reconquer for democracy the leadership of FEB and that this is the best opportunity to start, because of the following reasons:

We can count on a friend of a long trade union experience, a democrat and fighter with an undoubtful public and private reputation and who at present is the Regional Coordinator of the Southern Zone, of the members of the Council of Delegates of FEB. He has been a Bankworker for 34 years. He is a lawyer and at present a member of the National Congress, as a Senator of the governing party. His name is OSCAR BENAVIDES and he is willing to lead the fight.

The vision we have of the trade union view of the bank worker in Peru allows us to be optimists and we believe we can obtain a successful result in a confrontation with the communists, but we are aware that:

- a) The confrontation will be with very able and experienced leaders who are in charge of the FEB leadership, their cooperative newsletter and finances;
- b) The Communist Party will give NUMBER ONE PRIORITY to this fight and offer their logistic support without reserve.

It will not be easy or comfortable to obtain a favorable result for our interests. With this in mind we had a large number of long meetings with Bro. Benavides and with some of his most intimate friends (bank worker leaders) and we have concluded that to start the task with the indispensable confidence WILL BE WITH THE CONDITION THAT:

- A.- To start the organization work, at the latest, starting in the month of November of this year.
- B.- To have sufficient money to insure the confidence and security the plan needs for implementation with the purpose of winning the future elections of FEB. This can be carried out as planned without limitations or unforeseen problems. To give this plan a fair chance we need to know there is US\$ 100,000.-- available.

To arrive at this estimated sum, we take into consideration the following:

- I- To visit "in person" all local unions in the country. To talk to the democratic leaders and to plan the fight with them, urging them to create Local Committees to support the democratic candidates. This task should be carried through in the coming months of November and December,
- II- We have to rent and install an office to operate as a National Secretariat for the democratic bank workers of the country, during the eight or nine months of the campaign,
- III- In the coming month of January 1982 we should start to print and distribute a "Bankworkers' Bulletin" in order to carry the ideas and principles of the National Bank Workers' Committee, to all the bank workers of the country,
- IV- In the coming month of February - at the latest in March, 1982 -, we should hold a national convention of Delegates of the Base Committees, in order to plan with them the definite strategy for the general elections of FEB and to promote leadership and candidates,
- V- Starting in March 1982 we should have no less than eight (8) ~~activists~~ full-time to carry on the activities throughout the country and maintain direct contact with the bank workers in their work places,
- VI- Newsletters; radio messages; T.V. appearance of the principal leader; printing and placing of bill-boards and distribution of fliers,
- VII- Transportation and lodging of the democratic delegates that have to participate in the FEB Congress. If we are not in the condition to set up this equipment of logistic support to sustain the action of the democratic bank workers of Peru, we think it would be almost impossible to defeat the communists, so long as they already have the control of FEB and to be able to hold it, we say again, they will develop a campaign with all the support of the Communist Party and we have no doubt that they will do so, because:

- A1.- The FEB is the only powerful Latin American bank workers' organization that the communists control outside of Cuba,
- A2.- Peru has 24 of the 500 more powerful and largest banks of Latin America,
- A3.- Russia and Cuba, for geopolitical reasons, need to ideologically count on an active and militant "presence" in this country and,
- A4.- For the Communist Party and the Peruvian CGTP, the FEB is basic and they will fight to their last breath to maintain her, for image and prestige.

Our organization is well-known and respected in Peru. We have worked there for 20 years. We need support from the other democratic sectors.

We may never have an opportunity like this again.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Elmer Foster', written in dark ink.

ELMER FOSTER
Secretary General
IRO-FIET

By ISMARIO

GONZALEZ

URDANETTA.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT
AGAINST AN IRO-FIET REPRESENTATIVE AND HIS WIFE
=====

Text of the report submitted by the President of IRO-FIET
to the World FIET Executive Board meeting held in Washing-
ton, D.C. on May 11-12, 1981.

It is with a deep feeling of disappointment that I have to report to the FIET Executive Committee about the attitude of the Government of Nicaragua against our representative in that country, Bro. Luis Humberto Malma, who was arrested and - together with his wife - harassed, maltreated and finally expelled to Costa Rica.

Let me say in advance that I am making no hasty statement on this case. I have waited long enough to verify the facts and give sufficient time for replies, explanations, denials or corrections. Nevertheless, nothing has hitherto changed our initial information and reaction.

The regrettable episodes I am referring to, took place by the end of October, 1980. At the beginning we believed - and hoped - that the attacks against Bro. and Mrs. Malma had been actions of a small gang of totalitarian fanatics infiltrated in the Nicaraguan Security Forces and not the result of a Government decision. A number of communications were therefore conveyed to the Junta of National Reconstruction - the supreme Government body of Nicaragua - in order to denounce the facts and request that Malma be re-admitted into the country so that he could continue implementing the IRO-FIET solidarity program with local workers and unions.

Unfortunately, the Junta has neither offered any acceptable explanation nor taken steps to re-admit Bro. Malma into Nicaragua. On the contrary, through a cabinet minister we have been advised that Malma "will never be authorized to enter the country again".

Now, why should the Government of Nicaragua behave like that with a trade-union representative? Why should it condone an inhuman, despicable and reactionary attitude towards a man whose only crime has been to promote democratic trade-unionism to help his fellow-workers in Nicaragua?

Let us review the background of these episodes and try to find out the answers ourselves. IRO-FIET - in the same way as World FIET, all other International Trade Secretariats and democratic forces in the Hemisphere and the rest of the world, as well as the governments of Venezuela, Costa Rica, Panama and many more - provided all the support they could to the heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the despotic Somoza tyranny. We did so not only because we felt that everybody had to join the effort to overthrow that tragic 40-year old dynasty, but also because we wanted to return to the brave Nicaraguan population its well deserved right to democratic life and progress.

In July 1979 we celebrated with all the democratic world the end of the Somoza nightmare and in November, when FIET held its 19th World Congress and IRO-FIET its 4th Hemispheric Congress in Caracas, we decided to furnish all the possible assistance to cooperate with the reorganization of free and democratic trade-union life in Nicaragua.

That is why Bro. Luis Humberto Palma was sent to Managua in December 1979.

Without the slightest doubt, in approximately 10 months he performed a magnificent job. To put it in a nutshell, during that brief period he successfully helped Nicaraguan brothers and sisters to organize two unions, two workers' cooperatives and a score of seminars attended by many hundreds of workers. Let me add at this point that the Minister of Labour of Nicaragua, Mr. Virgilio Godoy, was previously and fully informed by Palma about IRO-FIET program and aims, and that a significant number of high officials in the said Nicaraguan Government Department and in the Ministry of Social Welfare were lecturers at IRO-FIET sponsored seminars.

The subjects that were dealt with during those seminars covered most of the general trade-union principles, objectives, organizing, administration and all kinds of union activities, collective bargaining, leadership, labour-management relations, labour legislation, oratory, trade union history and international organizations, etc.

None of these seminars or the instruction received in them should have arisen the suspicion or hostility of any Nicaraguan group, except - we think - for one thing: Palma's success. He managed to attract a very high number of workers and that provoked a negative reaction from certain left-oriented ideological groups. They saw with increasing uneasiness that even workers that belong to the Government-controlled Sandinista Labour Front started attending the seminars sponsored by IRO-FIET and getting closer to the free and democratic unions Palma was helping to reorganize.

That was probably too much for coffee-shop ideologists that have evidently decided to become the sole owners of a revolution fought by the whole people of Nicaragua.

On several occasions, friendly sources advised Malma that his work was arising hostile reactions "in the Government" and that he might be expelled from the country, but neither Malma nor we believed it for two main reasons: (a) because the Nicaraguan Government was fully informed and even participated in IRO-FIET's activities, and (b) because we all thought that basically, the Government of Nicaragua was democratic. Even if, during this transition period, the said small totalitarian groups of fanatics tried to take advantage of the unstable situation and impose compulsory membership to their own ideologically-oriented so-called "unions" and - in a broader sense - a one-party system without freedom of association or expression.

^{were}
We evidently wrong. On October 22nd, 1980 five members of the State Security Department armed with sub-machine-guns broke into Malma's house, which had been previously surrounded by two army-trucks and several guerilla-men. The commander of the group said that Malma had to report to the Ministry of the Interior, but took him instead to El Chipote, known in Somoza's time as "The Bunker", a sinister place to hold and torture political prisoners. Malma was ordered to look to the ground, not to let him notice where he had been taken, and led to a small room called Information Department of the Operational Division. Malma asked why was he being arrested and was told that "later we will talk about that". He was never told.

He was subjected to an exhaustive kafkian-like treatment and interrogatory. He was asked to empty his pockets, hand over his belt and everything else he had. Then questions started: name, passport number, other identity papers; who was he, where did he come from, where did he live, whether he had a wife... Then they put a number on his chest, as it is generally done with criminals, and took fotos of him, front and profile. Malma complained. He said he represented a Trade Secretariat and had come to Nicaragua to help the workers; that he had been asked to have a talk and instead was being treated like a criminal. Nobody answered him.

They again started with the same questions: name, address, where did he live, did he live alone or with his wife, was he visited by friends, did he have a maid, is the maid married...? The maid had been employed by Malma through an employment agency.

She had a 45-days old baby and had been hired for humanitarian reasons, since Nicaraguans do not often employ maids with babies. They filled cards with his answers.

Malma asked once again why was he being arrested. They answered with another question: "Don't you know why you are under arrest?" Malma said he did not. "We'll let you know later", they replied. As said before, they never did.

Then they asked him to sign some documents, one of which read: "Knowing his legal rights, the defendant certifies that all information contained herein is true." Malma asked to be informed which were his "legal rights", because he was not being treated as a citizen but like a criminal. Again they answered he was going to be informed later. Malma refused to sign, but a threatening looking guerrilla tried to force him. He took Malma to a neighbouring room and made him sit facing the wall for a long time.

When Malma was arrested he had all papers in order, census documents that certified he was legally in the country and even proof that he had no outstanding financial debts in Nicaragua. Together with all this, he had a note book with names, addresses and telephone numbers of union members, as well as a diary where he wrote down his day-by-day activities. These were both confiscated by one of the commanders who said they were going to investigate them, page by page. Malma said they could investigate as much as they wished, since his conscience was clean: he had come to Nicaragua to cooperate with the workers, had done nothing wrong and was amazed at the treatment he was given.

After more or less one hour, they locked him in a suffocating cell that measured approximately four by four meters, without ventilation, with a tiny opening that did not let in much light. It had an electric bulb but was not on, a toilet, shower and a totally wet ground. There were some dirty mattresses and Malma saw a man, who was half-naked, who told him he had been imprisoned for 90 days, after being transferred from Jinotepe, and knew nothing of his wife. At 6 o'clock in the evening they gave them "food" - rice and beans - and were told to eat with their hands. Malma ate nothing. Around 7 Malma was taken to another office, where there is a secret cell apparently used by Somoza, but as the soldier that accompanied him had no key he interrogated him in the corridor. He was quite polite, but his questions were very suggestive.

Again he asked him: "Frankly, don't you know why you are arrested"? He added that

Malma described the work he had been doing with the tourist workers, office secretaries, custom employees, the Union of Medical Doctors. He was interrupted to be asked whether he met with "counter-revolutionaries". Malma asked what was a counter-revolutionary. "People who speak badly of the Government", was the answer. "You must know better than I in what places they speak badly or well of the Government", said Malma, who went on to state that he went only to places where he could meet with workers, who are only concerned with improving their standard of living. Malma was asked again where did he live, how much rent did he pay, who were the instructors at the seminars and a number of other such questions during around one hour. When he thought the questioning was over, he was taken to another cell to be interrogated at what seemed to be an ideological inquisition.

Another man, who was apparently a member of the State Security forces, asked him what he thought of Marxism-Leninism, Communism, Cuba, if he considered that Russia was a totalitarian State, what trips he had made, what links did he have with the AFL-CIO...; what did he think about the Mexican, Chinese and Russian Revolutions, etc.; what was his opinion about the United States, did he think Nicaragua was totalitarian, had he met with counter-revolutionaries?...

All in all, Malma was held in two jails and was interrogated three times in two days: the first time, immediately after his arrest; the second, from 11.30 in the evening until 6.45 in the morning and the third one, from 10.30 in the evening until 7 the following morning. He was not allowed to sleep or rest.

He was again locked in a cell, then taken to another dungeon where there were around 50 to 60 prisoners divided in three groups: one formed by black people who had taken part in the Bluefield demonstrations; another where Somoza's officers were kept; and the third one filled with a large number of people who had taken part in the struggle against Somoza, but were now probably in the opposition.

The following morning they were given breakfast (beans, powder milk and some coffee) and Malma was later taken with his wife in a military wagon to the border with Costa Rica and expelled from Nicaraguan territory.

A chapter apart, a black, disgusting chapter, should be devoted to the way Mrs. Malma and her Nicaraguan household-helper were treated. They were terrorized by the troops with sub-machine guns, powerful search-lights and sirens, surrounding the house, interrogating them, confiscating books (mainly by and about Sandino, the Nicaraguan national hero) and papers about Malma's trade-union work. Let me not use the adjective

that such behaviour deserves, but I wish to point out that we are sure, we are absolutely possitive, that it would not be condoned by the courageous and gallant people that sacrificed so much to earn its right to freedom, democracy and progress.

Mrs. Malma suffered a nervous breakdown from which she is recovering in the more quiet and respectful political and social atmosphere of Costa Rica.

When we got news about what had happened to Bro. Malma, I sent an immediate cable to the Junta of National Reconstruction in Managua denouncing the case and requesting that our representative be re-admitted into Nicaragua. Secretary General Elmer Foster did the same and I - as IRO-FIET President, as President of FETRASALUD, Executive Secretary of the Central Organization of Workers of Venezuela and a member of my country's National Congress - sent a detailed letter to the Nicaraguan Ambassador in Caracas. I told him that no public information would be released - due to our warm feelings towards the Nicaraguan people and our faithfulness towards their Revolution - provided that (1) the incident had been foreign to the Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua or its institutions and (2) that its consequences are clarified in a reasonable term and Malma be re-admitted into Nicaragua.

None of both things have been proved. On the contrary, through a distinguished representative of IRO-FIET we have known the only direct - even if negative - comment of a Nicaraguan member of the Cabinet.

In a visit paid to Managua by the end of March, Bro. Tomás Yangüez, a Vice President of the IRO-FIET Executive Board, Secretary General of the IRO-FIET Tourism Technical Workers' Trade Section, Secretary General of the Central American Organization of Labour and Secretary General of the Tourist Workers' Union of Panama, was told personally by the Nicaraguan Minister of Labour, Mr. Virgilio Godoy, that "Malma's expulsion was due to the fact that he exceeded the scope of activities which, according to what he told me, he came to perform in Nicaragua" and that "in several cases he tried to interfere directly in internal matters of the unions". He asked Bro. Yangüez to read a letter Malma had sent the Minister, in which the IRO-FIET representative asked whether "one has to be a Communist or a Trotskyite in order to be a good trade-unionist". "This is something I cannot accept", the Minister told Yanguez.

We would reply to the Minister that we have absolutely no proof that Bro. Malma has interfered in any way in the internal affairs of the Nicaraguan unions. We have a copy

of all the calls for General Meetings, Seminars and other meetings which the IRO-FIET representative has attended and all of them are signed by the corresponding Nicaraguan union leaders. Therefore, we see absolutely no grounds to support the Minister's claims.

As to Malma's remark about communists and trotskyites, we fail to see why should the Minister be so excited. Malma was merely posing a question or, if the Minister wishes, suggesting a point of view, which is a simple and direct way people use every day in democratic countries - many times in much harsher terms - without any Minister feeling hurt or irritated. After all, nobody doubted that we were dealing with a democratic government, not with a right-wing or left-wing dictatorship.

And this leads us to the core of the matter. We said at the beginning of this report that we had a deep feeling of disappointment in referring this matter to the FIET Executive Board and we wish to explain why.

A number of events, which we originally believed to be the consequence of transition-period isolated actions carried by totalitarian groups, appear now to be part of a concrete plan - that includes Malma's expulsion - aimed at creating a one-party system based upon the destruction of freedom of association, expression and other democratic rights. Here is a short summary of a few symptomatic facts:

- In September 1980, the Government Junta issued Decrees 511 and 512 establishing prior censorship on information about internal security and national defense (511) and that of an economic character (512), including inflation, salaries, labour unrest, strikes, economic corruption, etc. Those decrees have been applied to keep the population of Nicaragua ignorant of the following events:

- * Massive popular uprisings in the city of Bluefields as a protest against the presence of an excessive number of Cubans and Government abuses (September 1980). The city of Bluefields is mainly populated by a black majority that has suffered racial discrimination for a long period.

- * Closure and military occupation of the Nicaraguan Permanent Committee for Human Rights headquarters and official campaign against its President. This case is aggravated by the fact that even news about the prohibition based on Decrees 511 and 512 was also forbidden.

- * On February 13, 1981, 7000 people were transported and incited by the Government physically

attacked newsmen of LA PRENSA, Radio Corporación Director Fabio Gadea Mantilla and threatened to burn down the paper.

- * On February 14, 1981 and following days Sandinista Front mobs incited by State-owned radios threatened to burn down LA PRENSA, destroy (for the second time) Radio Mi Preferida, tried to burn down Radio Corporación and caused damage to Radio Mundial. Minister of the Interior Com. Tomás Borge paid a personal call to LA PRENSA and advised not to distribute the paper so that its premises would not be burned down or its vendors be attacked. LA PRENSA did not circulate for two days.

The same type of squeeze is applied against workers, unions, civil organizations and all other community groups. There is a block to block constant police watch on what people is doing, where they are going, what visits they receive, to whom they speak. And behind all this there is, we have no doubt now, a deliberate intention to use the Somoza apparatus, the same repression methods that existed before the revolution, to enslave the Nicaraguan people in a new - but sadly similar - kind of oppressive society.

We, as a free and democratic trade-union international organization, are faced with a difficult and complex task. On one hand, we have to struggle against selfish economic interests, generally represented by multinational corporations, that stand in the way of popular advance, economic development and social progress. On the other, we have to defend ourselves from the threat of totalitarian groups that wish to transform our countries in gigantic jails, dominated by corrupted elites that only wish to replace - not eliminate - the rule of privileged groups.

And let me tell you more. These groups have many things in common. Right-wing dictatorial regimes - very close to many multinational firms - feel quite comfortable with left-wing governments. They understand each other. They frequently vote alike at the U.N. General Assembly, at the UNESCO or the ILO. They do not ask each other embarrassing questions about human rights violations. They have profitable trade arrangements with each other. All of them, absolutely all of them, hate independent democratic trade-unions.

Free labour organizations are equally hated - and persecuted - by multinationals, right-wing and left-wing regimes. In that, they agree. In Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Chile, Uruguay or the Soviet Union.

They also coincide on other things. Not long ago Paraguayan Social-Democratic politician Elpidio Yegros pointed out in an article (EL UNIVERSAL, Caracas, February 20, 1981) that the

Soviet Union voted against a United Nations resolution condemning the dictatorial regime of Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay, even if that country has hosted summit congresses of anti-communist movements from all continents, and that the Russians recognized the anti-communist Government of General García Meza, which frustrated the democratization process undertaken in Bolivia by the overthrown civilian Government headed by President Lidia Gueiler Tejada. These are just two of many examples.

On the other hand, we know very well why multinational companies prefer to settle in countries ruled by military regimes, where they find cheap labour and are granted all kinds of privileges, but should not feel amazed by the amount of multinational firms now installed in communist-ruled countries. After all, at both sides of this political spectrum unions are equally controlled by the State and peoples are denied the right to a free life, democracy and general progress.

True, they do not always maintain this type of cooperation, especially when social and economic oligarchies - assisted by armed forces and multinationals do not wish to surrender their privileges and the totalitarian left uses the legitimate rebellion of people against sordid poverty, hunger, illness, backwardness and exploitation in order to seize power and establish a despotic system as bad as the one imposed by the previous masters.

Whichever of these two sides wins the struggle, it will be bad for the people, for the workers and ~~their unions~~. It will be bad for democracy and progress on a national and international scale. The option, therefore, is not between oligarchy and totalitarian left. The option is between oligarchy and totalitarian left on one side, and freedom, democracy and peaceful evolution on the other.

The conduct of the Nicaraguan Government against the IRO-FIET representative is a case in point. We should bear it in mind.

Denuncia político venezolano

URSS inunda de dólares y armas cada noche a Nicaragua

BUENOS AIRES, 28 (UPI).-El gobierno nicaragüense vende dólares en el mercado negro, triplicando su cotización oficial, para poder pagar a los milicianos, pero se está quedando sin divisas, dijo el diputado nacional venezolano Ismario González Urdaneta, según informó hoy la agencia Noticias Argentinas.

González Urdaneta pertenece al partido Acción Democrática y es presidente de la Federación Internacional de Empleados, Técnicos y Profesionales, a la que están adheridos gremios argentinos.

Recientemente González Urdaneta visitó Nicaragua, donde mantuvo contactos con dirigentes de la central unitaria sandinista (de trabajadores) y del frente sandinista.

Dijo que la derrota electoral de Acción Democrática, en Venezuela y la muerte de Omar Torrijos, en Panamá, determinó que el presidente cubano

Fidel Castro y la Unión Soviética monopolizaran la ayuda a Nicaragua con las lógicas consecuencias.

Armas a diario

Agregó que "esa ayuda cuesta a la Unión Soviética dos millones de dólares diarios. Todas las noches llegan aviones rusos con armamentos pesados. Cuando llega ese material, retiran al personal del aeropuerto y solo quedan los milicianos.

Agregó el legislador venezolano que "hay 70.000 hombres y mujeres con los uniformes verdes de milicianos. Eso les permite comer, por lo menos una vez al día, en los cuarteles. Andan por las calles sin hacer nada, mientras las cosechas de algodón y café corren el riesgo de perderse.

Reveló González Urdaneta que en sus conversaciones con los sandinistas les aconsejó mandar a los milicia-

nos a evantar las cosechas, "pero me contaron que ellos estaban para la defensa y asegurar la soberanía".

Según el legislador, en Nicaragua, "la industria, comenzando por la construcción, está paralizada y la desocupación es tal que la gente no puede pagar los servicios indispensables como agua y luz".

Comen basura

Dijo que en un mercado pudo "observar a la gente comprar de a una cebolla, la pobra es tal que se comen hasta la basura".

En cuanto a El Salvador, dijo González Urdaneta que lo prioritario "es llegar a una solución política por vía diplomática y disponer una fuerte y sostenida ayuda para reconstruir su economía".

Criticó la posición del gobierno venezolano (Demócrata Cristiano) que apoya al presidente salvadoreño José

Napoleón Duarte, de la misma filiación política.

Afirmó que "Duarte convocó a elecciones, pero no hay garantías para la consulta, comenzando porque la custodia del comicio estará a cargo del ejército que apoya a la junta de gobierno".

Sostuvo que "la situación salvadoreña es diferente a la nicaragüense. En Nicaragua fue disuelto el ejército y sustituido por guerrilleros, pero en El Salvador el poder de las armas lo tiene Duarte".

Vaticinó el triunfo de Acción Democrática en las elecciones venezolanas e indicó que ello contribuirá a lograr una equitativa solución al problema salvadoreño, mediante un gobierno compartido y el apoyo internacional en el marco de las Naciones Unidas y la Organización de Estados Americanos.

Denunció diputado venezolano

Nicaragua Vende Dólares en Mercado Negro

El parlamentario de Acción Democrática Ismarío González hizo la denuncia en Buenos Aires

BUENOS AIRES, 25 (AP) — El diputado nacional venezolano Ismarío González Urdaneta dijo aquí que el gobierno de Nicaragua "vende dólares en el mercado negro, triplicando su cotización oficial, para poder pagar a los milicianos pero se está quedando sin divisas".

González Urdaneta pertenece al partido Acción Democrática y es presidente de la Federación Internacional de Empleados, Técnicos y Profesionales, a la que están adheridos diversos gremios argentinos.

En una disertación anoche en esta capital, tras mantener conversaciones con dirigentes políticos y sindicales argentinos, González Urdaneta dijo que la derrota electoral de Acción Democrática en Venezuela y la muerte del general Omar Torrijos en Panamá, "determinaron que Fidel Castro y la Unión Soviética monopolizaran la ayuda a Nicaragua con las lógicas consecuencias".

"Esa ayuda cuesta a la Unión Soviética dos millones de dólares diarios. Todas las noches llegan aviones rusos (a Nicaragua) con armamentos pesados. Cuando llega ese material, retiran al personal del aeropuerto y sólo quedan los milicianos", dijo el legislador venezolano.

González Urdaneta, que señaló que acaba de visitar Nicaragua, agre-

gó que "hay 60.000 hombres y mujeres con los uniformes verdes de milicianos, eso les permite comer por lo menos una vez al día en los cuarteles. Andan por las calles sin hacer nada, mientras las cosechas de café y algodón corren riesgo de perderse".

Reveló que en sus conversaciones con los san-

dinistas les aconsejó mandar a los milicianos a levantar las cosechas. "pero me contestaron que ellos estaban para la defensa y asegurar la soberanía".

Dijo que en un mercado "pude observar a la gente comprar de a una cebolla. La pobreza es tal que se están comiendo la basura".

Dos Millones de Dólares Gastaría Diariamente La URSS en Nicaragua

BUENOS AIRES, 28 (UPI). — El gobierno nicaraguense "vende dólares en el mercado negro, triplicando su cotización oficial, para poder pagar a los milicianos, pero se está quedando sin divisas", dijo el diputado nacional venezolano Ismael González Urdaneta, según informó hoy la agencia Noticias Argentinas.

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El legislador venezolano tuvo aquí contactos con dirigentes políticos locales, entre ellos Lorenzo Miguel y el Vicepresidente del Consejo Nacional Justicialista, Néstor Carrasco, quien viajará a Caracas en los próximos días.

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Reveló González Urdaneta

que en sus conversaciones con los sandinistas les aconsejó mandar a los milicianos a llevar las cosechas, "pero me contestaron que ellos estaban para la defensa y asegurar la soberanía".

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Dijo que en un mercado pudo "observar a la gente comprar de a una cebolla. La pobreza es tal que están comiendo la basura".

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Dos millones de dólares diarios dan soviéticos a Nicaragua

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 28 (UPD).—El gobierno nicaragüense "vende dólares en el mercado negro, triplicando su cotización oficial, para poder pagar a los milicianos, pero se está quedando sin divisas", dijo el diputado nacional venezolano Ismario González Urdaneta, según informó hoy la agencia Noticias Argentinas.

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AYUDA SOVIETICA

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INDUSTRIA PARALIZADA

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LA PRENSA

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE DE LA MAÑANA

Calasas Larraín

Lima, Domingo 29 de Noviembre de 1981

Dos Millones de Dólares Diarios Gastarían los Rusos en Nicaragua

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El Problema de los Resureros

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att. # 4



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AVVC-Building-Schouwburgweg 44 - Willemstad, Curacao, N.A. - Cable: IROFIET

ISMARIO GONZALEZ U.

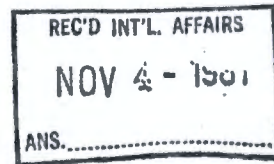
Presidente
Caracas, Venezuela

ELMER FOSTER

Secretario General
Curacao, N. A.

Curacao, October 26th, 1981

Mr. Gerard P. O'Keefe,
Director Department
International and Foreign
Affairs UFCW
Suffridge Building
1775 K Street, North West
Washington D.C. - 20006



Dear Jerry:

As I told you by phone and referring to your letter of September 17th, I have just returned from Guyana. This situation is slowly getting worse. The real problem is there is no unity of action or agreement in principle with the opposition.

I now want to take a 12 volt loud speaker system to mount on a car, to them by the way of Surinam. Also a small duplicating machine that will use any kind of paper and not too big.

I am attaching some items of interest, for your information.

Sincerely,

ELMER FOSTER
Secretary General
IRO-FIET

EF/csw

Foster File

September 17, 1981

Mr. Elmer Foster
Secretary General
IRO-FIET
A.V.V.C. Building
Schouwburgweg 44
Willemstad, Curacao, N.A.

Dear Elmer:

On Monday I had a lengthy visit with Nanda Gopaul and he explained in great detail the problems he and our other FIET friends in Guyana are facing with the Burnham government. He is a very impressive young man, and obviously extremely dedicated to the workers cause in his country.

His primary need appeared to be training for his people and he believes this can only be done by inviting them to conferences, seminars etc. sponsored by FIET or the CCL outside of Guyana. He feels that the present government just would not permit such labor education programs to be conducted within the country. He said that he too needs the opportunity to leave the country periodically, and suggested that you might be able to invite him to participate as a panelist or guest speaker at an IRO-FIET meeting in Curacao or elsewhere in the Caribbean.

He also told me that his union needed equipment such as duplicating machine, bull horns and or a portable CB radio with loudspeakers which could be attached to an automobile and used at outdoor meetings. Here again, he says it's almost impossible to get such equipment into the country because the government will not allow it for political reasons. He suggests that it might be brought in through Venezuela or Surinam. I

Mr. Elmer Foster

September 17, 1981

-2-

will check with Bill Doherty to see if there is any possibility of getting a few travel grants for Gopaul's people to obtain some trade union training during the next year. But, you know as well as I do the runaround we get on these travel grants i.e., that they must be approved by the country trade union center etc. Unfortunately, in Guyana's case there is no way that the Burnham controlled TUC would elect to offer such a grant to anyone from NAACIE or the CCWU.

We will do what we can to get some much needed help to our friends in Guyana. Let's hope we have more success than we've had on our Peruvian bank worker situation to date. I will follow up on the latter with Dale Povenmire, since he indicated that he was interested and would try to help.

Good luck on your forthcoming swing around the continent. Look forward to hearing from you upon your return. All the best to everyone in Curacao.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Director, International and
Foreign Affairs Department

GPO'K:cpg

um - 1

UFCW International Affairs Program

After World War II the American labor movement and European trade unions played a fundamental role in the rebuilding of a free and democratic Europe which was faced by several external pressures from the Soviet Bloc. From the late 1950's a number of developing countries' trade unions became a viable force in the nation building process. Here again, the American labor movement has played, and is playing, a vital role in assisting the unions in the third world to build independent, democratic trade unions in order to provide one of the key stones of the infrastructure of a democratic society. The U.S. Congress has repeatedly declared, in the Foreign Assistance Act, that aiding the development of free and democratic trade unions is an objective of U.S. foreign policy. Today, working men and women, through their trade union organizations or labor based political parties exert considerable influence in most industrialized countries and in many developing countries. In an increasing number of countries the reaffirmation by the United States and other democratic societies of support for their efforts in developing a society which provides for the fundamental rights of the individual is rekindling new hopes among a bulk of the third world. In many third world countries development is frequently impeded by shortages of skilled labor or the lack of technical expertise. This is where the American labor movement and the U.S. government's labor assistance programs have played an important part in providing needed training as an integral part of the development assistance effort.

Unfortunately, the international labor movement is split into two camps, the Eastern totalitarian communist camp versus the Western democratically oriented camp. Both of these are vying for the attention and allegiance of the third world. One of the major groupings in the international labor movement is the international trade secretariats (ITS). These ITS's are comprised of national union affiliates from a specific trade, craft or industry. Over 60 American labor unions are affiliated with the ITS which caters to its specific jurisdiction.

The United Food and Commercial Workers International Union came into existence in June 1979 as a result of a merger of the Retail Clerks International Union and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen International Union to become the largest AFL-CIO affiliate with 1.3 million membership. It is affiliated to the following ITS's: The International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET), the International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF), the International Federation of Plantation and Allied Workers (IFPAAW) and the International Federation of Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers (IFTCLW).

In order to keep this paper relatively brief we will refer only to our work with FIET. However, similar activities have been conducted with the other three ITS's to which we are presently affiliated.

The FIET was founded in 1904 in Amsterdam, Holland and caters to those unions which fall within the non-manual or white collar sector. The Retail Clerks International Union, a predecessor of the UFCW, affiliated with FIET in 1954. At that time, the affiliated membership to FIET was 1.8 million in 36 affiliates from 32 countries. Today its membership is well over 7 million in 196 affiliates from 88 countries. This substantial development is the direct result of RCIU-UFCW labor assistance programs provided to FIET and its affiliates during the past two and-a-half decades. FIET's present headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland. It also has four regional offices located in Europe, the Americas, Asia and Africa. In 1958 the FIET requested the RCIU's cooperation in assisting its affiliates, and potential affiliates, in the Western hemisphere. At the time of the establishment of the FIET Inter-American office in Peru in December 1959, the affiliated membership in this hemisphere was approximately 480,000 in 5 affiliated unions, principally in North America. Today the Inter-American Regional Organization (IRO) of FIET, which was established in 1970, represents over 2 million members from 52 affiliated unions in 28 countries. In 1972 EURO-FIET was formed, with headquarters in Geneva, and today it represents 3.9 million members in 72 affiliates from 26 countries. The following year ASIA-FIET was founded with headquarters in Singapore and representing 900,000 members in 48 affiliates from 18 countries. After almost 20 years of effort an AFRO-FIET Regional Organization will be founded at a congress scheduled for July 1981 in Nairobi, Kenya. It will represent some 200,000 members from 24 affiliates in 16 countries of the African continent. The UFCW has been an active participant in the development of the concept of regionalization within FIET in all of its labor assistance programs.

On behalf of FIET the UFCW sponsors programs primarily in the fields of labor education and social development. Such programs include training in leadership and administration, cooperative and vocational training, internships and on-the-job training, as well as social projects in the fields of community centers, etc. Primary emphasis is placed on labor education seminars, conferences and exchanges of personnel. These education programs are conducted by experienced trade unionists from the UFCW, FIET and the national unions with whom they are co-sponsored. To the greatest extent possible, we make use of host country and third country instructors and lecturers, leaving the program planning to the UFCW or FIET staff members. All programs are developed and implemented with the coordination of the host country unions. They are consistently designed as union-to-union activities and operated on a joint basis. Since the programs are based on the principle of "self-help" with the objective that the host country union eventually

take over all aspects of training, a local contribution to all programs is required, based on the extent of the union's resources. The main objective of our program is to stimulate and develop the leadership and membership of the white collar worker unions in the various countries, towards strengthening them as democratic institutions, responsive to the needs and welfare of their worker members, able to represent their memberships' interest, and have an effective influence over national policies which concern their membership. Through our education and social programs, these non-manual worker representatives are trained to contribute to the overall economic development of their countries by increasing wages, improving working conditions, and raising the standard of living of trade union members and their families. Because of the broad spectrum of FIET's jurisdiction which covers categories of non-manual workers such as 1) technicians and foremen; 2) employees in commerce; 3) bank and insurance employees; and 4) employees in industry, there remains a large affiliated potential among such diverse unions as hospital technicians, social security workers, highway engineers, supervisory staffs in various industries and financial institution employees.

The RCIU established its International and Foreign Affairs Department in 1959, and subsequently created the Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1970 to provide advice and guidance to the department on policy and programs. Both the International Affairs Department and its Advisory Committee have been continued under the UFCW after the 1979 merger. The department remains responsible for providing labor assistance programs to those ITS's to which the UFCW is affiliated. Some of the highlights of our labor assistance program are as follows:

- 1) In our continuing labor education programs in Asia, Africa and Latin America, we provide funding for seminars to be held in a particular country and coordinated by a UFCW representative. Since 1959, we have sent 278 representatives to participate in these seminars for periods of two to six weeks' duration. Our seminar program usually consists of one to two week seminars conducted in a particular country. In the past we have been able to provide on an annual basis 8 such seminars in Asia, 5 in Africa and 30 in Latin America. For example, in the Western hemisphere during the past 20 years, we have trained over 13,000 white collar unionists in some 560 seminars. This, of course, is one of the principal reasons we have been able to increase the affiliates to FIET in the Western hemisphere from 460,000 in 1959 to over 2 million in 1981.

- 2) We participate in a cooperative program with the three AFL-CIO Institutes. This is done through union-to-union contracts with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the African-American Labor Center (AALC) and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). The total budgets obtained from the three Institutes for 1980 was approximately \$450,000. This is compared with a UFCW International Affairs Department budget, including per capita fees to ITS's, of some \$480,000, plus administrative and representation costs both at UFCW headquarters and local unions throughout the country. These units host some 600 foreign visitors each year sent to them by the U.S. Department of Labor, State Department, AFL-CIO and a variety of other sources, which requires an outlay of some \$500,000 by the UFCW and its local unions. In the past 20 years, we have received over 3,600 foreign visitors from 88 countries at the UFCW headquarters. Additionally, about three times that number have visited with our local unions throughout the U.S. and Canada during that same period. When one considers the salaries of staff members who meet with these visitors and entertain them, as well as the costs of luncheons and dinners, it adds up to a considerable amount of money being contributed by the UFCW and its predecessor unions, in support of an international labor affairs program.
- 3) Since our Overseas Study Program was initiated in 1971, we have sent 44 teams totalling 224 senior local and international union officers to visit 32 counterpart unions in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, for a two week period. The objective of this program is to maintain a fund supported by voluntary local union contributions to be used solely for sending representatives of contributing local unions on overseas exchange study projects. The principal purpose of this special program is to broaden our leadership's understanding of, and support for, our international labor affairs program by introducing them to conditions, methods, problems and progress of counterpart unions in foreign countries. Under this program sponsored by the UFCW, in cooperation with foreign counterpart unions, teams of local union representatives participate in what is essentially an educational and informational program. In addition to giving participants a better knowledge of unions in other countries, the program is also designed to give them an appreciation of what the UFCW has done, and is doing, in foreign areas to assist in the development of free and democratic trade unions.

The frequently asked question is "why does the UFCW participate in the international labor movement and provide these assistance programs to overseas unions?" Our response is threefold. First, from a humanitarian standpoint the American labor movement has for decades provided assistance to needy trade unions overseas as a purely fraternal action to help fellow trade unionists maintain their independence and dignity while working under some extremely difficult circumstances. A second reason is our long-standing opposition to dictatorships, be they from the left or from the right, because of our deep-seated belief that a free trade union movement is the hallmark of a free society. And thirdly, we provide such assistance because of enlightened self-interest. We know that in order to preserve and protect the way of life we have achieved in our country, we must be willing to assist workers in other lands to raise their standards of work and living to an acceptable level, so that we do not have to compete with slave labor production in the international marketplace.

Today we are faced with not only economic and social problems while we try to assist our trade union friends in the developing world, but also with political problems, in varying shades and degrees, where one power bloc or another seeks to control the labor movement for its own ends. In many third world countries political trade unionism has created a tradition, and it poses a very serious problem for those advocates of free and democratic trade unionism. It makes it more difficult for us to convince trade union leaders in these countries that the labor movement should be the dominant factor in their relationships with political parties, and not be the dog that is wagged by the political party tail. Too often FIET is faced with the situation in one country or another where, for example, the bank workers' unions have been controlled, or attempts are made to control them, by far left or the far right radical groups. The commercial worker unions have also been frequently subjected to pressure and attack by the communists and dictatorial governments in their attempt to control large organized groups of workers within a country. In our own hemisphere, we have seen in the past decade serious changes taking place among a number of the FIET affiliates where there have been interventions by a military government or a takeover by the communists. Just a few years ago, the southern cone of Latin America was the target, and today it's Central America. Much of the progress achieved over the past three decades by the FIET affiliates in these areas has been seriously jeopardized. We certainly cannot abandon these democratic trade unionists in their time of need. Consequently, we should be increasing rather than decreasing our commitments to those who are undergoing great difficulties today in the name of a free labor movement in their part of the world. The help which we have been able to provide on behalf of FIET has contributed in large measure to not only

raising the standard of life and work for non-manual workers, but also in keeping many of these white collar unions free and independent organizations.

In Central and South America and the Caribbean the Soviets and Cubans have stepped up their efforts, taking advantage of recent political trends. The industrial revolution which is taking place in many parts of the region; the growth of nationalism and anti-Americanism and the rise of right-wing dictatorships in the region permit the communists to pose as the champions of democracy. As a result of employing this strategy, Moscow-oriented communists have enjoyed some success recently in Central America. Capitalizing on these trends, the Soviets have begun to bring their whole international apparatus to bear on the region. They have also been able to take advantage of Cuba's claimed status as an unaligned third world nation, and its communist party and trade unions are playing a major role in the Soviet effort. The communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and local communist unions have been organizing an increasing number of area training seminars, as well as financing training for trade unionists in Cuba and the Soviet Bloc. Although some may argue that the Kremlin has lost interest in the use of organized labor as an instrument of policy, this does not appear to be the case. If one looks around the developing world, there seems little doubt that for the Soviets the labor instrument like the military instrument, is one of a number of means of affecting political conditions in the non-communist world. The Kremlin continues to devote considerable attention, resources, and manpower to weakening Western influence and gaining control of the labor sector abroad. They recognize that control of the labor movement is one of the important factors affecting the outcome of the struggle for power in many third world countries. The Soviets continue to train and finance many thousands of non-Western union officials. A large number of Soviet Bloc trained union officials will give them important assets in the future. At a minimum, these labor leaders will not be pro-Western, and many of them will be pro-Soviet. Many of them can be counted on to assist the Soviets in weakening Western security interests and to help local communist interests.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Soviets and other communist groups among labor movements in the developing world, we have also enjoyed some success in assisting democratically oriented trade unions in these areas over the past 25 years. We recognize the importance of international trade union action and of the value of the assistance which the American trade unions can provide to their counterpart unions in the third world who are seeking to strengthen the democratic labor sector. Because our program is a people-to-people one, we know that this kind of

human activity has permanent value. Although much has been accomplished over the years, through our international labor assistance program, much more remains to be done. Unfortunately, we cannot continue our work in the developing world at the required level because inflation over the past four years has been eating away at our fixed income program budget. The funds which we receive from the Agency for International Development through the three AFL-CIO Institutes for our union-to-union program have remained at the same level for over four years. A typical example of our shortsightedness was a communication media program we initiated last year for the Latin American region with the understanding that it would be a two year pilot project. These funds were discontinued after the first year even though it proved very successful. The main thrust of this media project was to assist those democratically oriented news people in combatting the communist propaganda among the media in the region and to help counter the totalitarian and authoritarian governments moves in the UNESCO to control the world's communication media.

We are very interested in continuing our international labor assistance programs with our ITS's because we believe they support American foreign policy by raising the quality of labor and life among white collar workers around the world. However, we cannot continue to progress, nor even hold the gains we have made in the past, unless we receive substantial increases in our contract budgets with AID and the AFL-CIO Institutes, for only with such an increase in funding can we continue assisting those free trade unions in the third world, both in their interests and our own. One of the best ways to offer a helping hand to those trade unionists overseas who are struggling to create and develop strong and free unions in their countries is through the channels provided to us by our international trade secretariats. We know that no single trade union organization, either on the domestic or international scene, can by itself cope with the many and varied problems of our time. Our union, and our international trade secretariats, believe that international action and cooperation are necessary to combat totalitarian dictatorships of the left or the right, and also to preserve those basic rights of the individual which can only be enjoyed in a free society. With continuing support from our membership, the AFL-CIO and its institutes, and the Agency for International Development we are confident that in our changing world, free and democratic trade unionists working for a common goal can produce successes that will far overshadow the achievements of the past.

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AR SDACHI
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RUEHOR/AMEMBASSY GABORONE
RUEHBH/AMEMBASSY NASSAU
RUEHPH/AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA/RPO
RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA/REX
RUFHOM/AMCONSUL FLORENCE
RUDKRW/AMCONSUL KRAKOW
RUFHOM/AMCONSUL PALERMO
RUDKRW/AMCONSUL POZNAN
RUOMZA/AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
RUFHOM/AMCONSUL TRIESTE
RUFHOM/AMCONSUL TURIN
RUDKRB/AMCONSUL ZAGREB
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RUEHVA/AMEMBASSY SUVA
RUFHOM/AMCONSUL GENOA
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 USICA 55891

USICA

FOR PAO FROM DIRECTOR WICK

EO 12065 N/A

SUBJECT: COUNTERING MISSTATEMENTS DIRECTED AGAINST U.S.
REFERENCE: USICA 55125

1. WITH THIS MESSAGE THE AGENCY INAUGURATES A SERIES OF INFORMATION MESSAGES IDENTIFYING SPECIFIC, BLATANT INSTANCES OF MISSTATEMENT ABOUT THE U.S. AND ITS POLICIES BY SOVIET, SOVIET-CONTROLLED OR SOVIET-INFLUENCED SOURCES. WE DO NOT INTEND TO REBUT EACH AND EVERY ERRONEOUS STATEMENT IN THE VAST SEA OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA, BUT TO CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION THOSE OF A PARTICULARLY HARMFUL AND PROVOCATIVE NATURE, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH MAY PROVIDE A PATTERN, AS TO THEME AND/OR METHOD OF DISSEMINATION, FOR FUTURE CALUMNIES. WE INTEND TO KEEP YOU APPRISED OF ANTI-U.S. ALLEGATIONS AND ARM YOU WITH TIMELY INFORMATION FOR PRESENTING THE FACTS AS LOCAL CONDITIONS WARRANT. PAOS ARE ASKED TO A) COMMENT ON USEFULNESS OF MATERIALS PROVIDED, B) INDICATE HOW USED, AND C) ADVISE WHAT INFORMATION MIGHT BE USEFUL IN FUTURE. REPLY TO APPROPRIATE AREA OFFICE.
2. THE FIRST OF A MONTHLY SERIES OF COMPLEMENTARY REPORTS, ENTITLED "SOVIET PROPAGANDA ALERT," WILL BE POUCHED TO YOU NEXT WEEK. IT WILL COVER SOVIET EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA BASED ON EVALUATIONS OF CABLE REPORTING, PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL, AND SECONDARY SOURCES SUCH AS FBIS PUBLICATIONS.
3. EXAMPLES OF RECENT MISSTATEMENTS FOLLOW:-----
4. U.S. ALLEGED TO BE USING BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS IN CUBA.
A. MISSTATEMENT: ON JULY 28 "PRAVOA" PUBLISHED A "TASS"

REPORT FROM HAVANA DATED JULY 27. THE REPORT STATED IN PART: "...KNOWING THE...DIRTY METHODS EMPLOYED BY THE CIA AGAINST OUR COUNTRY (FIDEL CASTRO SAID IN A SPEECH AT LAS TUNAS, CUBA), WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ARE BEING USED AGAINST US...AT THE MOMENT, HE SAID, THERE IS AN EPIDEMIC OF DENGUE (A DANGEROUS FEVER CARRIED BY MOSQUITOES IN CUBA...MORE THAN 100 PEOPLE HAVE DIED -- MOST OF THEM CHILDREN...IN OCTOBER 1980 THE HAVANA) PAPER "GRAMMA" REPORTED ON THE PENTAGON'S CRIMINAL PLANS TO USE THESE TYPES OF WEAPONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA..." THIS REPORT WAS PICKED UP AND AMPLIFIED BY "IZVESTIA" (AUG. 5) AND BY THE CUBAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SEP. 24).

B. THE FACTS: ON SEP. 25, U.S. AMBASSADOR KENNETH ADELMAN TOLD THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS COOPERATED WITH THE PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION IN HELPING STEM THIS LATEST OUTBREAK OF DENGUE FEVER IN CUBA. ADELMAN ADDED: "...PRIOR TO CASTRO'S DECISION TO BLAME THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DENGUE FEVER EPIDEMIC, CUBAN HEALTH OFFICIALS ACTUALLY TOLD OFFICIALS OF THE PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION, AMERICAN DIPLOMATS IN HAVANA AND TROPICAL HEALTH SPECIALISTS BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES THAT THE DENGUE FEVER HAD BEEN INTRODUCED INTO CUBA BY CUBAN TROOPS RETURNING FROM AFRICA." EARLIER, ON JULY 27, STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN DEAN FISCHER SAID THE U.S. COMMERCE DEPARTMENT HAD APPROVED SHIPMENT TO CUBA OF 300 METRIC TONS OF GRANULAR PESTICIDES TO HELP THE CUBANS FIGHT DENGUE FEVER. "THERE ARE SUBSTITUTE PRODUCTS MADE IN OTHER COUNTRIES FOR DEALING WITH THE FEVER," FISCHER SAID, "BUT CUBA AND THE PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION PREFERRED THE U.S.-MADE PRODUCT AS BEING THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT."

5. U.S. SAID TO SPEND IMMENSE SUMS ON PROPAGANDA.

A. MISSTATEMENT: THE AUGUST ISSUE OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY MONTHLY "KOMMUNIST" (NO. 12) CONTAINED AN ARTICLE BY BORIS PONOMAREV (CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION) ENTITLED "THE COMMUNIST PRESS--HERALD OF PEACE." PONOMAREV WROTE IN PASSING: "NOT SO LONG AGO THE U.S. SENATE APPROVED NEW ALLOCATIONS FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS FOR SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA..." THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY, PONOMAREV ADDED, "GOT A RECORD SUM OF 1,800 MILLION DOLLARS."

B. THE FACTS: THE ICA DOCUMENT "PROGRAM AND BUDGET IN BRIEF," AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC, REPORTS: "FOR FISCAL YEAR 1982, THE AGENCY IS...REQUESTING...APPROPRIATIONS TOTALLING BT #5891

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EU TCATHERMAN
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TO ALL PRINCIPAL POSTS

RUEHJL/AMEMBASSY BANJUL

RUFHPBI/AMEMBASSY BISSAU

RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE

RUEHVN/AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

RUEHOR/AMEMBASSY GABORONE

RUEHBN/AMEMBASSY NASSAU

RUEHPM/AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY

RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA/RPO

RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA/REX

RUFHOM/AMCONSUL FLORENCE

RUDKRW/AMCONSUL KRAKOW

RUFHOM/AMCONSUL PALERMO

RUDKRW/AMCONSUL POZNAN

RUQMZA/AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI

RUFHOM/AMCONSUL TRIESTE

RUFHOM/AMCONSUL TURIN

RUDKRB/AMCONSUL ZAGREB

RJFNPS/US MISSION OECD

RUHYVA/AMEMBASSY SUVA

RUFHOM/AMCONSUL GENOA

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 USICA 55891

USICA

FOR PAO FROM DIRECTOR WICK

EO 12065 N/A

561.4 MILLION DOLLARS." THE SAME DOCUMENT SHOWS A STEADY DECLINE IN AGENCY PROGRAM LEVELS WHEN RECKONED IN DOLLARS ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION; FOR INSTANCE, A DROP FROM 242.7 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1973 TO 210.5 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1981. AS A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE, THE VOICE OF AMERICA, A MAJOR COMPONENT OF ICA, AS OF JANUARY 1981 BROADCAST IN 39 LANGUAGES FOR A TOTAL OF ABOUT 900 HOURS A WEEK. IN COMPARISON, RADIO MOSCOW BROADCAST IN 65 LANGUAGES FOR A TOTAL OF ABOUT 1600 HOURS A WEEK. MOREOVER IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE USSR SPENDS ABOUT THREE TIMES AS MUCH ON ATTEMPTING TO JAM U.S. BROADCASTS AS WE SPEND ON THE BROADCASTING OPERATIONS THEMSELVES.

6. U.S. AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE BRANDED CIA AGENT.

A. MISSTATEMENT: "THE NEW AGE", OFFICIAL NEW DELHI ORGAN OF THE PRO-MOSCOW COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, SET THE STAGE ON OCTOBER 4, BY ASKING, "WHICH CIA OPERATOR IS NEXT TO BE DISPATCHED TO NEW DELHI BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION?" NEXT, THE PRO-COMMUNIST "THE DAILY" OF BOMBAY IDENTIFIED AMBASSADOR HARRY BARNES AS AN "INTELLIGENCE OPERATIVE" FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S "OWN CLOAK AND DAGGER WING." THIS STORY WAS PICKED UP ON THE OCTOBER 16 FRONT PAGE OF NEW DELHI'S PRO-SOVIET "THE PATRIOT," WHICH CITED A COMMUNIST NEWS AGENCY AS A SOURCE. THE SAME DAY EDITION OF "THE DAILY" ALSO CALLED BARNES A "CIA MAN OF HIGH RANK" UNDER THE SAME HEADLINE: "U.S. AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO INDIA ON CIA LIST."

THE OCTOBER 18 "THE NEW AGE" CARRIED A HALF-PAGE ARTICLE ENTITLED "MEET BARNES, NEW CIA CHIEF IN INDIA," CITING ITS OCTOBER 4 STORY AND THE EAST GERMAN PUBLICATION "WHO'S WHO IN THE CIA." LINKING THE BARNES STORY TO PREVIOUS DISINFORMATION STORIES ON FSO GEORGE GRIFFIN AND THE INSTALLATION OF USICA NEW DELHI'S DRS COMPUTER, THE "NEW AGE" WARNED, "IT MEANS SOME BIG OPERATION IS PLANNED...INDIA HAS TO BEWARE OF THIS NEW AMBASSADOR." BY OCTOBER 20 THE "SUNDAY OBSERVER" (BOMBAY), A NEW PUBLICATION WITH GOOD CREDENTIALS, WAS ALSO FEATURING THE CHARGES AGAINST THE U.S. AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE.

B. THE FACTS: THIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST A CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER IS A TYPICAL "BLACK PROPAGANDA" OPERATION. IT FOLLOWS THE FAMILIAR PATTERN OF AN ALLEGATION APPEARING IN AN ANTI-U.S. PUBLICATION WHICH IS PICKED UP AND CITED BY SYMPATHETIC PAPERS IN OTHER CITIES. AS THE STORY CONTINUES TO BE BOUNCED BACK AND FORTH IT GAINS VELOCITY AND PROMINENCE UNTIL LEGITIMATE PUBLICATIONS CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO IGNORE IT. A SPECIAL REPORT ON SOVIET "ACTIVE MEASURES" ISSUED EARLIER THIS MONTH BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (WHICH WE DISTRIBUTED WORLDWIDE) MENTIONS THAT ONE OF THE INDIAN NEWS WEEKLIES ACTIVE IN THE BARNES SMEAR CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN USED BY THE SOVIETS "TO PUBLISH FORGERIES, FALSELY ACCUSE AMERICANS OF BEING CIA PERSONNEL OR AGENTS, AND DISSEMINATE SOVIET INSPIRED DOCUMENTS" (PAGE 2). IT IS NOTEWORTHY IN THIS CASE THAT THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY PAPER, "THE NEW AGE" (WHICH STARTED THE BALL ROLLING ON AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE BARNES), TOOK FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE MOMENTUM GENERATED BY ITS RECENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANOTHER FSO, GEORGE GRIFFIN, SCHEDULED FOR ASSIGNMENT TO NEW DELHI, AND SIMILARLY ACCUSED OF SPYING FOR THE U.S.: ("WHICH CIA OPERATOR IS NEXT"). "THE NEW AGE" ALSO COMMENTED ON ICA'S DRS COMPUTER SYSTEM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GRIFFIN-BARNES SPY ALLEGATIONS. WHILE THE DETAILS OF THESE EVENTS ARE OF IMMEDIATE INTEREST ONLY REGIONALLY, ALL PAOS WILL FIND IT USEFUL TO NOTE THE PATTERN OF THIS DISINFORMATION ASSAULT: IT IS APPLICABLE WORLDWIDE. PAOS SHOULD ALSO NOTE THAT THROUGH CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE AGENCY AND USICA NEW DELHI, THE POST WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN FULL REBUTTAL INFORMATION WHICH WAS QUICKLY PASSED TO THE LOCAL PRESS. THIS QUICK RESPONSE RESULTED IN A FACTUAL STORY IN THE "SUNDAY OBSERVER" OF BOMBAY WHICH THE POST BELIEVES HAS QUELLED THIS DISINFORMATION ATTACK.

ROBINSON, ACTING

BT

#5891

UNCLASSIFIED

4 January 1982
51 East 42nd St.-Suite 517
New York, New York 10017
(tel. 212-875-4694)

Mr. Walter Raymond, Jr.
Room 300
Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Walter:

Just a line to say that all's so well here that I haven't been able to follow up with you on our last discussion. The East-West group is going great guns, with the only problem being a rather large bottleneck at my desk. We seem to be becoming the sort of ganglion in East-West matters for the younger set that is needed. But some strategic planning is urgently in order. Getting something on the ground here by way of an office or at least an institutional niche is the main thing right now.

I would greatly value a session with you, perhaps over a meal, either here if you're up or on my next visit to Washington (February).

I hope you had a fine holiday season.

Yours ever,

John
John Fox

~~SECRET~~

20 May 1981

SUBJECT: Psych Themes -- Countering Soviet Covert Action/Propaganda

1. Point out the similarities in the naked aggression of the Soviets in Afghanistan, the Vietnamese in Kampuchea and the Libyans in Chad. (Libya/Chad)
2. Encourage the impression in Africa that Qadhafi is a surrogate for the Soviets. (Libya/Chad)
3. Emphasize the shared views and common values of the West contrasted with the totalitarian principles of the Soviet leadership. Emphasize that the Soviets are motivated not only by traditional considerations of national power but by an ideological imperative that is inherently expansionist, authoritarian and elitist. The ideology is fundamentally hostile to the Western humanist experience as evolved since the Renaissance. (NATO/European Security)
4. Underscore the importance of Alliance Unity in the face of Warsaw Pact military strength. Call attention to the fact that failure to carry through on modernization will be a significant victory for the Soviets and will drive a wedge into the Alliance. The generation that has grown up since World War II in Europe must be reached and convinced that ~~TNF~~ modernization and a strong alliance will enhance the security of all the nations of Europe (NATO/European Security)
5. Expose and counter Soviet or Soviet-inspired efforts to undermine European commitment to a strong deterrent force. Manifestations of these Soviet efforts may appear as anti-NATO, anti-nuclear and pro-unilateral disarmament sentiment expressed by groups and individuals aligned against TNF and other European defense initiatives. Point up the cynicism and inconsistency of Soviet peace proposals against their history of treating such agreements merely as vehicles to obtain unilateral tactical and strategic advantage in pursuit of Marxist-Leninist ideological goals. (NATO/European Security)
6. Focus on Soviet use of PDRY as a source of mercenaries for global adventures contrary to PDRY's national interests, such as combat against fellow Muslims in Afghanistan and Eritrea. (PDRY)
7. Expose Soviet bases in Aden and on Socotra Island as part of a strategy to control military and commercial access to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. (PDRY)
8. Focus on the training of foreign terrorists in PDRY by Cuban, Soviet and PLO advisers in terms of the unique advantage such training affords for Soviet-sponsored intervention in non-communist countries. (PDRY)
9. Present the forced adoption of socialism as destructive of Yemeni and Islamic cultural values; for example, by outlawing Islamic marriage ceremonies and religious instruction, breaking up tribal ties, and imposing conscription. (PDRY)

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10. Expose the Afghan Government as a puppet of the Soviets, totally dependent upon Moscow for political, economic and military support. (Afghanistan)

11. Attack Cuba's Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) leadership credentials due to its support of Soviet presence in Afghanistan. (Afghanistan)

~~12. Publicize Soviet atrocities against freedom fighters and civilian population, particularly its harsh treatment of minority Shiites. (Afghanistan)~~

13. Expose the anti-Muslim character of the Soviet invasion, and suggest that at least in part the invasion was due to Soviet fears that its own Muslim population is being subverted by Afghans who move back and forth across Soviet/Afghan border. Detail Soviet persecution of its Muslim minority and decades of suppression of the Muslim religion within the USSR. (Afghanistan)

14. Publicize the economic exploitation of Afghanistan and its natural resources by the Soviets (e.g., Soviets set the price for natural gas shipped by pipeline from Afghanistan.) (Afghanistan)

15. Attack Soviet use of the "Brezhnev Doctrine" as justification of its right to intervene militarily against any country. Cite parallels of Afghanistan invasion with Soviet intervention in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, etc. (Afghanistan)

16. Cite Communist inspiration and backing for the guerrilla left forces. Highlight the Soviet hand behind Cuban training and direction of guerrillas and terrorists. Nicaraguan, Vietnamese, Ethiopian, Romanian and other Soviet pawns in conjunction with the PLO in procurement and logistical backing for the violent left in El Salvador. (El Salvador)

17. Call attention to failures in Soviet agriculture and the causes of a long record of shortfalls in food production. (Flaws in Soviet System)

18. Highlight the cynicism generated by the system among the Soviet people including the impact of domestic propaganda, the lack of detailed news or frank discussion of national and international affairs; publicize the black market and other ways devised by the Soviet people to "beat the system." (Flaws in Soviet System)

19. Call attention to the plight of artists, writers, dancers and scientists whose creative talents are suppressed, unused, or politicized, thus depriving Soviet society, and to some extent the rest of the world, of contributions they might otherwise make. (Flaws in Soviet System)

20. Publicize the enormous human costs of the Soviet system in terms of numbers killed during the Stalin era. Note that even today thousands are still consigned to prisons, labor camps, psychiatric wards and exile. (Flaws in Soviet System)

21. Continue to encourage moderate NAM members to raise the incompatibility between non-aligned principles and the Cuban role of actively supporting Soviet foreign policy objectives. (Non-Aligned Movement)

22. Compare Soviet economic assistance to Third World nations with assistance given by the developed nations, and remind developing nations of the detrimental effects of Soviet aid. (NAM)

23. Emphasize Cuban alignment with Soviet foreign policy, its membership in COMECON, the treaties binding Cuba to Soviet interests, and Cuban replay of Soviet propaganda themes. (Cuba)

24. Expose Cuban military adventures in Africa and elsewhere, emphasizing the Cuban role as Soviet surrogate and the potential for Soviet hegemony. (Cuba)

25. Expose and counter Cuban covert action, subversion and efforts to foment conflicts detrimental to the free world and U.S. interests. (Cuba)

26. Point out how Soviet front organizations and their subsidiaries consistently support Soviet policies and oppose those of the West. (Soviet Front Organizations)

27. Identify and expose political action directed against the U.S., NATO and other U.S. interests, by Communist Parties at the behest of or in cooperation with the Soviet Front Organizations. (Soviet Front Organizations)

28. Publicize the evidence of human rights violations which emigres provide. Remind audiences that Soviet dissidents who have been forced out of the USSR have not lost their credibility. (Human Rights in USSR and E. Europe)

29. Point out to developing countries that doing business with the Soviet Union has inherent risks involving dissatisfaction over the quality and dependability of Soviet goods and of Soviet payment and delivery schedules. Note that political conformity may be Moscow's price for fulfilling contracts. (Soviet Interference)

30. Discuss the dangers inherent in Soviet military aid agreements. Cite cases, such as Egypt and the Sudan, where such agreements provided the pretext for a massive influx of Soviet personnel whose main objective was to manipulate the host country's internal affairs.

31. Expose Moscow's covert support for communist parties and other leftist opposition groups throughout the world. Point to the Soviet funds W. European parties have received laundered through communist-controlled businesses in the West. Discuss the manipulation aspects of Soviet scholarships provided to leftist students from other countries... (Soviet Interference)

32. Expose and publicize the pattern of Soviet "neocolonialism," disguised as an effort to "liberate Africa from imperialism and white racist regimes" but using Cuban, East German and other East European surrogate forces to achieve hegemony...; Cite attention to abuses of agreements for the development of natural resources; and note the general arrogant Soviet/Cuban attitudes that frequently ignore African sensibilities. (Soviet/Cuban Activity in Africa)

33. Counter Communist propaganda which extolls the new "cult of success" or "triumph of the left," citing Soviet failures in dealing with Africans and Muslims as exemplified by their expulsion from the Sudan and Somalia... (Soviet/Cuban Activity in Africa)

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34. Alert African leaders to Soviet and Cuban manipulative political techniques whereby Soviet or Cuban officials falsely allege Western-sponsored coup attempts, political plots and "international conspiracies"; expose their use of forgeries and other subterfuges and "big lie" techniques. (Soviet/Cuban Activity in Africa)

NOTE: We seek to unmask and publicize the use of "TASS," "NOVOSTI" and other Soviet media by the KGB for propaganda, subversive and intelligence activities.

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

PROJECT DEMOCRACY
PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Situation and Challenge

In President Reagan's speech to the British Parliament (8 June) he proposed a major new objective: "To foster the infrastructure of democracy--the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities--which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

As relevant instruments, he cited the new bi-partisan American Political Foundation and similar foundations in Germany. He stressed the importance of achieving a consensus for action among the Congress, labor, business, and other U.S. institutions. The President said the United States would consult with leaders of other nations. He mentioned three coming events which could serve the new goal: a meeting on free elections (Washington, November), a Council of Europe gathering in 1982 of parliamentarians from democratic countries, and a 1983 conference on constitutionalism, to be hosted by Chief Justice Berger. He specifically stressed the importance of private, non-governmental initiatives. He implied that this program could touch all countries.

The idea of fostering free political systems in other countries has both inspired and discouraged Americans since Wilson called on them to "make the world safe for democracy." Our experience has encompassed success as well as failure. Opinions tend to vacillate between two poles: one which assumes that all men want freedom and are capable of creating its "infrastructure," and another, which insists that democracy is entirely a cultural matter--either you have the makings, or you don't, and therefore we had best not intervene.

But the President appears to have swept aside doubts and objections and categorically fixed the objective: the promotion of democracy, worldwide. Now our Government and our citizens must try to devise instruments and programs to serve this aim intelligently. The requirements, (1) that government and the private sector work in harness and (2) that programs be overt, pose certain difficulties, but also offer great advantages.

Eventually, Congressional action will be necessary to provide a permanent, durable framework for a long-term program of this kind. In the meantime, the challenge is to develop instruments and programs which can go into action immediately, and to arrange stopgap funding.

Breakdown of Tasks to Implement the Program

1. Define and explicate "democratic government." Stimulate public debate and promote first a Western, then an international, consensus. Identify the "irreducible minimum" of features which characterize all democracies. Explore the range of variations, etc.
2. Relate the evolution of political democracy to the process of modernization and to economic development. Define, expound, implement these concepts.
3. Educate publics as to importance of democratic government; organize cooperation among "pro-democracy" groups; suscite a citizens' movement.
4. Promote interchanges of persons and groups (study tours, conferences, formal education, etc.) designed to increase "we-feeling" among democracies, underline the common political heritage, stimulate interchange of ideas and experience which can strengthen democracy.
5. Educate and train political leaders, public administrators, teachers and others--especially those from the Third World--in fundamentals of democratic government. (N.B. Do not neglect military leaders.)
6. Subsidize political parties and other groups which promote democratic development.
7. Relate democracy to international cooperation and the rule of law among nations; promote collaboration especially among the established and the aspiring democracies.

Themes

- A. There are many paths to democracy; the U.S. pattern is only one of many good institutional variants; certain key principles (not particular forms) are essential.
- B. Democracy involves protection of human rights, but also responsible self-government, the rule of law, and the exercise of civic duty.

- C. Model constitutions do not guarantee democracy. The democratic habits and attitudes of citizens, and the functioning of social institutions, are equally essential features.
- D. Democracy is not just a good form of government, it is the most reliable basis for a good life in virtually every respect.
- E. Democracies make the most reliable partners. While international cooperation should involve as many states as possible, non-democratic as well as democratic, the closest bonds can and should be formed among nations which practice democracy.

Target Groups and Areas

- I. The West, including Japan and ANZUS. Stress common goals interests, problems.
- II. Latin America. Concentrate on the genuine democracies and marginals; lower priority to dictatorships.
- III. Africa. Work non-governmentally with South African moderates; cultivate countries where democracy has at least a foothold. Close cooperation with Europe.
- IV. NICs (South Korea, Brazil, Mexico, Singapore, etc.). Special attention.
- V. Middle East. Top priority to Egypt, special attention to proto-democratic states such as Tunisia and Kuwait.
- VI. Far East and Pacific. Special attention to new, small democracies; also to ASEAN, Taiwan. Capitalize on Japan and ANZUS connections for multinational approach.

Instruments - NGOs

(see Appendix A for suggested matching of NGOs and Tasks)

First Priority: American Political Foundation (political action)

Atlantic Institute (world role: study and practice of democracy)

New regional "Institutes for the Study of Democracy) cf. Secretary Haig's December 1981 speech to OAS); research and training

New groups (such as CAPA) for young leader seminars

Standing Conference of Atlantic Organizations (coordination)

Atlantic Treaty Association (expanded to OECD nations, revitalized)

Atlantic Council of the U.S. (in tandem with Atlantic Institute, concentrate on U.S.)

New (?) confederation of key U.S. exchanges groups (establish democracy as top priority), especially in contemplated youth program.

Second Priority: Trilateral Commission (elite cooperation, consensus on democracy)

Committees for a Community of Democracies (promote intergovernmental ties among democracies and expansion of present NATO/OECD groupings)

Freedom House (research on nature and progress of democracy; public education)

ConWest (education of young leaders)

English-Speaking Union (public education, exchanges between US and Commonwealth)

New coalition of institutes of foreign affairs (pool research)

New coalition of university institutes specializing in development and democratic institutions

Instruments - Funding

"Grant-Making International" (NY foundations; led by RBF, W. Moody)

U.S. defense contractors (two organizations exist)

European and Japanese foundations (some informal coordination exists)

Coalition of wealthy individuals (1: US; 2: international)

Twentieth Century Fund, New York (interested in coordination, elucidating needs).

Management

1. Inter-agency planning/monitoring group in USG
2. Inter-governmental group: NATO + Japan + ANZUS
3. U.S. advisory/coordinating council on Democracy in International Affairs (key NGOs, key foundations); action in hands of small executive group.
4. Inter-foundation group to assess needs, stimulate grant-making.
5. International advisory/coordinating group (analogous to U.S. (point 3)). SCAO might organize this, with action in hands of small executive group, including Atlantic Institute, Atlantic Council, American Political Foundation (and foreign analogs), Japan Center for International Exchanges, Pacific Institute (Melbourne), new regional institutes for study of democracy.
6. Advisory committee of academics and experts on democracy and political development.

Scenario - NEXT STEPS

1. Prepare a short paper defining and expanding on the President's objectives--implications for foreign policy, philosophy of overt action, philosophy of private initiative and funding, philosophy of private-public partnerships, long-range goals, tasks and types of instruments. (Essential for all subsequent steps.)
2. Organize all groups under above heading, "Management," more or less in order shown.
3. Give major role to Atlantic Institute; beef up U.S. operation, Paris headquarters; open Japan and Australia offices. USG, AI and APF plan together.
4. Consolidate, clarify, fund major role for American Political Foundation. Begin political action.

5. Hold a White House meeting of top U.S. business and philanthropic figures to elucidate need and stimulate will to give urgently.
6. Begin plans for regional institutes for the study of democracy.
7. Organize special small working group (USG and selected outside experts) to assess "instruments," establish what they could and would do, prepare list of priority project list and grant requirements. Tap "White House Group" for funds.

TASKS						
Define and study democracy: human rights; responsible government; polity and economy; minimum common denominator; variations and application	Relate democracy to modernization and economic development	Collaboration and public education; pro-democratic groups, publications, meetings, etc.	Exchanges: direct experience	Training of administrators and politicians; in universities; in special institutions; on the spot	Subsidies to political parties and groups; advice and direct assistance	Relate democracy to international organizations, peace and rule of law
Atlantic Institute Freedom House NEW "Inst. for the Study of Democracy" in each region. CCDs Coalition of institutions of foreign affairs	Atl. Institute Univ. and other institutions specializing in development in LDCs and West Freedom House		Academic exchanges of experts	NEW Inst. for study of democracy; AI	Freedom House	A. Institute CCDs
		ATA; ACUS; ESU; Japan-Amer. Soc. ConWest SCAO World Affairs Councils Committee for a Free World	Special groups and individual visits: ATA, ESU, Japan-Amer. Societies			ATA ConWest
	Chamber of Commerce; BIAC Unions PBEC	Trilateral Commission Bilderberg		Trilateral aid		
			Politicians exchanges; N.A.A. Council of Europe Unions	On-spot training for political foundations AYPL	Political foundations Unions	
	Peace Corps AID and counterparts		American Field Service Rotary, Kiwanis Churches IIE and Euro. counterparts COSERV	Special exchanges		

APPENDIX B

Suggestions for White House Meeting:

Chairmen and Presidents
of:

Justin Dart
W. Clement Stone
Walter Annenberg
Paul Mellon
Henry Ford II
David Packard
William Hewlett
Roderick MacArthur
Thomas J. Watson
David Rockefeller
(Sandy?) MacDonald
Norton Clapp

Ford Foundation
Rockefeller Foundation
MacArthur Foundation
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Mellon Foundation
Kellogg Foundation
20th Century Foundation

DoD-Supported Priorities Black Book

Europe:

1. Reach Successor Generation
2. Shape Strategies for Peace
3. Shape European Attitudes

Latin America:

1. Political Training for Military
2. Train Political Party Leaders
3. Leadership for Creative Change
4. Support Free Press
5. Application of Law in Democracies
6. TV Broadcasters Association
7. Train Community Leaders
8. Youth Leadership Programs

Labor:

1. Revitalize Exchange Programs
2. Expand AALC Mandate
3. African Labor Leadership Training Center
4. European Labor Information Office

Free Press:

1. Support for Democratic Press and Communications Systems
2. Role of Free Press in Africa

Free Enterprise:

1. African Management Fund
2. African - American Institute

Democracy:

1. U.S. Conference of Mayors/National League of cities
2. National Governors Association
3. National Conference of State Legislatures

Africa:

1. University Linkages
2. Operation Crossroads

Asia:

1. Review of foreign textbooks and curricula
2. USIA subsidize textbooks
3. American Studies Development in Africa
4. Strengthen constitutionalism, rule of law, orderly political processes, and non-violent change
5. Encourage democratic pluralism: role of free press, university in free society, popular participation through private organizations
6. Next General of Leaders

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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90391

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE SPG PRINCIPALS

SUBJECT: NSDD on U.S. International Information
Policy -- Actions Required

NSDD 130 on U.S. International Information Policy has been approved and signed by the President. This new directive evolves out of the President's London speech of June, 1982 and is designed to build upon NSDD 77 in improving our management of public diplomacy activities.

We appreciate the efforts made by all of the agencies which contributed so significantly to the formulation of both the new NSDD and the accompanying National Security Study Directive. We need now to move forward expeditiously in implementing these directives.

Follow-up action is required in ten areas, with responsibilities assigned as follows:

- 1) NSC Process: The NSC Staff will ensure that, wherever appropriate, major NSDDs and NSSDs will include an assessment of the impact of options and decisions on foreign opinion and on the international information environment.
- 2) Mission Statements: All agencies should review their mission statements and other policy declarations and revise these as necessary to reflect this NSDD and accompanying NSSD. This should include an assessment of how to strengthen USG cooperation with private sector information efforts overseas. Conclusions reached and actions taken in these areas should be reported to the SPG by June 1, 1984.
- 3) Information Strategy: USIA should intensify its efforts to address key sectors of the population where there is strict government control of communications. The themes and strategies reflected in the NSSD should be drawn upon in this regard. USIA should seek to enhance its cooperation with the private sector, particularly in finding more effective ways to communicate to such countries concerning democratic institutions and values. USIA should provide for the SPG by the end of the year a status report on our communications efforts directed at closed societies.

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4) Broadcasting: USIA should take the lead under SPG auspices to review the implementation of NSDD 45, including the question of new language services. The results of this review should be provided to the SPG by December 1, 1984. USIA should take the lead, under IBC auspices, in carrying out a broad assessment of technical and political options for U.S. international TV broadcasting over the next decade, including the use of direct broadcast by satellite. This assessment should be provided to the SPG by October 1, 1984.

o DOD should provide as part of this effort a report on programming policy and objectives of AFRTS, and USIA should provide this in regard to RIAS.

5) Book Publication Program: USIA should strengthen as a major priority its resource support for publication and dissemination abroad of U.S. books and other publications. This should include strengthening of cooperative efforts between the USG and the private sector in making available serious works that reflect democratic institutions and values. An initial status report on USIA's efforts should be provided to the SPG by June 1, 1984. A broader look at ways to strengthen the program will be undertaken by USIA under the auspices of the IIC. A separate tasking will be forthcoming on this issue.

6) Free Flow of Information: Under SPG auspices, USIA should lead an interagency study of our objectives in regard to the free flow of information and the information potential of new technologies, with special attention to penetrating closed societies. A preliminary status report on this effort should be provided to the SPG by October 1, 1984.

7) Information and Communications Assistance: The International Communication and Information SIG should conduct a study which defines the role and contributions of various agencies in providing information and communications assistance to other countries and develops a long-term strategy for such assistance. This study should be provided to the SPG by October 1, 1984.

8) PSYOP: Under SPG auspices, DOD should establish a set of definitions, national guidelines and project funding for overt PSYOPs programs in peacetime, and define roles and relationships both internally and with other agencies. This should be provided to the SPG by July 1, 1984.

9) Crises and Wartime: All agencies should review and, as necessary, develop procedures for information operations during crises. Each should be prepared to initiate special procedures to ensure policy consistency, timely response and rapid feedback from intended audiences. A status report on these measures should be provided to the SPG by September 1, 1984.

10) Functional Steps:

o Research: It is important that sufficient funds be budgeted for FORA. The Director of FORA should provide to the SPG by June 1, 1984 a statement of FORA's projected program and an assessment of resources available to carry out its mission.

o Training and Career Development: All agencies should review their existing programs and augment them as necessary. Other agencies should be kept informed as these steps are taken. A full status report should be provided to the SPG by the end of the year.

o Resources: All agencies should review their participation in and their support of U.S. international information activities, with a view to: (a) increasing resources within current allocations; and (b) establishing clear requirements for future budget submissions. Each agency should provide a status report to the SPG by June 1, 1984.

Attached for your reference is a list of actions required, indicating lead agency and due date.

Attachment
Actions Required

Distribution:
The Honorable George Shultz
The Honorable Caspar Weinberger
The Honorable Peter McPherson
The Honorable Charles Z. Wick

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NSDD 130 - Follow-Up Actions

<u>Action Required</u>	<u>Lead Agency</u>	<u>Due Date to SPG</u>
1. NSC Process	NSC Staff	Immediately
2. Review of Mission Statements	Each agency	June 1, 1984
3. Enhancing Info Efforts to Closed Societies	USIA	Dec 1, 1984
4. <u>Broadcasting:</u> --Review Implementation of NSDD 45	USIA	Dec 1, 1984
--Assess Technical & Political Options	USIA/IBC	Oct 1, 1984
--Report on AFRTS Program & Objectives	DOD	Oct 1, 1984
--Report on RIAS Program & Objectives	USIA	Oct 1, 1984
5. Initial Status Rpt on Strengthening Publications Program	USIA	June 1, 1984
6. Interagency Study on Free Flow of Info & New Technologies	USIA	Oct 1, 1984
7. Study of Info and Communications Assistance	State	Oct 1, 1984
8. Definitions, Guidelines and Project Funding for Peacetime PSYOPs	DOD	July 1, 1984
9. Review of crisis procedures	Each agency	Sep 1, 1984
10. <u>Functional Steps:</u> --Status Rpt on Research	USIA/FORA	June 1, 1984
--Status Rpt on Training and Career Development	Each agency	Dec 30, 1984
--Status Rpt on Resources	Each agency	June 1, 1984

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BY SPG, NARA, DATE 7/3/00

PRESIDENT'S
EXTRACT OF DIRECTOR'S SPEECH ON 8 JUNE 1982

But for a crime, for the belief
ed aggression must not be al-
s succeed, and that people

W. ...
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instinct

Drive to Promote Democracy

We cannot ignore the fact that even without our encouragement, there have been and will continue to be repeated explosions against repression in dictatorships. The Soviet Union itself is not immune to this reality. Any system is inherently unstable that has no peaceful means to legitimize its leaders. In such cases, the very repressiveness of the state ultimately drives people to resist it — if necessary, by force.

While we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change, we must not hesitate to clear our ultimate objectives and to take concrete actions to move towards them. We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings. So states the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights —

which, among other things, guarantees free elections.

The objective I propose is quite simple to state: To foster the infrastructure of democracy — the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities — which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means.

This is not cultural imperialism; it is providing the means for genuine self-determination and protection for diversity. Democracy already flourishes in countries with very different cultures and historical experiences. It would be cultural condescension, or worse, to say that any people prefer dictatorship to democracy.

Who would voluntarily choose not to have the right to vote; decide to pur-

of independent newspapers; prefer government-to worker-controlled unions; opt for land to be owned by the state instead of those who till it; want government repression of religious liberty, a single political party instead of a free choice, a rigid cultural orthodoxy instead of democratic tolerance and diversity?

Since 1917, the Soviet Union has given covert political training and assistance to Marxist-Leninists in many countries. Of course, it also has promoted the use of violence and subversion by these same forces.

A Bipartisan Effort

Over the past several decades, West European and other Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and Liberals have offered open assistance to fraternal political and social institutions, to bring about peaceful and democratic progress. Appropriately for a vigorous new democracy, the Federal Republic of Germany's political foundations have become a major force in this effort.

We in America now intend to take additional steps, as many of our allies have already done, toward realizing this same goal. The chairmen and other leaders of the National Republican and Democratic Party organizations are initiating a study with the bipartisan American Political Foundation to determine how the United States can best contribute — as a nation — to the global campaign for democracy now gathering force.

They will have the cooperation of Congressional leaders of both parties, along with representatives of business, labor and other major institutions in our society. I look forward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world.

It is time that we committed ourselves as a nation — in both the public and private sectors — to assisting democratic development.

Enlisting Others' Help

We plan to consult with leaders of other nations as well. There is a proposal before the Council of Europe to invite parliamentarians from democratic countries to a meeting next year in Strasbourg. That prestigious gathering could consider ways to help democratic political movements.

This November, in Washington, there will take place an international meeting on free elections, and next spring there will be a conference of world authorities on constitutionalism and self-government hosted by the

Authorities from a number of developing and developed countries — judges, philosophers and politicians with practical experience — have agreed to explore how to turn principle into practice and further the rule of law.

At the same time, we invite the Soviet Union to consider with us how the competition of ideas and values — which it is committed to support — can be conducted on a peaceful and reciprocal basis. For example, I am prepared to offer President Brezhnev an opportunity to speak to the American people on our television if he will allow me the same opportunity with the Soviet people. We also suggest that panels of our newsmen periodically appear on each other's television to discuss major events.

The Possible Soviet Reaction

I do not wish to sound overly optimistic, yet the Soviet Union is not immune from the reality of what is going on in the world. It has happened in the past: a small ruling elite either mistakenly attempts to ease domestic unrest through greater repression and foreign adventure or it chooses a wiser course — it begins to allow its people a voice in their own destiny.

Even if this latter process is not realized soon, I believe the renewed strength of the democratic movement, complemented by a global campaign for freedom, will strengthen the prospects for arms control and a world at peace.

I have discussed on other occasions, including my address on May 9, the elements of Western policies toward the Soviet Union to safeguard our interests and protect the peace. What I am describing now is a plan and a hope for the long term — the march of freedom and democracy which will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people.

That is why we must continue our efforts to strengthen NATO even as we move forward with our zero-option initiative in the negotiations on intermediate range forces and our proposal for a one-third reduction in strategic ballistic missile warheads.

Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let it be clear we maintain this strength in the hope it will never be used. For the ultimate determinant in the struggle now going on for the world will not be bombs and rockets but a test of wills and ideas — a trial of spiritual resolve: the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated.

Getting Started On Mr. Reagan's Democracy Drive

There stood Ronald Reagan before the British Parliament this week, surrounded by splendidly costumed beefeaters and parliamentary officials, delivering a ringing call for a drive by democratic nations to take the offense in fighting totalitarianism around the world. Near the end of his speech he offered some specific suggestions on how to start. The political parties of Western Europe, he said, had a tradition of aiding like-minded parties abroad. The two U.S. parties, together with an organization called the American Political Foundation, were about to launch a study of how the U.S. could best do the same kind of thing.

It is always a curiosity when an obscure group manages to get itself and its ideas promoted and immortalized in a presidential speech. So I called on the American Political Foundation and its president, George Agree, to see how such a thing had come to pass.

The headquarters of the organization is about as stark a contrast as you can get to the grandeur of Westminster. It consists of a single cluttered room in the back of a shabby townhouse on Capitol Hill. The foundation currently runs on a small budget, which it uses mainly to foster contacts between U.S. officials and their counterparts in the democratic countries of Europe.

But the group has always had bigger things in mind. It took as its model the example of West Germany, where each politi-

Capital Chronicle

by Suzanne Garment

cal party runs a foundation to give substantial aid to like-minded political groups abroad. And the APF managed to get the heads of the Democratic and Republican National Committees to serve as its chairman and vice chairman, thus establishing its claim to respectability and bipartisanship.

But the APF's entrepreneurship was not the only driving force behind the idea in Mr. Reagan's speech; the notion has been floated in a number of places. The AFL-CIO has repeatedly urged that we shore up the American capacity for political action abroad; William Colby wrote about the subject recently in the *Washington Post*. Moreover, the general climate has changed radically since the days when talk of U.S. political action abroad was derided as American neocolonialism. In fact, in this instance the State Department, no hotbed of aggressiveness, turned into a promoter of the idea. A well-placed Foreign Service officer named Mark Palmer developed the plan and shepherded it through the process of ratification by the rest of the government.

He did not meet with much opposition. "It's something I've felt strongly about for a long time," said Undersecretary for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger, one of those who approved the plan, "the idea of our beginning to take the political offensive. And once it got to the White House, the President grabbed it very fast."

Not everyone was enthusiastic. Some worried that the Communists would view these activities as intrusive destabilization. Some were suspicious because the idea was being promoted by parts of the State Department whose hawkish credentials were suspect.

But in the end there was a fair degree of consensus. "We used to do some of this giving covertly," said one official. "But when we stopped being able to keep our secrets in these matters, people became unwilling to accept our money. The foundation idea is a way of getting around the problem."

What's due to happen now is that the American Political Foundation is to be given \$350,000 to \$400,000 for a major study of what form the American participation in the ideological wars should take. No one knows, of course, how good the study will be or how well it will succeed in building support for its conclusions. And no one knows how aggressive an operation the study will finally recommend. President Reagan's speech spoke of the model of the German political action units; the APF, needless to say, also has ambitious plans. In the State Department, though, there's more caution: "We're only in the middle of the process; it's not at fruition," warned an aide. "We don't know anything yet about this organization that's being designed. We're not even sure that money will pass through it."

So there is a chance that the enterprise will turn into a boondoggle or a piece of useless symbolism. That would be too bad. President Reagan's speech came in the middle of a week drenched in blood. The British finally began their major confrontation with the Argentinians in the Falklands; the Israelis finally moved against the PLO army feeding on the corpse of Lebanon. There were reminders everywhere of the breakdown of the postwar order and of what that breakdown is going to cost.

One sign of this breakdown is that in recent years the U.S. has been so timid about promoting its political interest abroad. Twenty-five years ago many such activities on our part were carried on covertly, as if in recognition that they were a kind of illegitimate interference in other countries' affairs. Recently they have just about ceased altogether, because we have lost the nerve to carry out covert operations.

It would be helpful to have organizations—perhaps run by our political parties—that could take government money but keep a large degree of autonomy in deciding how to disseminate the cash to democratic forces abroad. That the transactions would be open might keep some potential recipients from accepting our money. On the other hand, we are likely to benefit from the "purloined letter" advantage, with our activities seeming less titillating because they are more open.

Mr. Reagan's speech dealt only in possibilities. But his proposal at least recognized that what his foreign policy needs are some concrete ways to recapture the political offensive and begin reversing the fortunes of democratic ideas.

Contact: George E. Agree, (202) 547-4506

SUMMARY OF
PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY OF
PROGRAMS TO DEVELOP DEMOCRATIC FORCES ABROAD

CONCEPT

Though there is a general consensus of Americans that the opportunities for international peace, justice and prosperity would be enhanced if more governments were democratic, there are few programs or institutions in the United States devoted to development of democratic forces overseas, free political parties, trade unions, newspapers, and enterprises. This is a proposal to study how to create such programs.

Establishing such programs would require the utmost care. Those managing the programs must know the international political environment in which they are working and have a clear idea of what they intend to accomplish. The programs must be free of implication that they are being run by the United States government, yet they must avoid compromising United States national interests and policies. They must be broadly representative of the democratic commitment of American society, yet must not be subject to embroilment in partisan domestic controversies. They may need substantial government funding but must not be vulnerable to alternation of party control and policy. They must have access to substantial private funding without appearing to be the instruments of narrow segments of society.

PROPOSAL

It is proposed that a study be undertaken to examine these and other relevant problems and to produce a plan for how the United States can strengthen democratic forces abroad. The study would assess what is currently being done by United States and foreign organizations, the need for additional United States efforts, and would recommend what United States programs and institutions should be created. The study will be conducted in accordance with terms of reference set forth herein and agreed to by all concerned. A staff with appropriate political and world affairs expertise will be recruited. A panel broadly representative of the relevant sectors of American public life will review their work as the study proceeds. The study will be funded through the American Political Foundation (APF). The study will be completed within six months of its inception and will cost in the neighborhood of \$350-400,000.

REPORT

The study will produce a report covering the following matters:

1. A comprehensive canvas and analysis of existing international activity in the field of development of democracy, including support activity, by democratic parties, party foundations and other institutions.

This will include the operations of individual parties; international party organizations; and political development aid by governments, labor unions, voluntary organizations and private foundations. Sources will include United States Government agencies and all the above institutions. (It is not intended that existing activities by United States organizations catalogued by this study would be supplanted by new United States programs but rather, it is expected that the climate for such activities would be thereby enriched.)

2. A canvas of needs of democratic forces around the world.

Such forces may include political parties and movements, labor, voluntary organizations, specific government agencies or programs, schools, media, etc. Sources will include United States and other government agencies, German and other party foundations, political party internationals, American voluntary organizations active overseas, etc.

Guidelines will be evaluated by which to judge the democratic character of potential recipients; and procedures will be explored for assuring compatibility with United States interests.

Assistance to democratic forces might be in the form of grants, scholarships, expertise, technology, equipment, international contacts, etc. One kind of assistance might be encouraging the formation of foundations and regional networks among recipients, which would conduct programs similar to our own.

3. Consideration of the possibilities of developing new forms of democratic support not currently undertaken by existing American or foreign institutions.

Among these might be creating an institute to study the mechanisms and opportunities for easing transition from totalitarian or authoritarian to democratic governments. Another might be the establishment of a continuing mechanism for observing elections and encouraging their conduct according to internationally accepted standards.

4. An analysis of the factors that should determine the structure and functions of the American effort.

This analysis will be guided by the following terms of reference:

a. What institutional framework would best meet the individual needs of the relevant United States political, labor, business and other organizations as well as serve the common objectives overseas (e.g. a single, bipartisan foundation, separate entities directed by each major political party, non-party-affiliated institutions, or some combination of these)? What should be the relationship of a new entity or entities to existing organizations?

b. What can be done to ensure that the programs created reflect the mainstream of American political thought on a continuing basis, and that they not be captured by special-interest groups that diverge from the American consensus to the right or left?

c. If the effort is to be bipartisan, how can this be maintained in spite of the alternation of Administrations? Can the terms of service of board members, directors and staff managing the programs be arranged to serve this goal?

d. If United States programs are going to nurture the germs of democracy in friendly countries that are now under dictatorial rule, they may have to aid groups or individuals that are actively or latently opposed to existing governments, or seen as being so. In this event, what steps can be taken to minimize tension in bilateral relations and avoid the estrangement of these countries from the United States? (A low level of conflict between some of the activities of these programs and non-democratic regimes, however, may not be too great a price to pay for achievement of long-term United States goals.)

e. How will programs be directed and managed? How will boards of directors or advisory committees be selected, and what will their powers/duties be (e.g., will these groups approve specific projects, issue guidelines or approve an overall plan)?

f. What will be the relationship between the programs and academic institutions?

g. What specific activities are to be conducted by the programs?

h. What activities should be prohibited, and to what extent should the charters or terms of reference for the programs specify these prohibitions?

i. What activities can prudently be carried out within closed societies? What activities can be carried on outside their borders that would have genuine influence inside?

j. How can a document, charter, or scope of activities be written so as to ensure balanced treatment of open and closed societies?

k. Which means of gaining financing are best: totally Congressional, mixed, or totally private?

l. What is the appropriate level of participation, if any, by the United States government and Congress?

m. Which organizational basis is best? Congressional charter, private charter, or some mixture? Which existing models should be followed?

n. How can programs conduct a creative relationship with non-government organizations in the United States?

o. What type of organizations, if any, should be set up overseas? Are permanent staffs to be maintained abroad?

p. How will specific projects be originated, developed and approved?

q. What is to be the relationship between program staff and United States officials, domestically and while overseas?

r. How is the existence of programs to be made known, and how will foreigners become able to get in touch with them?

s. What type of relationship should the programs seek to develop with international organizations that deal with human rights, democratic and related issues, such as UNESCO, the UN Human Rights Commission, and other UN-related bodies?

5. How the Study will be carried out.

The study will be reviewed and monitored by a panel of 25 or 30 distinguished Americans representing both parties, the leadership in both houses of Congress, labor, business and other relevant sectors of American life. To do the actual study, there will be a Project Director, Deputy Project Director, three assistants and consultants who are respected authorities in the relevant fields. Committees of the Panel will maintain continuous contact with each major segment of the study and provide ongoing review.

Reports on each section of the study will be prepared by staff and coordinated for presentation and final recommendations by an editorial committee of the Panel. The report will then be referred to the Panel as a whole and to the directors of the American Political Foundation (APF). During the course of the study, every effort will be made to provide panel members with opportunities for direct personal contact with American and foreign institutions involved in democratic support and with present and potential support recipients in foreign countries.

Alternatives will be studied and recommendations made for establishing American democratic support programs. This will include consideration of possible organizations, a multiyear plan of recommended action and financial projections.

6. Budget

The study and development of the report will require between \$350-400,000, including travel expenses of staff and some panel members.

American Political Foundation

P.O. Box 37034, Washington, D.C. 20013

William E. Brock III
Chairman

Charles T. Manatt
Vice Chairman

Cecil M. Cheves
Treasurer

Ben Cotten
Secretary

George E. Agree
President

June 4, 1982

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

We have been giving serious consideration during the past two years to an issue which we know is of great concern to you -- how the United States can help build democratic values and institutions in other nations.

The United States is involved in many areas of international assistance but has a very meager capability when it comes to support for democratic forces in other countries.

As you know, this is neither a new idea nor one which has not been tested. West Germany -- through four federally funded, party-affiliated political institutes -- conducts open and effective programs to support democratic political forces throughout the world. The Germans do not consider these programs to be interference. A recent New York Times editorial came out in support of overt United States assistance to democratic forces ("preferably through foundations, openly funded by Congress"). A reluctance to provide such assistance because it would seem like intervention would imply, as this editorial quoted John Stuart Mill, "that the wrong side may help the wrong but the right must not help the right."

Some of the effects of this effort may be a greater respect for individual liberties, justice and peace, as well as an enhancement of international economic development.

We are, therefore, proposing to sponsor a study that would answer these broad questions:

First, what are the problems and risks associated with such an undertaking and what limitations do they place on how much the United States can do in this area?

Second, what ways and means should be recommended to help the growth of democracy?

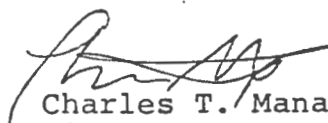
The study will take up such questions as whether programs should be bipartisan, what, if any, should be the connection with the government, how to handle the tension between maintaining friendly relations with current governments while sowing the seeds of democratic successors, how to encourage domestic pluralistic forces in totalitarian countries, and what levels of resources are required. The study will be conducted with the bipartisan American Political Foundation and we plan to include on its oversight panel representatives from major sectors of American democracy -- the Congress, parties, labor, business, judiciary, media, education and others.

We hope that the study will be completed in December so the administration and Congress can consider the results beginning in January.

We appreciate your receptivity to such an effort and appreciate your support.

Respectfully yours,


William Brock, III
Chairman


Charles T. Manatt
Vice Chairman


Richard Richards
Director

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH
WASHINGTON

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October 19, 1981

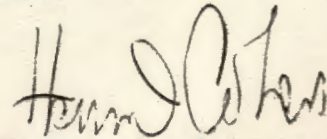
MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. John H. Stein
Deputy Director for Operations
Central Intelligence Agency

SUBJECT: Heightening Awareness of Soviet "Active Measures"

We are encouraged by the start which has been made in heightening awareness of Soviet "active measures" and wish to express appreciation for the considerable support already given by CIA to these efforts. As you know, this is a program in which Secretary Haig is personally interested. As the result of a U.S. initiative, the North Atlantic Council has been seized of the question and sanitized documents based on CIA's excellent Inter-agency Intelligence Memoranda of August 1981 have been passed to our NATO allies. Further steps to maintain the momentum are planned for Europe.

We now also intend to move beyond our current focus on our NATO allies and extend our consciousness raising campaign to other areas of the world. The Far East and the South-West Pacific have been selected for the first step in this expansion. In this connection, we believe it would be most helpful if CIA could produce a fully classified memorandum which is focused specifically on Soviet "active measures" in the East Asian and Pacific region. Such a paper would give our subsequent operational efforts a strong basis in research and minimize the possibility of embarrassing inaccuracies. The study on East Asia would be most useful if it could be completed by November 30.

As indicated, it is our intention to increase public attention directed at Soviet "active measures" on a worldwide basis. In the light of our experience with this campaign in Europe and the Far East, we will be requesting further intelligence assistance from CIA as we progressively expand our sights to Africa, Latin America and the Middle East/South Asia regions.


Herman J. Cohen, Acting

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FOR PADS

FROM CHARLES Z. WICK

EO 12065 GDS 10/29/87 CHARLES Z. WICK, DIRECTOR

1. I WANT TO INFORM YOU ABOUT A MAJOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MISSION WHICH WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN AT THE REQUEST OF PRESIDENT REAGAN: PROJECT TRUTH. I ASK THAT YOU SHARE THE CONTENTS OF THIS TELEGRAM WITH YOUR COLLEAGUES. I REGARD THE ACTIVITIES COMPRISING PROJECT TRUTH TO BE A TOP PRIORITY AMONG THE AGENCY'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CONCERNS. USICA HEADS THE SPECIAL INTERAGENCY GROUP WORKING ON PROJECT TRUTH AND WE THUS ASSUME A MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CONDUCT OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY.

2. PROJECT TRUTH IS A VIGOROUS, MULTI-FACETED INFORMATION CAMPAIGN TO PROJECT OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES AN ACCURATE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS FOREIGN POLICY. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S AUTHORIZATION DIRECTS ME TO LEAD AND COORDINATE THIS CAMPAIGN BY CHAIRING AN INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED FOR THAT PURPOSE. OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES INCLUDING THE WHITE HOUSE, THE OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY WILL COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH US IN

THIS ENDEAVOR.

3. AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE TO REVEAL AND REFUTE MISLEADING SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION. THE CAMPAIGN WILL ALSO UNDERLINE THE SOVIET THREAT TO THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF VARIOUS AREAS IN THE WORLD, AS WELL AS SUCH ACTIONS AS THE OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE USE OF CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

4. PROJECT TRUTH IS EQUALLY INVOLVED IN PROJECTING A PICTURE OF U.S. GOALS, IDEALS, AND ACHIEVEMENTS ON A BROAD CANVAS. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR PROJECT TRUTH TO EMPHASIZE THE COMMON VALUES - MORAL, SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL - THAT BIND US TO OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS. WE MUST STRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS A NATION DEEPLY COMMITTED TO PEACE AND GENUINELY INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATIONS TO CONTROL AND REDUCE ARMAMENT, BUT THAT WE CAN PURSUE THESE AIMS ONLY FROM A BASIS OF STRENGTH. I HAVE ASKED NORMAN PODHORETZ TO CHAIR A NEW DIRECTIONS COMMITTEE FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO HELP US DEFINE THESE THEMES.

5. MR. PODHORETZ HAS BEEN EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF COMMENTARY MAGAZINE SINCE 1960. HE IS THE AUTHOR OF THREE BOOKS, AND IS A HIGHLY REGARDED LECTURER WHO APPEARS FREQUENTLY ON RADIO AND TELEVISION, AS WELL AS ON THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCUIT WHERE HE HAS BEEN AN IMPART ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

TWO NEW ELEMENTS IN OUR PROGRAM ARE BEING PUT INTO USE AT THIS TIME: SOVIET PROPAGANDA ALERT, A MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION, AND A FAST RESPONSE ALERT SERVICE, AS NEEDS DICTATE, TO NOTIFY POSTS OF PARTICULARLY PROVOCATIVE ANTI U.S. CHARGES AND BLATANT INSTANCES OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA OR DISINFORMATION ACTIVITIES. BOTH THESE SERVICES WILL PROVIDE PADS WITH THE FACTS AND BACKGROUND THEY NEED TO DEAL WITH SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION MORE EFFECTIVELY.

7. I HAVE ASKED JOHN HUGHES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PGM TO CHAIR AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO IMPLEMENT THIS CAMPAIGN.

WICK

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