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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name RAYMOND, WALTER: FILES

Withdrawer

SMF 7/13/2011

File Folder [UNFOLDERED-PROJECT TRUTH, PROJECT
DEMOCRACY, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND NED
SEPTEMBER 1982-OCTOBER 1982]

FOIA

M430

Box Number 7

LAMB,
CHRISTOPHER

65

ID	Doc Title	Document Description	No. of	Doc Date	Restrictions
115064	CABLE	RE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLANS AND PROBLEMS D 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #24; UPHELD M430/2 #115064	2	9/7/1982	B1 B3
115065	CABLE	021701Z SEP 82 R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #25	1	9/2/1982	B1
115066	MEMO	SCOTT THOMPSON AND RICHARD STILWELL R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #26	1	9/2/1982	B1
115067	CABLE	MESSAGE CONCERNING US PLANS D 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #24; UPHELD M430/2 #115067	2	10/20/1982	
115068	MEMO	BREMER TO CLARK RE MESSAGE FROM GREEK PRESIDENT R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #26A	1	10/6/1982	B1
115069	LETTER	PRESIDENT KARANDREAS TO RR R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #27	2	10/5/1982	B1
115070	MEMO	FUNDING FOR THE "DEMOCRACY PROGRAM" R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #28	1	10/27/1982	B1

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder [UNFOLDERED-PROJECT TRUTH, PROJECT
DEMOCRACY, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND NED
SEPTEMBER 1982-OCTOBER 1982]

FOIA

M430

Box Number 7

LAMB,
CHRISTOPHER

65

ID	Doc Title	Document Description	No. of	Doc Date	Restrictions
115071	MEMO	RAYMOND TO CLARK RE NSDD ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	5	9/25/1982	B1 P5
115072	MEMO	CLARK TO SHULTZ, WEINBERGER, ET AL RE NSDD R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #29	1	ND	B1
115073	NSDD	DRAFT NSDD 77 R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #30	5	ND	B1
115074	CABLE	RR TO PRESIDENT SHAGARI R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #31	2	10/6/1982	B1
115075	CABLE	0501507Z OCT 82 R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #32	3	10/5/1982	B1
115076	MEMO	RAYMOND AND SOMMER TO MCFARLANE RE FUNDING FOR PROJECT DEMOCRACY R 5/10/2013 M430/2	1	10/27/1982	B1 P5
115077	MEMO	FOR THE RECORD, RE MEETING WITH KEEL R 11/2/2012 M430/2	2	ND	B1 P5
115078	CABLE	141934Z OCT 82 R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #33	1	10/14/1982	B1

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

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

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: RAYMOND, WALTER: Files

Archivist: lov

File Folder: [Project Truth, Project Democracy, Public
Diplomacy, and NED 9/82-10/82] OA 91162

Date: January 27, 1998

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. cable	re Social Democratic Party plans and problems (2)	9/7/82	P1/F3
2. cable	021701Z SEP 82 (1) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #24</i>	9/2/82	P1
3. memo	Scott Thompson and Richard Stilwell (1) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #36</i>	9/22/82	P1
4. cable	message concerning U.S. plans (2 copies, one with notations) (1) <i>D 7/3/00 NLSF 95-041/2 #25A</i>	10/20/82	P1/F3
5. memo	L. Bremer to William Clark, re message from Greek President (1) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #26A</i>	10/6/82	P1
6. letter	Nicolas Karandreas to RR, re message from President of Greece (2) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #27</i>	10/5/82	P1
7. memo [7428]	Funding for the "Democracy Program" (1) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #28</i>	10/27/82	P1
8. memo [90767]	Raymond to Clark, re NSDD on Public Diplomacy (5)	9/25/82	P1 P5
9. memo [90767]	Clark to Shultz, Weinberger et al, re NSDD (1) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #29</i>	nd	P1
10. NSDD	Draft of NSDD 77 (5) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #30</i>	nd	P1
11. cable	message from RR to President Shagari (2) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #31</i>	10/6/82	P1
12. cable	051507Z OCT 82 (3) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #32</i>	10/5/82	P1
13. memo [7428 Revised]	Raymond and Sommer to Robert McFarlane, re funding for Project Democracy (1)	10/27/82	P1 P5
14. memo [7428]	for the record, re meeting with Al Keel (2)	nd	P1 P5
15. cable	141934Z OCT 82 (1) <i>R 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #33</i>	10/5/82	P1

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].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-5 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

10 September 1982

Mr. Gifford Malone
Associate Director
Programs
USIA
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Gif:

I finally, as you probably have heard, am definitely making the long trip to survey the NGOs, from 29 September to 19 November. I thank you for helping to arrange USIA support for the Survey.

You were kind enough to alert USIS posts concerning my mission, prior to my two aborted trips last spring. I am now very fit and plans for the forthcoming visit are definite. Enclosed is an itinerary. In view of the Agency's special interest in this project, would you like to alert your posts in Australia, Tokyo, Brussels, Bonn, Paris, London, The Hague, Rome, Geneva and Madrid that I will be visiting those places to talk with NGOs (and with USIS people) during the periods indicated on the enclosed schedule?

I would appreciate having an up-to-date list of PAOs in those cities, and telephone numbers, if that is convenient.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Bill Hamilton and Cliff Forster, because I know they are personally interested.

I expect to return from Europe to Washington on the 13th of November and would be available on the 15th or 16th for a debriefing at your convenience.

Cordially,

James R. Huntley
Battelle Fellow

Enclosure: 8/30/82 Itinerary

cc: C. Forster
W. Hamilton

JRH/mc

1. Status of Exec Comm

DNE why a finally, Luke + Dodd, Fascel

2. Weinstein -

Institute for (Study of) Democracy

- Democracy Project

- Funding:

Most

And stayed until after 15 day (\$150K)

waiting period. Can notify if no agreement
if Lay + Powers say it is fine. (ETF)

- Phasing in + will be on board by 1 Nov.

- Letters to Ford + Rochefeller - No Action.

- { Weinstein would like to go out + raise funds.

{ Bring in Huntly in re this.

- Doc long put hold on because of Dick Allen

"4"

- We will need to get Pres. to speak on this one.
- Statement, organization, purpose

Thanks - lunch for Conf of Free Election
(Friday 5 Nov) - Press Conference.

Synthetic garden, Excom w. The Hill
(late Nov.)

Wants to present overall conception -
Who does what for each area -

Suggested people for hiring

Small staff 4-6

Consultants & figure

May want press, public relations

May want to use ONC + NRC -

- Do we have a candidate for PR??

{ Recommendation for staff appointments
+ responsibilities

- Timetable - by end Jan 83 -

\$\$s, analysis of what can be
shared. - Wants to come in under
6 months - Mar 83 - goal.

- Office -

NSF - ?!

Space on the Capitol - excellent symbolism

Broch -

Divide panel into work groups - each
to Congress directly involved. Get some
good ideas.

AGENDA FOR APF MEETING

OCTOBER 14, 1982

1. Opening comments and instructions to the Project Director
(Amb. Brock, Chmn. Manatt, Chmn. Richards)
2. Opening comments and preliminary proposals by the Project Director
(Mr. Weinstein)
3. Status of funding for the project (Mr. Morris-AID, Amb. Hellman-
State, Mr. Agree-APF)
4. Composition of the Executive Board (Mr. Steed, Mr. Frierson, Mr. Allen)
5. Scheduling matters
 - a. public announcement of the Executive Board and Project Director
 - b. First meeting of the full Executive Board
 - c. Other future meetings related to the project, including a
possible post-election Hill breakfast (all)
- ✓ 6. Structure of the project staff and consultants -- preliminary comments
(Mr. Weinstein),
7. Preliminary timetable for the project (Amb. Brock, Chmn. Manatt,
Chmn. Richards, Mr. Weinstein)
8. Other business (all).

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 14, 1982

APF MEETING ATTENDEES

Chuck Manatt/Mike Steed	- DNC
Fred Biebel	- RNC
Walt Raymond	- NSC
Jay Morris/Marilyn Zak	- AID
Jerry Helman/Dick Hecklinger	- State
Allen Weinstein/George Agree	- APF

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

October 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

SIGNEDFROM: WALTER ^{WR} RAYMOND, JR.

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Sidney Hook

Sidney Hook is one of the sharpest minds in the United States. He has punctured the methodology of left and right ideologies for 50 years. He fought Stalin and Hitler long before it was fashionable. He is an anti-communist in the fullest and best sense of the world.

He is celebrating his 80th birthday on Friday, October 29, in New York. The affair will be very well attended by a broad cross section of people including a mix of Republicans and Democrats, intellectuals, politicians and statesmen. I believe the President and Mr. Hook have much in common. It would be consistent for the President to send such a letter to Mr. Hook both from the standpoint of politics and from the standpoint of true belief.

RECOMMENDATION

That the attached letter be sent to the President for signature and dispatch.

YES _____ NO _____

That the letter be delivered or read at the birthday party by Ambassador Kirkpatrick, ranking U.S. Government official in New York, at the gathering at the Hotel St. Regis. I can arrange.

YES _____ NO _____

ATTACHMENT

TAB I Presidential Letter to Sidney Hook
TAB II Tyrrell newspaper article

P.S. Tyrrell's article which coincidentally appeared supports this general idea. (see attached)

WR

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.

Let Us Now Praise Sidney Hook

We are now entering the last week of one of the most colossally boring elections since '22, when the Hon. William G. McAdoo butted his soft oratory against Normalcy.

For weeks the Democrats, who have practically bankrupted the country, have been pointing to the Republicans and claiming that the Republicans have bankrupted the country. I, somewhat naively, have been waiting for the Republicans to fire back, pointing out that the Democrats spend more and more through irresponsibly written laws that appropriate more and more whether funds are in the Treasury or not. (When Jimmy Carter arrived in Washington the budget was \$356 billion; four years later he was calling for \$739 billion!) Yet the Republicans have merely given us cow eyes and soothing music.

The Democrats would have us believe that there is some mysterious agent that makes our exuberant public expenditures inevitable and unwharvable. They plead that they are helpless to prevent the growing tax burden, but by all that is holy they promise to succor us with more checks from Washington.

The poor, the young, the handicapped, the woebegone, and the "left-quite woebegone" have all been added to the Democrats' lengthening list of federal grantees. Now the neo-liberals among the Democrats promise to appropriate funds for the "infrastructure"—our highways, bridges, public structures, and all the voters who will benefit therefrom. The Republicans are too timid to ask who will foot the bill.

Only in New York's gubernatorial campaign has a Republican appeared who is willing to cut the comedy and to present the electorate with the stark alternatives it faces, to wit: increased government spending, taxes, and inflation from the Democrats as against economies in government and tax cuts for all from the Republicans.

The Republican who utters these audacious thoughts, insisting that only tax cuts will give us real economic growth and jobs, is Lew Lehrman. Whether he wins or loses, he deserves the admiration of all who believe in the value of democratic process. Lehrman respects the voters enough to tell them

they are. There are Republicans who consider this stupid politics.

Fortunately, the last week of these tedious democratic grotesqueries can be observed in dignity. On Friday night before the election, friends of democracy are gathering in New York City to observe the 80th birthday of one of the great American minds of this century, Prof. Sidney Hook. This old lion has marshaled doughty forces to fight many of the worthwhile intellectual and political battles of the past five or so decades.

Even at 80, he still fights for humane values and intelligence in politics. Dying a season when so many do so much to becloud the political issues, it is especially fitting that some of us pay our respects to a robust philosopher who has fought to illuminate the issues.

Of course, to celebrate the birthday of a philosopher during an election seems highly irrelevant to many of the pole now bellowing and crossing their hearts before an astonished electorate. In the view of these poles, the reason James Madison and Thomas Jefferson went political was to have new roads built down by the plantation. Yet ideas lurk behind politics, some good, some bad. Sidney Hook has been for an astonishingly large number of the good ideas.

To begin with, he has been for a free society that would also aid the genuinely poor. He has been for rigorous education for all, and for arranging our institutions so that opportunity for personal development could extend to all. In an age full of greasepaint moralizing about liberation and self-fulfillment, Hook has remained a brilliant battler for the real as against the illusory.

Recently in a published interview, he excoriated the "blatant hypocrisy of the double standard that pervades political and intellectual life," as he cited a Nobel laureate (Hook did not give his name) condemning Israel on the grounds of "justice, decency, and compassion."

"This from a man," observes Hook, "who refused to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the suppression of Poland, the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the terroristic practices of the Hanoi and Cambodian regimes, whose innocent victims number in the millions."

Hook has fought the political and social mythologies of our century. Today he battles to keep quackery out of our schools. He fights affirmative action, the politicization of those realms where politics is arsenious, the usurpations of our "imperial judiciary." In sum, he fights to keep our democratic process in running order.

Gladly, I shall join this week with his friends—conservatives, liberals and social democrats—to celebrate Sidney Hook's eight decades. Then I shall vote for liberty and economy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Professor Hook:

McFarlane
Conventions

It gives me great pleasure to add my congratulations to those honoring you on the observance of your 80th birthday. You have been our global philosopher of freedom through more than a half century's continuous struggle against the totalitarian ideologies of left and right.

You were the first to explain to young people, many of whom are with you tonight and are now leaders of America's intelligentsia, that there is no substitute for logic and clarity in studying the critical issues of the day. You were right in your description of the Moscow trials 50 years ago which stripped away the *facade* illusion of Stalinism. You were right in your clarity of discussion concerning America's need to confront Nazism before our entry into World War II. You were right in identifying the danger of Soviet totalitarianism immediately after the war. And you have fought throughout your career for the rights of reasoned discussion in the university setting on all issues.

During my own earlier struggles within the trade unions and guilds I found your writings persuasive and your actions exemplary. No task is more important than the reassertion of our ideas and values. In that struggle, you have been and remain an intellectual mainspring of our country.

The wonder of your colleagues, students and friends is that, amidst the constant struggle on behalf of the values of freedom, you have

found time to write and publish one of the major philosophic canons of our time. May the power of your pen and the sharpness and clarity of your mind continue on as a guide to all of us in the years ahead.

On a more personal note, though I can not be with you on your special evening, I hope to have the chance to discuss our mutual concerns long before your 90th.

Sincerely,

Address?

National Security Council The White House

Package #

7412

62 OCT 28 All: 28

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>[initials]</u>	<u>A</u>
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	<u>4</u>	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
<u>Raymond</u>	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>D</u>

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Bud,

If you approve we'll try
to get machine signal.

Redo letter; try to get
8:30 Thurs; if not then
machine

done

Brown - this can be dated
today. Please get it to
Raymond's of - they will
get it to Kirkpatrick for
delivery - I think our
address should be added

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10/27

John

Letter has been
rewritten. Allen
Weinstein has
collaborated. Speech-
writers have approved.

Walt

**National Security Council
The White House**

Package # 7412

'82 OCT 26 P1:07

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>A</u>
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
<u>RAYMOND</u>	<u>2</u>	_____	_____

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

*This needs clearance from
speechwriters. First sentence
needs to be revised since eternal
is an adjective. Also typewritten
needs type ball cleaned. Letters
are fuzzy. But it's a good letter.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LAGOS 10179

E. O. 12356: DECL: 10/10/92 *for 12/29/97*
TAGS: PGOV, NI, US
SUBJECT: WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS
REF: (A) STATE 283410; (B) LAGOS 1007, (C) GELBER/
-- HAVERKAMP TELECON OF OCTOBER 6: (D) STATE 283919

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WITH ABJECT APOLOGIES FOR THE INORDINATE DELAY, AMBASSADOR DOVE-EDWIN, DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR REGIONAL AFFAIRS, MEA, PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH COPY OF PRESIDENT SHAGARI'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. (COPY PROVIDED DEPARTMENT VIA REFTEL B HAD BEEN OBTAINED FROM SHEHU MUSA.) ON BASIS OF REF TELECON, GELBER USED DISCUSSION WITH DOVE-EDWIN TO REITERATE OUR POSITIVE REACTION TO PRESIDENT SHAGARI'S PROPOSAL TO SEND A SPECIAL EMISSARY TO READ HIS SPEECH.

3. I ASKED DOVE-EDWIN WHO THE EMISSARY MIGHT BE, AND HE STATED THAT NO DECISION HAD BEEN MADE BUT POSSIBILITIES INCLUDED SENATE PRESIDENT JOSEPH WAYAS (NUMBER 3 BEHIND VICE PRESIDENT EKWEME IN THE NIGERIAN HIERARCHY) OR GOVERNMENT CHIEF SECRETARY SHEHU MUSA. DOVE-EDWIN STATED THAT HE WAS NOW DEVOTING MUCH OF HIS OWN TIME TO PREPARING THE ADDRESS. DOVE-EDWIN ASKED FOR A SCHEDULE OF EVENTS AND HAS BEEN PROVIDED INFORMATION DRAWN FROM REFTEL D.

4. ACTION REQUESTED:

A. INDICATION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT WASHINGTON INTENDS FORMAL RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT SHAGARI'S PROPOSAL TO SEND AN EMISSARY. (SHEHU MUSA HAS STATED HE WANTED A FORMAL RESPONSE.); AND

B. INFORMATION ON THE PLACE IN PROGRAM TO BE ALLOTTED TO PRESIDENT SHAGARI'S EMISSARY. (DOVE-EDWIN HAS ASKED THAT SPECIFIC QUESTION.)

GELBER
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Democracy Institute

na--w
a0845na--w
r w am-crusade sked 9-11 0689
^moved friday night for sunday am release@<
^ U.S. readies 'crusade'<
@^By JIM ANDERSON@=

WASHINGTON (UPI) - Reagan administration officials are preparing a worldwide, multi-million dollar "crusade for democracy" to aid political opposition to authoritarian governments in selected countries.<

The project grows out of a speech given by President Reagan to the British Parliament June 8, where he called for a campaign to sell democratic institutions and deposit communism "on the ash heap of history."<

A senior administration official told United Press International planning has moved forward and officials are "looking through a bag of projects."<

"We are looking at things which the CIA used to do covertly," he said.<

A study on the project is being prepared by a bipartisan Washington think tank, the American Political Foundation, and expected to be completed early next year.<

"We are making a survey of areas around the world where democracy needs support," said George Asree, foundation president.<

The administration official said an annual budget "in the hundreds of millions of dollars" would be the aim for the project.<

He expects it to take form in November, with the opening of an international Conference on Democratic Institutions in Washington that will attract several world political leaders.<

Although there seems to be general agreement that commentator Ben Wattenberg will head the project, it has not been decided whether it will be government-run.<

Asree said it will be established through outside groups and foundations. But the official said it will be an inter-agency group within the government, most likely run by the White House.<

Some elements of the "crusade" would be as trivial as supplying tapes so that opposition political groups could send tape recordings of their messages around their country. Others, still in the embryonic stage, would be more elaborate and involve sophisticated political campaign tactics.<

The official mentioned one precedent in post-World War II Italy when the United States secretly passed funds to friendly politicians in the Christian Democratic Party. The Soviet Union was passing money to Communist politicians.<

A more recent example, not mentioned by the official, was in Chile in the early 1970s, when the U.S. government passed money to anti-Allende political parties through the CIA.<

Because of a combination of political currents stemming from Vietnam and the Watergate episode, future covert activities had to be cleared with congressional committees, in effect making them impossible because of the danger of leaks.<

But now the administration is preparing to go public, with no apology, for "giving political opposition parties the wherewithal to spread their message," the official said.<

Asree and the official were asked in separate interviews if the "crusade" would concentrate on opposing communist governments, and ignore countries where right-wing authoritarian governments rule.<

Said Asree, "We can't be doing things that would be seriously embarrassing to our own government's foreign policy, or it would jeopardize its own success."<

The official said the crusade, had it been in effect, would have tried to operate with opposition politicians in the shah's Iran.<

Asree noted some political crusading work is already going both from the United States and other countries.<

The AFL-CIO runs a worldwide political action campaign with a \$20 million budget. And each West German political party - with combined budgets amounting to about \$100 million annually - send money, advice and people around the world to encourage growth of political pluralism.<

"Our society is capable of exceeding Germany," said Asree.<

<
^-----=
^UPI 09-11-82 11:21 aed=

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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PAGE 01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5686

INFO AMCONSUL GUAYAQUIL 6746
USIA WASHDC 865

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ QUITO 6616

USICA FOR AR
E.O. 12356: DECL: 9/13/92
TAGS: US, PINT, EC
SUBJECT: (U) UPI STORY ON USG DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE

1 (U) QUITO'S EL COMERCIO, ECUADOR'S MOST INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPER, FRONTPAGED A UPI STORY DATED WASHINGTON SEPTEMBER 11 REPORTING A DESCRIPTION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE BY AN UNNAMED "HIGH-RANKING ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL" AND BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION (SIC--PRESUMABLY AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE).

2 (U) BENEATH AN UNCONTENTIOUS HEADLINE, ARTICLE HAS THE US OFFICIAL SAYING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, "WE ARE REVIEWING (REVISING) THINGS THAT THE CIA WILL DO COVERTLY" (OUR RETRANSLATION). IT ALSO HAS THE OFFICIAL CITING AS PRECEDENT FOR THE PRO-DEMOCRACY "CRUSADE" THE CHANNELING OF FUNDS IN THE POST-WAR ERA TO PRO-AMERICAN POLITICIANS IN THE ITALIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. UPI ADDED, ON ITS OWN THE ANTI-ALLENDE EXAMPLE. THE ARTICLE ALSO HAS THE US OFFICIAL CONTEMPLATING A BUDGET OF "HUNDRED OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS." THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS GETS MENTIONED IN THE ABOVE CONTEXT.

3. ~~TO~~ ACTION REQUESTED. AMONG OTHER EFFECTS THIS KIND OF PRESS PLAY COULD GIVE SECOND THOUGHTS TO THE ECUADOREAN NOTABLES WHO HAVE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND PREJUDICE SUCCESS OF PROPOSED HEMISPHERIC INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY. GUIDANCE REQUESTED.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9164

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID 3993

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EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, BE

SUBJECT: WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS:
- SPANISH KING

1. */* - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SPANISH AMBASSADOR AGUIRRE (ALSO AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO U.S.) TOLD EMBASSY SEPTEMBER 2 THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY MADRID TO GET BACKGROUND ON THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS. MADRID NEEDED THE INFORMATION, SAID AGUIRRE, BECAUSE THE KING OF SPAIN HAD BEEN INVITED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN TO GIVE THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS.

3. AGUIRRE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE LEVEL AND NUMBER OF INVITEES. AGUIRRE NOTED IN PASSING THAT THE KING WAS LIKELY TO BE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE FORMATION OF THE NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT AT THE TIME OF THE CONFERENCE. *M*

4. AGUIRRE WILL PAY FAREWELL CALL ON AMBASSADOR PRICE FRIDAY MORNING IF THE DEPARTMENT WISHES EMBASSY TO PASS AGUIRRE SOMETHING OTHER THAN BARE FACTS OF CONFERENCE.
PRICE
BT

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NLS *F95-0412 #25*

BY *d*, NARA, DATE *8/27/95*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAGE 01 AMCONSUL STRASBOURG 0165 DTG: 050900Z OCT 82 PSN: 003216
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O R 050900Z OCT 82
FM AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2037

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS 1832
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0036

UNCLAS STRASBOURG 165

E. O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, OTRA.
SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS
REF: A) STRASBOURG 163, B) STATE 276927

1. THE FOLLOWING IS INFORMATION REQUESTED (PARAS 3-4, REF B)
CONCERNING CONFERENCE PARTICIPANT JOSE MARIA DE AREILZA, PRESIDENT
OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.

2. ADDRESSES AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS: PRESIDENT AREILZAS MADRID
ADDRESS SHOULD BE USED FOR THE PERIOD BETWEEN NOW AND THE
CONFERENCE. THAT ADDRESS IS: FUENTE DEL REY 11, ARAVACA (MADRID),
SPAIN. HIS TELEPHONE NUMBER THERE IS 34-1-2071351. SHOULD IT
BE NECESSARY TO DO SO, HE COULD ALSO BE REACHED DURING THE PERIOD
OCT. 4-28 THROUGH HIS ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS: HOTEL
BAHIA, SAN SEBASTIAN. TELEPHONE: 34-42-221700.

3. BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION: BORN IN 1909 AT PORTUGALETE (VIZCAYA).
EDUCATION: CIVIL ENGINEER (BILBAO). DEGREE IN LAW (SALAMANCA).
ACTIVE IN POLITICS UNDER THE REPUBLIC 1933-1936 AS AN INDEPENDENT
MONARCHIST, AND TOOK PART ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE IN THE
UPRISING OF JULY 1936. - MAYOR OF BILBAO FROM 1937 TO 1938.
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF INDUSTRY 1939. AMBASSADOR IN ARGENTINE,
1947-1950. AMBASSADOR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1954-1960.
AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE 1960-1964. - WAS MINISTER FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS IN THE FIRST GOVERNMENT OF THE MONARCHY, 1975 AND 1976.
DEPUTY TO
ASSEMBLY, ON 11 MAY 1981.

4. PHOTOGRAPH: A PHOTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT AREILZA HAS BEEN
POUCHED TO ROY HAVERKAMP, OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR
POLITICAL AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. HOMME
BT

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National Security Council
The White House

257

Package #

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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u><i>[Signature]</i></u>	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
<u><i>Raymond</i></u>	<u>2</u>	_____	_____

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Thanks.

September 23, 1982

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

TO: John Poindexter

FM: Walt ^WRaymond, Jr.

In light of the UP story we felt it useful to meet to ensure a coordinated position. The general lines of this have been shared with Bob Sims and Mort Allin.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 22, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Scott Thompson
United States Information Agency

Richard Stilwell
Department of Defense

SUBJECT: Press Guidance on Questions
Regarding Democracy Initiatives

Attached herewith is a Department of State guidance on this subject. At the meeting held at the Department of State on September 20 it was agreed that we would ride with the State guidance. USIA and Defense will refer questions to the Department of State. The White House question would respond within the parameters of para 2 of the attached guidance, referring to Department of State for additional details. We do not want to get drawn into a discussion of the nature and scope of U.S. programs as they are still being discussed within the Government.

ATTACHMENT

Press guidance

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NLS 795-041/2 #26

BY

NARA, DATE

8/27/95

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P:R HECKLINGER:TF
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P:G HELMAN

ARA:G BROWN
USIA - PGM/G - MR. SCHNEIDER (PH) | HA/RP - H SIMON
NSC - MR. BLAIR (PHONE)

IMMEDIATE AMREP

PLEASE PASS TO PAO'S

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: US, PINT

SUBJECT: UPI ARTICLE ON DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE

REF: QUITO 6616 (NOTAL)

1. REFTEL REPORTS THAT ECUADOR'S MOST INFLUENTIAL NEWS-PAPER FRONTPAGED TEXT OF UPI STORY ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE WHICH INCLUDED QUOTES FROM AN UNNAMED ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL THAT MIGHT LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDING. STORY ALSO RAN IN COSTA RICAN NEWSPAPER. TEXT OF UPI ARTICLE IS REPEATED AT PARA. 4 BELOW.

2. POSTS SHOULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IF ISSUE ARISES.

-- PRESIDENT REAGAN, IN HIS SPEECH TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT ON JUNE 8, CALLED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO FOSTER THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY. HE NOTED THAT OTHER DEMOCRATIC NATIONS PROVIDE OPEN ASSISTANCE TO POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS AND COMMITTED THE US -- THE PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC SECTOR -- TO WORK MORE ACTIVELY TOWARD THIS SAME GOAL. HE ENDORSED A STUDY INITIATED BY THE CHAIRMEN OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH THE

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BIPARTISAN AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION TO DETERMINE HOW THIS CAN BE BEST ACCOMPLISHED.

-- THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF US PROGRAMS INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF HOW MUCH NEW GOVERNMENT OR PRIVATE SECTOR FUNDING IS REQUIRED WILL BE DETERMINED WHEN THE STUDY IS COMPLETED THROUGH CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS, THE POLITICAL PARTIES, KEY PRIVATE SECTOR GROUPS (SUCH AS BUSINESS, LABOR AND OTHERS), AS WELL AS OTHER GOVERNMENTS. ANY PREDICTIONS BY US OFFICIALS OR PRIVATE CITIZENS AS TO WHAT WILL RESULT ARE AT THIS STAGE SIMPLY PERSONAL SPECULATIONS.

-- WE DO KNOW THAT OUR PROGRAMS WILL BE PUBLIC AND WILL RELY HEAVILY ON PRIVATE US ORGANIZATIONS. THE SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL SECTORS OF OUR SOCIETY, NOT JUST THE GOVERNMENT.

-- THERE ARE A FEW PROGRAMS THAT WILL TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE COMPLETION OF THE STUDY. ONE IS THE CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS MENTIONED BY THE PRESIDENT IN HIS LONDON SPEECH, WHICH WILL BE HELD IN WASHINGTON IN NOVEMBER UNDER THE CO-SPONSORSHIP OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE. THIS IS TO BE A SESSION WHERE EXPERTS FROM MANY NATIONS CAN EXAMINE ALL ASPECTS OF FREE ELECTIONS.

3. FYI. YOU SHOULD RESPOND TO ANY QUESTIONS REGARDING COVERT ACTIVITIES CATEGORICALLY: COVERT ACTIVITIES HAVE NO PLACE IN THIS INITIATIVE.

4. TEXT OF UPI ARTICLE FOLLOWS: SEPTEMBER 11, 1982. WASHINGTON. REAGAN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ARE PREPARING A WORLDWIDE, MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR "CRUSADE FOR DEMOCRACY" TO AID POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES.

THE PROJECT GROWS OUT OF A SPEECH GIVEN BY PRESIDENT REAGAN TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT JUNE 8, WHERE HE CALLED FOR A CAMPAIGN TO SELL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND DEPOSIT COMMUNISM "ON THE ASH HEAP OF HISTORY."

A SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL TOLD UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HAS MOVED FORWARD AND OFFICIALS ARE "LOOKING THROUGH A BAG OF PROJECTS."

"WE ARE LOOKING AT THINGS WHICH THE CIA USED TO DO COVERTLY," HE SAID.

A STUDY ON THE PROJECT IS BEING PREPARED BY A BIPARTISAN

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WASHINGTON THINK TANK, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION, AND EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED EARLY NEXT YEAR.

"WE ARE MAKING A SURVEY OF AREAS AROUND THE WORLD WHERE DEMOCRACY NEEDS SUPPORT," SAID GEORGE AGREE, FOUNDATION PRESIDENT.

THE ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID AN ANNUAL BUDGET "IN THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS" WOULD BE THE AIM FOR THE PROJECT.

HE EXPECTS IT TO TAKE FORM IN NOVEMBER, WITH THE OPENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN WASHINGTON THAT WILL ATTRACT SEVERAL WORLD POLITICAL LEADERS.

ALTHOUGH THERE SEEMS TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT COMMENTATOR BEN WATTENBERG WILL HEAD THE PROJECT, IT HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED WHETHER IT WILL BE GOVERNMENT RUN.

AGREE SAID IT WILL BE ESTABLISHED THROUGH OUTSIDE GROUPS AND FOUNDATIONS. BUT THE OFFICIAL SAID IT WILL BE AN INTER-AGENCY GROUP WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, MOST LIKELY RUN BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

SOME ELEMENTS OF THE "CRUSADE" WOULD BE AS TRIVIAL AS SUPPLYING TAPES SO THAT OPPOSITION POLITICAL GROUPS COULD SEND RECORDINGS OF THEIR MESSAGES AROUND THEIR COUNTRY. OTHERS, STILL IN THE EMBRYONIC STAGE, WOULD BE MORE ELABORATE AND INVOLVE SOPHISTICATED POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TACTICS.

THE OFFICIAL MENTIONED ONE PRECEDENT IN POST-WORLD WAR II ITALY WHEN THE UNITED STATES SECRETLY PASSED FUNDS TO FRIENDLY POLITICIANS IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. THE SOVIET UNION WAS PASSING MONEY TO COMMUNIST POLITICIANS.

A MORE RECENT EXAMPLE, NOT MENTIONED BY THE OFFICIAL, WAS IN CHILE IN THE EARLY 1970'S, WHEN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PASSED MONEY TO ANTI-ALLENDE POLITICAL PARTIES THROUGH THE CIA.

BECAUSE OF A COMBINATION OF POLITICAL CURRENTS STEMMING FROM VIETNAM AND THE WATERGATE EPISODE, FUTURE COVERT ACTIVITIES HAD TO BE CLEARED WITH CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, IN EFFECT MAKING THEM IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE DANGER OF LEAKS.

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BUT NOW THE ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARING TO GO PUBLIC, WITH NO APOLOGY, FOR "GIVING POLITICAL OPPOSITION PARTIES THE WHEREWITHAL TO SPREAD THEIR MESSAGE," THE OFFICIAL SAID.

AGREE AND THE OFFICIAL WERE ASKED IN SEPARATE INTERVIEWS IF THE "CRUSADE" WOULD CONCENTRATE ON OPPOSING COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS, AND IGNORE COUNTRIES WHERE RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS RULE.

SAID AGREE, "WE CAN'T BE DOING THINGS THAT WOULD BE SERIOUSLY FMBARRASSING TO OUR OWN GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY, OR IT WOULD JEOPARDIZE ITS OWN SUCCESS."

THE OFFICIAL SAID THE CRUSADE, HAD IT BEEN IN EFFECT, WOULD HAVE TRIED TO OPERATE WITH OPPOSITION POLITICIANS IN THE SHAH'S IRAN.

AGREE NOTED SOME POLITICAL CRUSADING WORK IS ALREADY GOING BOTH FROM THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE AFL-CIO RUNS A WORLDWIDE POLITICAL ACTION CAMPAIGN WITH A DOLLARS 20 MILLION BUDGET. AND EACH WEST GERMAN POLITICAL PARTY--WITH COMBINED BUDGETS AMOUNTING TO ABOUT DOLLARS 100 MILLION ANNUALLY--SEND MONEY, ADVICE AND PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD TO ENCOURAGE GROWTH OF POLITICAL PLURALISM.

"OUR SOCIETY IS CAPABLE OF EXCEEDING GERMANY," SAID AGREE.
YYY

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, OTRA
SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS
~~BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC~~
REF: STATE 285235

1. HERE IS THE LATEST LIST OF ACCEPTANCES FOR THE FREE ELECTIONS CONFERENCE. LIKE THE LAST LIST (REFTEL) IT INCLUDES ONLY THE NAMES OF PERSONS INVITED BY THE DEPARTMENT A;D NOT THE NAMES OF PEOPLE SOME OF YOU WERE ASKED TO INVITE FOR THE AEI. WE ASSUME THIS IS THE FINAL LIST AND THERE WILL BE NO ADDITIONS ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SUBSTITUTIONS OR DROP-OUTS.

2. ARGENTINA

AUSTRALIA
MR. MALCOM H. MACKERRAS
MR. KEITH W. PEARSON

BARBADOS
CAMERON TUDOR

BOTSWANA
MRS. CLARA OLSEN
MR. DAVID MAGANG

BRAZIL
DR. JOSE BERNARDO CABRAL

CANADA
MR. GORDON FAIRWEATHER

COLOMBIA
SENATOR ALVARO GOMEZ HURTADO
SENATOR CARLOS GALAN
MR. ANTONIO PANESSO

COSTA RICA
PRESIDENT LUIS ALBERTO MONGE ALVAREZ
THE HONORABLE FRANCISCO SAENZ MESA
MR. RAFAEL VILLEGAS ANTILLON

ECUADOR
THE HONORABLE GALO PLAZA LASSO
THE HONORABLE EUSTORGIO MENDOZA CUBILLO
FRANCE
MR. JEAN DANIEL
MR. FRANCOIS LUCHAIRE

GREECE
MR. MICHAEL PAPACONSTANTINOU
MR. THEODORE STATHIS

HONDURAS
MR. UBODORO ARRIAGA IRAHETA
INDIA
PROF. BASHIRUDDIN AHMED
MR. ASHOK GANESAR

ISRAEL
MR. MEIR SHITRIT
MR. DOV BEN MEIR

JAMAICA
THE HONORABLE BRUCE GOLDING
DR. PAUL ROBERTSON

JAPAN
POSSIBLY 2 PARTICIPANTS

LIBERIA
DR. AMOS SAWYER

MEXICO
DR. JORGE CARPIZO
DR. EDMUNDO HERNANDEZ VELA
NIGERIA
THE HONORABLE CHIEF JUSTICE OVIE-WHISKEY

PANAMA
THE HONORABLE DR. ROLANDO MURGAS TORRAZO

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PAGE 02 OF 02 SECSTATE WASHDC 2979

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PERU

MR. LUIS PERCOVICH ROCA
MR. GUILLERMO LARGO COX
MR. ROBERTO RAMIREZ DEL VILLER BEAUMONT

THE PHILIPPINES

SE;ATOR ARTURO TOLENTINO

PROTUGAL

MR. JULIO FRANCISCO MIRANDA CALHA
MR. VICTOR M.J. ANTONIO
MR. JOSE MIQUEL ANACORETA CORREIA

SANTO DOMINGO

THE HONORABLE DR. MANUEL GARCIA LIZARDO

SPAIN

PEDRO LOPEZ JIMENEZ

THAILAND

CHALONG KALYANAMITR
KRAMOL THONGTHAMMACHART

TURKEY

PROF. FEYYAZ GOLCUKLU
PROF. HUMTAZ SOYSAL

THE UNITED KINGDOM

DR. ROGER MORGAN
2 CONSERVATIVE MP'S
2 LABOR MP'S
2 SOCIAL DEMOCRAT-LIBERAL MP'S

VENEZUELA

THE HONORABLE CARLOS DELGADO CHAPELLIN

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

THE HONORABLE JOSE MARIA DE ARIELZA
ERIK LEIJON

THE LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT

THE HONORABLE NELSON CARNEIRO
THE HONORABLE ANDRES TOWNSEND

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

BARONESS DIANA ELLES

3. PLEASE LET US KNOW ASAP IF THERE ARE ANY CORRECTIONS
TO BE MADE IN THIS LIST.

4. FOR MADRID: IS GUILLERMO GALLOTI JIMENEZ GOING TO
PARTICIPATE?

5. FOR EL SALVADOR: HAS RAFAEL MORAN CASTENEDA ACCEPTED?

6. FOR KUALA LUMPUR: HAS MOHAMED ZAHIR ISMAEL ACCEPTED?

SHULTZ

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

October 6, 1982

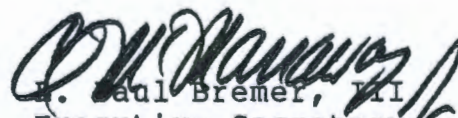
Re

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Message From Greek President Karamanlis to President Reagan

Attached is a message for President Reagan from President Constantine Karamanlis of Greece declining President Reagan's invitation to attend the Conference on Free Elections in early November.

As he transmitted this message to Acting Assistant Secretary Niles October 5, the Greek Ambassador made the additional oral point that President Karamanlis had attempted without success to reschedule his mid-October state visit to Canada in order to combine visits to Canada and the United States.


H. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Letter to President from
Greek Ambassador of October 5, 1982

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

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NLS 1-95-04112 #26A
BY A NARA, DATE 8/27/99

EMBASSY OF GREECE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 5, 1982

My dear Mr. President,

I have the honor to convey to you the following message from His Excellency Constantine Karamanlis, President of the Hellenic Republic.

"Dear Mr. President,

I have deeply appreciated your invitation to visit Washington and address the conference sponsored by the State Department and the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Your invitation was all the more appreciated since my visit to Washington would give me the pleasure to meet you and have an exchange of views with you, both on matters of bilateral cooperation between our two countries and on current international problems. And that would be, in my opinion, very useful, in view of the fact that the policies of the United States are connected directly or indirectly with problems concerning not Greece alone but also the wider geographical area of which Greece is part.

Moreover I would have the pleasure to have contacts with the large Greek-American community, whose presence in your great and hospitable country strengthens and promotes even more the traditional friendship between our two peoples.

Unfortunately, the dates of the conference in question do not permit me to make use of the opportunity that your kind invitation offers me, due to previously accepted engagements of such a nature that they cannot be postponed.

In fact, from October 14 to October 19 I will be paying a state visit to Canada; from October 25 to October 30 I am under the obligation to preside over the

./...

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

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NLS F-95-04/12 #27
BY NARA, DATE 8/27/99

ceremonies which will take place in Northern Greece in celebration of national anniversaries. Furthermore, I am to visit France and Germany in the middle of November next.

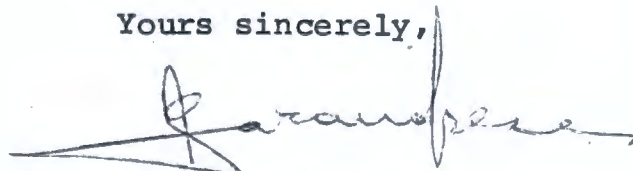
Please be assured, Mr. President, that I deeply regret the fact that these unfortunate coincidences make it impossible for me to visit the United States from November 4 to November 6.

I nevertheless hope that I will have the pleasure and the honour to meet you on another occasion in the future.

Constantine Karamanlis "

I take this opportunity, Mr. President, to express to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Karandreas', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the left.

Nicolas Karandreas
Ambassador

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

October 27, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM ^{WR} WALTER RAYMOND, JR.

SUBJECT Funding for the "Democracy Program"

I have had long talks with Al Keel and we need to sort out with you the strategy for the funding of a first slice of funds for public diplomacy/political action. Al believes we should reprogram in the vicinity of \$20-25 million and to try for it at the lame duck. Failing this we simply can not move the President's program forward. Parallel steps include: (1) the NSDD on Public Diplomacy, which will give us an enhanced governmental structure to deal with these issues; (2) Allen Weinstein's efforts on "Project Democracy" and (3) private funding that we hope the President will help trigger.

I would like to take advantage of the 11 a.m. meeting on October 27, which will discuss funding strategies on radio enrichment, to review this issue. The matters are somewhat interrelated. All concerned NSC and OMB persons will be present.

TAB I MR: Meeting with Al Keel

cc Bob Kimmitt
Carey Lord~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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NLS 95-04162-28BY A NARA, DATE 8/27/99

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 26, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: ^WWALTER RAYMOND, JR.

SUBJECT: Democracy Project Study

Allan Weinstein, study director of the Democracy Project, raised the possibility of locating the Democracy Project study team on Capitol Hill at an executive committee meeting chaired by Bill Brock. The executive group thought that the location of the Democracy Project group on the Hill was a good idea and would enhance the bi-partisan quality of the initiative.. Weinstein is looking for space either in the Capitol or in one of the congressional office buildings. The move into the Hart Senate Office Building may open spaces somewhere on the Hill. Weinstein advised me today that he had contacted Jim Cannon who seemed favorably disposed to the idea. Weinstein suggested that White House endorsement would be helpful in facilitating his efforts.

John Poindexter suggested that I draft a memorandum for you to send to Jim Baker on this subject. Please see attached.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the attached memorandum to James Baker.

YES _____ NO. _____

Concur. Bob Kinnitt
ATTACHMENT

TAB I Letter to James Baker for signature



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Democracy Project Study

As you will recall from the President's speech in Westminster in June 1982, the President stated that the chairmen and other leaders of the Republican and Democratic Party national organizations are initiating a bipartisan study to determine how the United States could best contribute to the global campaign for democracy. The first step in this effort is the completion of the study which will take place over the next 6 months. Allan Weinstein has been selected as the study director of the Democracy Project and is working closely with Bill Brock in his capacity as chairman of the American Political Foundation, the two parties, as well as labor and private business representatives.

The executive committee of the Democracy Project which is composed of representatives of the groups noted above, has suggested that Weinstein will be well served by having office space on Capitol Hill. This would permit a deepening of the bipartisan quality of the study. Space could either be in the Capitol itself or one of the congressional office buildings. Space would probably include approximately 5 small offices. I would appreciate it if you could endorse this idea with Senator Baker or with whomever else you believe appropriate.

File: Proj. Democracy.

Doing something about Africa

By M. Peter McPherson

Development experts in Africa and among the international donor community have been shocked by the evidence of sub-Saharan Africa's serious economic condition.

Documenting these feelings of discouragement and dismay are the statistics on Africa's dismal economic progress to date and poor development condition. A recent World Bank report points out that in the 20 years or so since African countries gained their independence, there has been little or negative economic growth per capita.

Food shortages and resulting malnutrition aggravate already serious health problems for most Africans. Infant mortality is substantially higher in Africa than in Asia or Latin America.

As an African economist said in a recent conference on African development, "the past strategies of African and donor governments have been a failure; new approaches are needed."

During the Reagan administration, the Agency for International Development (AID) has tailored its priorities to deal with the African crisis. Agriculture, policy reform, building institutions for technology transfer, and private sector development are the four cornerstones of our assistance policy in Africa. They reflect the belief that resource transfers alone are not sufficient if the condition in Africa is to be turned around.

United States assistance to Africa has increased substantially. The administration's request to the Congress for fiscal year 1983 is 84 percent greater than aid to Africa was in 1979. Much of this growth has occurred under the current administration.

Over half of this assistance is for agricultural development — nearly double the amount available for agricultural programs three years ago. A similar expansion is occurring in reforestation and fuelwood production — an integral part of the agricultural system. Increases in agricultural productivity are basic to African economic growth — to export earnings, employment, and food availability for rapidly growing populations.

The key to agricultural productivity is agricultural research — practical, farmer-oriented research. Until recently there has been little research on African food production as most research programs inherited from the colonial period have emphasized export crops. New production technologies developed in Africa for African farming conditions are vital, but institutional capabilities in Africa are seriously underdeveloped. AID, through American universities and agricultural organizations, is now working in 36 countries on agricultural research and related education and extension projects with other agricultural projects in seven other countries.

Linkage is necessary to the development and application of new agricultural technologies and for successful agricul-

tural production programs. AID has for many years been a major contributor to the international research centers such as the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) in Nigeria. The fruit of the work of these centers come with the ties with national research institutions and their extension to Africa's millions of small farmers — the backbone of African economies.

Over the next several years, AID will be carrying out — in concert with African regional and national organizations and other international donors — a comprehensive approach to developing new technologies for food production and to intensifying their application by African farmers. By linking the basic research and extension services, a sound institutional base can be laid for future agricultural growth. The process will take another 15-20 years, but the possibilities for changes in Africa's economic condition and well-being of the African people are dramatic. In the US, it took 30 years of institution building in research and extension with the land grant institutions to bring about the food production achievements we know today.

Similar progress is being made in health programs in Africa. Closely associated with improved health services will be an expansion of family planning assistance as more and more African governments adopt population policies.

US assistance to Zimbabwe has become a milestone in AID's work in Africa. Since the major commitment of assistance by AID's administrator during Zimbabwe's Conference on Rural Development two years ago, US assistance has made an extraordinary contribution to that country's economy. Using the flexibility of economic support funds, AID designed a program which is achieving the double effect of providing vitally needed foreign exchange for the modern economy while generating Zimbabwe dollars for expenditure in the traditional African areas which have been so badly neglected in the past. It has been possible with these funds to rehabilitate from war damage hundreds of rural schools, clinics, rural roads, animal health centers, agricultural training schools, primary and secondary teacher training facilities. New programs will expand activities in agricultural production among the African farmers and build up Zimbabwe's capacity for training the vast numbers of skilled workers, professionals, and managerial staff required by a growing and more equitable economy.

The rapid pace with which AID has been able to carry out its programs in Zimbabwe has been possible owing to the capable administrative and technical services of the Zimbabwe government. Therein lies the heart of the African development challenge in which AID joins with African leaders. The building of competent African development institutions with African management and technical staffs is the vital task of the next 20 years.

M. Peter McPherson is administrator of the Agency for International Development.

THE NEW AFRICAN WOMAN

Guns and love – women's liberation Eritrean style

While in the Sudan last month, News Editor **Bob Hitchcock** met a petite Eritrean woman whose steely determination to win freedom gives the whole concept of women's liberation a new, more realistic dimension

WHEN AS A woman of 26 years of age you have spent three years facing death and seeing others die as a frontline fighter in the rugged mountains and arid plains of Eritrea, burning your bra as a symbolic act of women's liberation seems an empty gesture.

That is petite, and wholly feminine, Fozia Hashim's reaction to the antics of her "liberated" European and American sisters as she sets about entrenching relatively new freedoms and independence among some 2,000 Eritrean women scattered throughout male-dominated Sudan.

Fozia, who is married to an Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) guerrilla now fighting in the Sahel mountains near Nakfa, is chairperson of the Sudan branch of the National Eritrean Women's Association (NEWA).

To fully appreciate what Fozia and her comrades – both women and men – have achieved, one needs to consider the attitude to Eritrean women that dictated the lifestyle of most of them up to the early 1970s.

Eritrean women, like those of other countries in that region of Africa, were suffocated by tradition and generally assumed to be inferior in most ways to men.

Social taboos

As if to underscore their lowly status, women could not own property, could not sign legal documents and could not participate in legal, political or religious arguments. It was taboo for women and men to meet socially at the same level. And women could be prosecuted for merely propagating views on women's liberation.

The National Eritrean Women's Association comes under the umbrella of what today is that territory's principal organisation in the fight for national independence – the EPLF. It was at the EPLF's first congress, held in the field in 1977, that "laws" were passed which did much to step-up progress in the Eritrean woman's bid for freedom from traditional bondage.

For instance, "arranged" marriages (in which brides are selected for the men) were made illegal in the eyes of the EPLF, as were child brides. Previously, girls between ten and 13 years were married off to men or teenage boys.

At that congress it was stipulated that the minimum age for a man and woman to wed would be 21 and 18 years respectively, and that the relationship should be solemnised only on the basis of mutual consent between



Fozia Hashim: No concessions

the partners. The children of marriages conducted according to EPLF "law" are regarded as legitimate, and there is equal ownership of property between husband and wife.

As Fozia Hashim comments: "It was concepts like these that gave us, women of Eritrea, a new sense of values, a new confidence in ourselves. There are very few divorces. This is probably due to the fact that we share everything – even battlefield dangers and hardships."

Why is it that Eritrean men – Moslem and Christian alike – have supported their women in the campaign for equality between the sexes?

This is explained succinctly by Semere Russom, a senior EPLF representative in Khartoum, a guerrilla with years of experience in the field.

He says: "When you see a woman strip a gun and put it together again, repair a damaged tank or truck, endure an enemy bombardment with cool courage... well, then you have to believe she is your equal."

Fozia Hashim agrees, sadly, that the war situation has helped the cause of the Eritrean women.

"Any situation that causes a manpower shortage and the need for close-knit loyalty among people – male and female – creates the right climate for women's independence. But that situation has to be exploited properly by both men and women for it to be successful."

How successful is the Eritrean brand of sex equality?

Veteran fighter Semere Russom: "Somehow Eritrean women manage to retain their femininity while doing jobs that once were known as man's work. That is the measure of their success. Today, women are regarded as the key to the success of our revolution."

Fozia Hashim: "Women's emancipation was put into action in the early 1970s when they found that as fighters in the field, no concessions were granted in the light of them being females. Inevitably, in battle, women share the same dangers as men. And if they are to be effective they must be able to use their weapons as efficiently as men."

Today, women constitute 30 per cent of the EPLF's fighting force. Some are unit commanders, a situation unique among African liberation movements. In one operation within the past two years, 11 Eritrean women guerrillas were taken prisoner by the Ethiopian army. A mother of six children was captured while leading a small guerrilla detachment against a battalion of troops. It was her custom to sing patriotic Eritrean songs as she led her fighters on a raid.

As the war grinds on – it has been going now for 21 years (see page 48), – there are almost as many war-disabled women as there are men. But in many cases this does not stop them working. A one-armed woman conducts literacy classes. A woman with an artificial leg is an arms instructor. A woman blinded by an enemy grenade is in charge of political instruction in the prisoner-of-war camps.

Women doctors

Many Eritrean women take up arms after years of attending to household chores. Others become guerrillas immediately after leaving high school, or graduating from university. There are a number of women doctors working in emergency hospitals on the battlefronts.

What of Fozia's future now that she leads an Eritrean women's organisation in Sudan?

"Well, we all work to the benefit of the men and women fighting in the field. We make clothing for them and generally look after their welfare. But it is also my job to spread the message of women's liberation."

She smiles coyly. "One day I will return to the field and take up my gun again and fight beside my husband."

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DRAFTED BY P:RENECKLINGER
APPROVED BY P:LESTERBURGER
P:GNELMAN USIA:MSCHNEIDER
EUR:MPALMER, S/S-O: MROBINSON
MA:CFAIRBANKS
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FSI:WCONNOR

D.H. [Signature]

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SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ON DEMOCRATIZATION IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

1. THIS CABLE DESCRIBES THE PURPOSE AND RESULTS OF THIS CONFERENCE. ELABORATES ON THE STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S DEMOCRACY INITIATIVES AND INVITES POSTS' SUGGESTIONS.

2. DEPARTMENT SPONSORED OCTOBER 18-19 CONFERENCE OF ACADEMICS AND OTHER EXPERTS, A FEW PROMINENT EMIGRES AND JOURNALISTS ON HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE PURPOSE WAS TO DEVELOP SUGGESTIONS FOR MORE EFFECTIVE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR PROGRAMS TO IMPLEMENT THE BROAD INITIATIVES SET FORTH IN THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

3. SECRETARY SHULTZ AND UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER ADDRESSED THE CONFERENCE. TEXTS OF THEIR REMARKS WERE

CARRIED IN THE WIRELESS FILE. USIA TV COVERED THE CONFERENCE AND IS PREPARING A VTR WHICH WILL BE ANNOUNCED SEPT-EL.

4. THE CONFERENCE BROKE DOWN INTO THREE WORKING GROUPS: ONE ON THE USSR, ONE ON EASTERN EUROPE, AND ONE ON THIRD WORLD COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. MODERATORS OF THE PANELS WERE ROBERT CONQUEST OF THE HOOVER INSTITUTION, VERNON ASPATURIAN OF PENN. STATE, AND WILLIAM LEVITS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY. THEY SUMMARIZED THE DISCUSSION IN THE FINAL PLENARY SESSION.

5. THE GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

-- MOST PARTICIPANTS BELIEVED A MORE ACTIVE, CREATIVE USG ROLE IN A "COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND VALUES" WAS WARRANTED. WE SHOULD BE FAR LESS TIMID AND DEFENSIVE AND DEMONSTRATE THAT THE PRINCIPLES AND VALUES OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES CONSTITUTE A FAR MORE LEGITIMATE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK FOR A NATION THAN MARXISM-LENINISM. THE USG MUST ORGANIZE ITSELF TO DO

A BETTER JOB WITHIN THIS AREA. FOR EXAMPLE, COORDINATION AMONG AGENCIES, WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND WITH OTHER NATIONS MUST BE IMPROVED.

-- THE PARTICIPANTS ALSO ADVOCATED A SUBSTANTIALLY EXPANDED ROLE FOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS; THESE CAN OFTEN BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN GOVERNMENT.

-- DEMOCRATIZATION IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WILL BE AT BEST A LONG-TERM PROCESS WITH SETBACKS ALONG THE WAY. THE PROGRESS OF THOSE THAT HAVE THE MOST POTENTIAL, CERTAIN EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS, WILL REMAIN ULTIMATELY DEPENDENT UPON CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION. A REALISTIC APPROACH SEEKS INTERIM GOALS--RELAXATION OF OPPRESSION, MORE LIBERALIZATION, GREATER PLURALISM--WHICH CAN SOW THE SEEDS OF MORE SUBSTANTIAL LONG-TERM CHANGE.

--CHANGE IS MORE LIKELY IF IT IS SEEN TO COME FROM WITHIN, RATHER THAN FROM THE OUTSIDE.

-- WHILE THE TOOLS WE HAVE TO INFLUENCE CHANGE IN CLOSED SOCIETIES ARE LIMITED, WE MUST EMPLOY

THEM FULLY AND CONSISTENTLY. THEY HAVE TO BE FASHIONED TO FIT EACH COUNTRY, AS EACH PRESENTS A UNIQUE SET OF CONDITIONS.

--RADIOS--ALL STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF EXPANDING AND STRENGTHENING VOA, RFE AND RL. THE LATTER TWO SHOULD BE CONSIDERED THE "SURROGATE" STATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES--AND CARRY DISCUSSIONS OF ISSUES WHICH WOULD BE PART OF THE NORMAL PROGRAMMING OF A FREE STATION IN THOSE COUNTRIES IF SUCH EXISTED. ONE GROUP PROPOSED A "UNIVERSITY OF THE AIR," WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY RANGE OF COURSES TO ITS LISTENERS. THE PARTICIPANTS POINTED OUT THAT CONTENT AND STYLE SHOULD BE TAILORED TO EACH COUNTRY OR NATIONAL GROUP. CHINA AND EAST EUROPE EXPERTS THOUGHT AN EVEN-HANDED, NON-POLEMIC STYLE WAS MOST EFFECTIVE WHERE SOVIET EXPERTS SUGGESTED MORE FORCEFUL EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS TO REFLECT TRADITIONAL SOVIET/RUSSIAN MEDIA STYLE.

--LITERATURE--MOST CONSIDERED BOOKS AND JOURNALS TO BE BASIC WEAPONS IN THE COMPETITION OF IDEAS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THEY REACH ELITES. THE US HAS TO EXPAND GREATLY ITS TRANSLATION AND DISTRIBUTION EFFORTS, THROUGH OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL CHANNELS. THE OFTEN DIFFICULT PROCESS OF GETTING BOOKS INTO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND SHARING THEM HAS THE ADDED BENEFIT OF BRINGING TOGETHER DEMOCRATIC-ORIENTED PEOPLE IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

--EXCHANGES--MOST PARTICIPANTS BELIEVE THAT WE CAN DERIVE SUBSTANTIAL BENEFIT FROM EXCHANGES AND EXHIBIT PROGRAMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, EASTERN EUROPE, CHINA AND OTHERS. MANY EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THESE PROGRAMS SHOULD BE EXPANDED AND NOT INTERRUPTED EXCEPT UNDER EXTREMELY AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES. MORE RECIPROCITY, IN SUBSTANCE AS WELL AS FORM, WAS CALLED FOR--PARTICULARLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

--YOUTH--IN BOTH OUR RADIO PROGRAMMING AND EXCHANGES, WE SHOULD TRY TO REACH THE YOUNGER GENERATION. ONE GROUP OF EXPERTS SUGGESTED CREATION OF A DEMOCRATICALLY ORIENTED INTERNATIONAL YOUTH ASSOCIATION TO COMPETE WITH THE COMMUNIST DOMINATED YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

--EMIGRES--TWO GROUPS RECOMMENDED MORE EFFECTIVE--

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Y UTILIZING THE TALENTS OF THE NEW GENERATION OF EMIGRES. ONE SUGGESTION WAS TO SET UP AN INSTITUTE FOR THEM.

OTHER--

--COMMERCIAL CONTACTS WERE VIEWED AS GENERALLY DESIRABLE IN LOOSENING UP EAST EUROPEAN SOCIETIES. WHILE CREDITS MUST BE ADVANCED ON SOUND ECONOMIC BASES, THE POLITICAL VALUE OF ENHANCING COMMERCE SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED.

--MORE CONTACT WITH CUBANS WAS SUPPORTED BY THE PARTICIPATING CUBAN EXPERTS (PARTICULARLY RADIO, TELEVISION, AND VISITS BY EMIGRES) AS A WAY OF INCREASING DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON CASTRO.

--IN TRANSITIONAL STATES LIKE NICARAGUA, THE US (ESPECIALLY PRIVATE GROUPS) SHOULD BE PROVIDING FAR MORE SUPPORT TO THOSE ELEMENTS STILL FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY.

--US PROGRAMS SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC VITALITY, PARTICULARLY IN COMMUNIST ORIENTED THIRD WORLD STATES.

6. THERE WERE OF COURSE, MANY DIFFERENCES AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS. SOME ADVOCATED MORE VIGOROUS USE OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT WHILE A FEW THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE ABROGATED. THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO WHETHER THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF THE US IN EASTERN EUROPE SHOULD BE LIBERALIZATION OR INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW. THE VIEWS ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS RAN ALL OVER THE LOT, THOUGH MOST BELIEVED THAT THIS ISSUE WAS NOT RELEVANT TO THE MAIN WORK OF THE CONFERENCE.

7. THOSE PRESENTING PAPERS TO THE CONFERENCE INCLUDED: VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY (NOW WITH STANFORD UNIVERSITY), MAURICE FRIEDBERG (UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS) VALERY CHALIDZE (KHRONIKA PRESS) ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI (UCLA) AND KEN JOWITT (BERKELEY) ON EAST EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION; ANDREW

NATHAN (COLUMBIA) ON CHINA; ENRIQUE BALOYRA (UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA) ON LATIN AMERICA; AND WILLIAM LEWIS (GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY) ON AFRICA. JOHN RICHARDSON, PRESIDENT OF FREEDOM HOUSE, DELIVERED REMARKS ON POLICY TOOLS AVAILABLE TO THE U.S. COPIES OF THE PAPERS ARE AVAILABLE ON REQUEST. THE PAPERS DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE CONSENSUS OF THE DISCUSSION.

8. FURTHER STEPS: THIS WAS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF STEPS TO IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAM TO PROMOTE THE INTERNATIONAL GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT ON JUNE 8 IN LONDON. ON NOVEMBER 4-6, THE DEPARTMENT WILL COSPONSOR WITH THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE A CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS. A CONFERENCE ON CONSTITUTIONALISM, COSPONSORED BY USIA AND AEI, WILL BE HELD SEPTEMBER 12-15, 1983. IN EARLY NOVEMBER OF THIS YEAR, WE EXPECT THAT THE CHAIRMEN OF THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES WILL ANNOUNCE THE BEGINNING OF A STUDY, SPONSORED BY THE PARTIES, LABOR, BUSINESS AND OTHERS, OF HOW THE US (PARTICULARLY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS) CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC FORCES ABROAD. THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN DELAYED BY A FEW MONTHS, BUT RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS

ARE EXPECTED BY THE SPRING OF 1983. POSTS WILL RECEIVE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS THE OUTLINE OF THE STUDY AND AN INVITATION TO MAKE AN INPUT. IN THE MEANTIME, AN INTERAGENCY GROUP IS REVIEWING NEW OR REFASHIONED USG PROGRAMS WHICH COULD ASSIST THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY OR STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION IN THE "COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND VALUES".

9. POST ACTION: POSTS ARE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS AS TO PROGRAMS, POLICIES, CONFERENCES OR OTHER EVENTS WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S LONDON INITIATIVES IN ALL REGIONS AND COUNTRIES. WE WOULD WELCOME AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE, INCLUDING FUNDING REQUIREMENTS, IF KNOWN. WE ARE LOOKING AT BOTH SHORT- AND LONG-TERM PROGRAMS. THIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE CREATIVE. THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY ARE SOLIDLY BEHIND THIS EFFORT AND YOUR IDEAS WILL BE APPRECIATED. PLEASE SLUG RESPONSES FOR P.

10. NATO AND ANZUS POSTS AND TOKYO MAY DRAW ON POINTS IN THIS MESSAGE IN PARAGRAPH FOUR TO BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS ON THE CONFERENCE AND ON OUR FUTURE PLANS. OTHER POSTS MAY USE THIS MATERIAL AT THEIR DISCRETION. SINCE THE CONFERENCE WAS OFF THE RECORD, WE ARE PROVIDING THE PRESS ONLY THE STATEMENTS BY THE SECRETARY AND UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND THE PARTICIPANTS' PAPERS. END. DAM

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

IAF:

I read the Congressional mandate quite differently than the IAF pamphlet interprets. IAF focuses on "self-help" + poor —

Congress notes:

"masses" ... impact on daily lives

"social development goals

"respond to the reqn of social + civic change"

Says - social development activities

indigenous effort to develop local

institutions to facilitate broader

participation — private coops,

C.U., STLS, civil development including

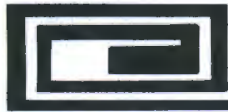
peasant leadership, agr. civic education,

legal reform + aid + democratic

organization of labor etc —————

Tells to attempt to humanize aid

Doesn't build the infrastructure of democracy



INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

September 30, 1982

Mr. Walt Raymond
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
Room 300
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Mr. Raymond:

As you requested this morning, I am enclosing copies of the Foundation's enabling legislation, the House report which accompanied it, and our most recent annual report.

Sincerely yours,

Peter D. Bell
President

Enclosures

The Act of Congress Establishing
the Inter-American Foundation

SUBCHAPTER XXI—INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

§ 290f. Inter-American Foundation

Establishment

(a) There is created as an agency of the United States of America a body corporate to be known as the Inter-American Foundation (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Foundation").

Congressional declaration of purpose

(b) The future of freedom, security, and economic development in the Western Hemisphere rests on the realization that man is the foundation of all human progress. It is the purpose of this section to provide support for developmental activities designed to achieve conditions in the Western Hemisphere under which the dignity and the worth of each human person will be respected and under which all men will be afforded the opportunity to develop their potential, to seek through gainful and productive work the fulfillment of their aspirations for a better life, and to live in justice and peace. To this end, it shall be the purpose of the Foundation, primarily in cooperation with private, regional, and international organizations, to—

(1) strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding among the peoples of this hemisphere;

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(2) support self-help efforts designed to enlarge the opportunities for individual development;

(3) stimulate and assist effective and ever wider participation of the people in the development process;

(4) encourage the establishment and growth of democratic institutions, private and governmental, appropriate to the requirements of the individual sovereign nations of this hemisphere.

In pursuing these purposes, the Foundation shall place primary emphasis on the enlargement of educational opportunities at all levels, the production of food and the development of agriculture, and the improvement of environmental conditions relating to health, maternal and child care, family planning, housing, free trade union development, and other social and economic needs of the people.

Programs and projects to achieve purposes

(c) The Foundation shall carry out the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section primarily through and with private organizations, individuals, and international organizations by undertaking or sponsoring appropriate research and by planning, initiating, assisting, financing, administering, and executing programs and projects designed to promote the achievement of such purposes.

Coordination of activities with national and international agencies

(d) In carrying out its functions under this section, the Foundation shall, to the maximum extent possible, coordinate its undertakings with the developmental activities in the Western Hemisphere of the various organs of the Organization of American States, the United States Government, international organizations, and other entities engaged in promoting social and economic development of Latin America.

Powers and functions

(e) The Foundation, as a corporation—

(1) shall have perpetual succession unless sooner dissolved by an Act of Congress;

(2) may adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal, which shall be judicially noticed;

(3) may make and perform contracts and other agreements with any individual, corporation, or other body of persons however designated whether within or without the United States of America, and with any government or governmental agency, domestic or foreign;

(4) shall determine and prescribe the manner in which its obligations shall be incurred and its expenses, including expens-

es for representation (not to exceed \$10,000 in any fiscal year), allowed and paid;

(5) may, as necessary for the transaction of the business of the Foundation, employ, and fix the compensation of not to exceed one hundred persons at any one time;

(6) may acquire by purchase, devise, bequest, or gift, or otherwise lease, hold, and improve, such real and personal property as it finds to be necessary to its purposes, whether within or without the United States, and in any manner dispose of all such real and personal property held by it and use as general funds all receipts arising from the disposition of such property;

(7) shall be entitled to the use of the United States mails in the same manner and on the same conditions as the executive departments of the Government;

(8) may, with the consent of any board, corporation, commission, independent establishment, or executive department of the Government, including any field service thereof, avail itself of the use of information, services, facilities, officers, and employees thereof in carrying out the provisions of this section;

(9) may accept money, funds, property, and services of every kind by gift, devise,¹ bequest, grant, or otherwise, and make advances, grants, and loans to any individual, corporation, or other body of persons, whether within or without the United States of America, or to any government or governmental agency, domestic or foreign, when deemed advisable by the Foundation in furtherance of its purposes;

(10) may sue and be sued, complain, and defend, in its corporate name in any court of competent jurisdiction; and

(11) shall have such other powers as may be necessary and incident to carrying out its powers and duties under this section.

Disposal of assets on liquidation

(f) Upon termination of the corporate life of the Foundation all of its assets shall be liquidated and, unless otherwise provided by Congress, shall be transferred to the United States Treasury as the property of the United States.

Board of directors; number, term, and appointment

(g) The management of the Foundation shall be vested in a board of directors (hereafter in this section referred to as the "Board") composed of seven members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, one of whom he shall designate to serve as Chairman of the Board and one of whom he shall designate to serve as Vice Chairman of the Board. Four members

of the Board shall be appointed from private life. Three members of the Board shall be appointed from among officers or employees of agencies of the United States concerned with inter-American affairs. Members of the Board shall be appointed for terms of six years, except that of the members first appointed two shall be appointed for terms of two years and two shall be appointed for terms of four years, as designated by the President at the time of their appointment. A member of the Board appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term; but upon the expiration of his term of office a member shall continue to serve until his successor is appointed and shall have qualified. Members of the Board shall be eligible for reappointment.

Reimbursement of expenses

(h) Members of the Board shall serve without additional compensation, but shall be reimbursed for actual and necessary expenses not in excess of \$50 per day, and for transportation expenses, while engaged in their duties on behalf of the corporation.

Board: authority

(i) The Board shall direct the exercise of all the powers of the Foundation.

Rules and regulations; quorum of Board

(j) The Board may prescribe, amend, and repeal bylaws, rules, and regulations governing the manner in which the business of the Foundation may be conducted and in which the powers granted to it by law may be exercised and enjoyed. A majority of the Board shall be required as a quorum.

Authority of Board to appoint committees

(k) In furtherance and not in limitation of the powers conferred upon it, the Board may appoint such committees for the carrying out of the work of the Foundation as the Board finds to be for the best interests of the Foundation, each committee to consist of two or more members of the Board, which committees, together with officers and agents duly authorized by the Board and to the extent provided by the Board, shall have and may exercise the powers of the Board in the management of the business and affairs of the Foundation.

**President of Foundation: appointment and compensation;
employment of experts and consultants**

(l)(1) The chief executive officer of the Foundation shall be a President who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors on such terms as the Board may determine. The President shall receive com-

pensation at the rate provided for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of Title 5.

(2) Experts and consultants, or organizations thereof, may be employed as authorized by section 3109 of Title 5.

Establishment of Council; consultation by Board; reimbursement of expenses of members of Council

(m) In order to further the purposes of the Foundation there shall be established a Council to be composed of such number of individuals as may be selected by the Board from among individuals knowledgeable concerning developmental activities in the Western Hemisphere. The Board shall, from time to time, consult with the Council concerning the objectives of the Foundation. Members of the Council shall receive no compensation for their services but shall be entitled to reimbursement in accordance with section 5703 of Title 5 for travel and other expenses incurred by them in the performance of their functions under this subsection.

Nonprofit nature of Foundation; conflict of interests

(n) The Foundation shall be a nonprofit corporation and shall have no capital stock. No part of its revenue, earnings, or other income or property shall inure to the benefit of its directors, officers, and employees and such revenue, earnings, or other income, or property shall be used for the carrying out of the corporate purposes set forth in this section. No director, officer, or employee of the corporation shall in any manner directly or indirectly participate in the deliberation upon or the determination of any question affecting his personal interests or the interests of any corporation, partnership, or organization in which he is directly or indirectly interested.

Personnel; service in foreign governments or agencies

(o) When approved by the Foundation, in furtherance of its purpose, the officers and employees of the Foundation may accept and hold offices or positions to which no compensation is attached with governments or governmental agencies of foreign countries.

Service of employees of other agencies in Foundation; rights and privileges

(p) The Secretary of State shall have authority to detail employees of any agency under his jurisdiction to the Foundation under such circumstances and upon such conditions as he may determine. Any such employee so detailed shall not lose any privileges, rights, or seniority as an employee of any such agency by virtue of such detail.

Establishment of principal and branch offices

(q) The Foundation shall establish a principal office. The Foundation is authorized to establish agencies, branch offices, or other

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offices in any place or places within the United States or elsewhere in any of which locations the Foundation may carry on all or any of its operations and business.

Exemption from tax

(r) The Foundation, including its franchise and income, shall be exempt from taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, or any territory or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority.

Authorization of appropriation

(s)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed an aggregate amount of \$50,000,000 of the funds made available for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971 to carry out part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall be available to carry out the purposes of this section. Funds made available to carry out the purposes of this section under the preceding sentence are authorized to remain available until expended.

(2) There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed \$25,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1979 and 1980 to carry out the purposes of this section. Amounts appropriated under this paragraph are authorized to remain available until expended.

Application of Government Corporation Control Act

(t) The Foundation shall be subject to the provisions of the Government Corporation Control Act.

Pub.L. 91-175, Pt. IV, § 401, Dec. 30, 1969, 83 Stat. 821; Pub.L. 92-226, Pt. IV, § 406(2)-(5), Feb. 7, 1972, 86 Stat. 34; Pub.L. 95-105, Title V, § 508, Aug. 17, 1977, 91 Stat. 859.

¹ So in original. Probably should read "devise".

The report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that accompanied the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969, which established the Inter-American Foundation (then known as the Inter-American Social Development Institute). This report expresses Congressional intent in creating the Foundation.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

PART IV—INTER-AMERICAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (SECTION 6)

Part IV of the bill provides for the establishment of the Inter-American Social Development Institute, outlines its statutory framework, and authorizes appropriations to carry out its purposes.

In recommending the establishment of the Institute, the Committee is suggesting a new direction, and a new emphasis, for United States assistance efforts in Latin America. This suggestion emerges from a comprehensive reappraisal of the Alliance for Progress conducted earlier this year by the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, as well as from the full committee's review of the overall framework of United States policy toward Latin America. It is based on three major premises:

First, that during the past 8 years all too little United States assistance has reached the masses of the Latin American people or made a visible impact on their daily lives;

Second, that the social development goals of the Act of Bogotá, the Charter of Punta del Este and the Declaration of American Presidents, whose objectives of expanding opportunity for the great majority of people form the very cornerstone of the Alliance for Progress, are not being achieved in any substantial, meaningful sense; and

→ Third, that while Alliance for Progress programs operating at the government-to-government level have done an impressive job in promoting industrial and economic growth of Latin America, they have proved much less effective in responding to the requirements of social and civic change on that continent.

The proposed Inter-American Social Development Institute is intended to assist in rectifying those shortcomings and in restoring the necessary and proper balance between the economic and social objectives of inter-American cooperation and development.

By providing the means whereby private, governmental, and international resources can be made available on a continuing, long-term nonpolitical basis for sound, self-help Latin American undertakings in the social development field, the Institute can help to overcome an important gap in the machinery of the Alliance for Progress.

The Institute will be a nonprofit Government corporation managed by a nonsalaried Board of Directors, the majority of whom will be drawn from the private sector. The Directors will be appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 6-year terms. They will be assisted in shaping the policies of the Institute by an Advisory Council composed of persons knowledgeable concerning developmental activities in the Western Hemisphere. A full-time Executive Director, selected by the Board of Directors, will manage the day-to-day activities of the Institute.

As envisioned in the bill, the Institute will operate primarily through private rather than governmental channels on a "nation-to-nation," "institution-to-institution," and "people-to-people" level. There are some 800 nonprofit organizations in the United States which are presently involved in social development activities in Latin America.

The Institute will have a small, carefully selected staff, limited in size to 100 persons. The primary function of the staff will be to review and support sound private undertakings in the field of social and civic development; to stimulate research, innovation, and experimentation in overcoming bottlenecks to progress in education, agriculture, and basic environmental conditions relating to health, housing, and other social needs of the Latin American peoples, to help support, when requested to do so, indigenous efforts toward development of local institutions required to facilitate broader popular participation in development; and, generally, to help the Latins pave the way for the modernization of their societies in order that they may be able to achieve the social and human, as well as the economic, goals of the Alliance for Progress.

The committee believes that a number of development assistance programs presently administered by the Agency for International Development can and should be transferred to the Institute as promptly as possible. These should include such activities as promotion of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; support for demographic research, planning, and related population programs; civic development, including peasant leadership training, civic education, legal reform and aid, and democratic organization of labor; and other title IX-type undertakings.

The Institute's effectiveness in this sensitive area of long-term social and civic development will be determined, in this committee's opinion, as much by the caliber of its Directors and staff as by this new institution's insulation from the ebb and flow of political currents which are ever present in direct government-to-government relations. If the Institute is to make a significant contribution to the social development goals of the Alliance for Progress, it has to be independent of the political factors which affect the day-to-day course of government policy. While the bill requires that three of the Institute's seven Directors be officials of U.S. Government agencies involved in inter-American affairs, the committee believes that, with effective management and a majority of Directors from the private sector, the Institute will attain the level of independence required for the success of its mission.

The committee also believes that the Institute's purposes require it to have resources available on a continuing basis, rather than on the basis of year-to-year appropriations. For this reason, the bill provides that the Institute's resources may come from a variety of sources: private, public, and international.

To begin, the Institute will be funded by a transfer of up to \$50 million of funds appropriated pursuant to the authority of the Foreign Assistance Act. Since the Institute will be a semiprivate agency operating on the people-to-people level, its funds will not and should not be subject to the various restrictions and limitations which normally apply to government-to-government programs and to their implementation. Furthermore, funds transferred to the Institute are intended to remain available until expended. The Institute should choose its projects wisely, placing quality above quantity, and should not be forced into the familiar "end of fiscal year" obligations race.

After the Institute's scope of operations, effectiveness, and utility become determined, additional resources should be made available to it. Since the precise dimensions of the Institute's future requirements cannot be estimated at this point, the bill contains an authorization

of appropriations similar to that provided by the Congress to other Government corporations and various executive departments and agencies. In addition, the bill empowers the Institute to receive and utilize private contributions and resources entrusted to it by international lending agencies which, while interested in supporting social and civic development in Latin America, may not be properly constituted to undertake that type of work themselves.

The provisions of this part are summarized as follows:

Section 6(a)—Establishment of Institute

This subsection creates a U.S. corporation to be known as the "Inter-American Social Development Institute."

Section 6(b)—Purposes

This subsection enumerates the purposes of the Institute which include—

1. strengthening the bonds of friendship and understanding among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere;
2. support of self-help development efforts;
3. promotion of popular participation in development; and
4. building of democratic institutions.

In pursuing these objectives the Institute is to concentrate on expanding educational opportunities; production of food and development of agriculture; and the improvement of environmental conditions relating to health and other social and economic needs of the people.

Section 6(c)—Emphasis on private channels

This subsection directs the Institute to carry out its purposes primarily through and with private organizations, individuals, and international organizations.

Section 6(d)—Coordination

This subsection instructs the Institute to coordinate its activities to the maximum extent possible with other developmental undertakings in Latin America.

Section 6(e)—Legal powers

This subsection enumerates the legal powers of the Institute, which include:

1. Perpetual succession;
2. Use of a corporate seal;
3. Performance of contracts and agreements;
4. Incurring of obligations and payment of expenses;
5. Employment and fixing of compensation of not to exceed 100 persons;
6. Acquisition, holding, improvement, and disposition of real property whether within or without the United States;
7. Use of U.S. Government mails;
8. Use, with the consent of the U.S. agency concerned, of such agency's facilities, services, officers, employees, and information;
9. Accepting of money, property and services and the making of advances, grants, and loans;
10. Pursuing relief through judicial channels; and
11. Such other powers as may be necessary and incident to carrying out the powers and duties of the Institute.

Section 6(f)—Termination

This subsection provides that upon the termination of the corporate life of the Institute all of its assets shall be liquidated and transferred to the U.S. Treasury.

Section 6(g)—Board of Directors

This subsection provides that the management of the Institute shall be vested in a Board of seven directors appointed by the President and subject to Senate confirmation. The President shall designate one to serve as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman. Four Directors shall be appointed from private life and three from among officers or employees of agencies of the United States concerned with inter-American affairs. The Directors' term of office shall be 6 years except that of the members first appointed two shall be appointed for 2 years and two for 4 years. Vacancies on the Board are to be filled in the regular manner for the remainder of the particular term. Directors may be reappointed.

Section 6(h)—Compensation of Directors

This subsection provides that members of the Board of Directors shall serve without compensation, except that officials of U.S. Government agencies may continue to receive their normal salaries while performing duties as Directors of the Institute. Payment of travel and of actual and necessary expenses not in excess of \$50 per day is authorized.

Section 6(i)—Powers of Directors

This subsection provides that the Board of Directors shall exercise all of the powers of the Institute.

Section 6(j)—Rules of procedure

This subsection grants the Board of Directors the power to make, amend, and repeal by-laws, rules, and regulations governing the operations of the Institute. A majority of the directors shall be required for a quorum.

Section 6(k)—Appointment of committees

This subsection empowers the Board of Directors to appoint committees to consist of two or more members of the Board.

Section 6(l)—Chief executive officer

This subsection provides that the chief executive officer of the Institute shall be an Executive Director who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and receive compensation at the rate provided for level IV of the Executive Schedule.

Section 6(m)—Advisory Council

This subsection authorizes the Board of Directors to appoint an Advisory Council composed of individuals knowledgeable concerning developmental activities in the Western Hemisphere and directs the Board to consult with it. Members of the Advisory Council are to receive no compensation for their services but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel and related expenses in accordance with section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code.

Section 6(n)—Nonprofit character of Institute

This subsection provides that the Institute shall be a nonprofit corporation and that no part of its revenue, earnings, or other income shall inure to the benefit of its Directors, officers, and employees. A conflict of interest provision is also included.

Section 6(o)—Service with foreign governments

This subsection authorizes the Institute to detail its officers and employees to positions to which no compensation is attached with governments or governmental agencies of foreign countries.

Section 6(p)—Detail of State Department employees

This subsection authorizes the Secretary of State to detail employees under his jurisdiction to the Institute and preserves their personnel rights.

Section 6(q)—Principal office

This subsection requires the establishment of a principal office of the Institute and authorizes establishment of branch offices.

Section 6(r)—Exemption from taxes

This subsection exempts the Institute from local, State, and Federal taxes.

Section 6(s)—Authorization

This subsection authorizes transfer to the Institute of up to \$50 millions of funds made available in fiscal year 1970 to carry out part I (economic assistance) of the Foreign Assistance Act. For subsequent years there is authorized to be appropriated such sums to remain available until expended, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the act establishing the Institute.

Section 6(t)—Government Corporation Control Act

This subsection provides that the Institute shall be subject to the Government Corporation Control Act.

17 September 1982



Battelle

Seminars and Studies Program
4000 N.E. 41st Street
P.O. Box C-5395
Seattle, Washington 98105
Telephone: (206) 525-3130

Mr. Walter Raymond
6519 Brawney Street
McLean, VA 22101

CABLE: BATSEA

Dear Walt:

I have been thinking about our conversation last week on the scope of my NGO study, and want to suggest some considerations to you:

1. The purpose of the President's "Democracy Initiative," as I understand it, is to figure out ways over the long pull to help fledgling democracies improve their political institutions and their enjoyment of freedom, thus enhancing their stability. In turn, this movement should help turn the tide in our favor and strengthen world order.
2. If this is to come about, a great deal of the work will have to be done by NGOs. It is worthwhile for our Government not only to encourage US NGOs, but those of other established democracies. In Japan, Canada and Australia, as in the European countries, there are groups with "outreach" to LDCs (especially in Asia) which could benefit from the Democracy Initiative. Ergo, an adequate NGO Survey should cover Japan and the two or three other non-European advanced democracies, as well as Europe.
3. In strategic terms, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada are now as important to the United States as Europe. Japanese economic weight and military potential; the protection of Western Pacific and Indian Ocean sea lanes; Australian resources and strategic position; the symbiotic economic relationship between Japan and Australia; to the place of Canada as our No. 1 trade partner and our first line of defense to the north; and Japan's geographic location, at vital "chokepoints" to Soviet power--all are vital factors in our global strategic equation. So we should, for compelling national security reasons, reach out to NGOs in those non-European democracies too--and to US and European NGOs which deal with them--and thus use all the resources available to us.
4. If the Democracy Initiative has a proper "beginning point" in terms of getting action, in my judgment, it should start first with the Summit Seven (wherewith the recent youth exchange/Successor Generation program within that scope). The US-EC nexus is next. And third, but still with

- considerable emphasis, come all the OECD democracies. If the effort is confined to US-EC, or to US-W.Europe, we have only two legs of a stool. (I should say, parenthetically, that Australia ought to be a Summit country.)
5. The consequences of failing "to bring Japan along" in buttressing NGO work, and in getting Japan to play its full role in forging the larger ties of cooperation among the democracies, could ultimately be grave for our nation, if compounded by political, economic, and strategic neglect, all of which I believe to constitute an entirely plausible scenario. If we cannot make the Japanese full working members of the "Atlantic System" (and that includes full participation in our NGO tradition and activities), then at some point their immense potential and dynamism may be harnessed in directions inimical to our interests. It would be a most serious error to take Japan for granted. Furthermore, the job of getting a "sense of common cause" between ourselves and Japan, and between the other Western democracies and the Japanese, is a much more difficult and challenging task than among the Western democracies alone. The cultural barriers are formidable, but I am convinced that they can and must be surmounted.
 6. Battelle began the NGO project with this broader scope (all the OECD countries) and can't properly reduce it now to just Europe-US. Battelle itself is putting up better than 4/5 of the costs (NATO and USIA the rest).
 7. The most advanced NGOs subscribe to this analysis too--the Trilateral Commission brings in Japan; the Atlantic Council, Atlantic Institute, ConWest, and the Committees for a Community of Democracies are fully "OECD-wide in scope.

That's it for now! All the best.

Yours ever,



James R. Huntley
Battelle Fellow and
Senior Advisor

Enclosure: 9/29-11/19 Itinerary

JRH/mc

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 8 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
SECRETARY OF STATE

THE HONORABLE CASPER W. WEINBERGER
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. CASEY
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

THE HONORABLE CHARLES Z. WICK
DIRECTOR UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy Relative to National Security (S)

I am forwarding to you a draft memorandum to the President and a proposed NSDD on Public Diplomacy, which your staff has helped develop, for your formal approval or comment. If we all agree, the NSDD will be submitted to the President for signature. This step will permit us to put in place the machinery to manage Public Diplomacy. We will discuss specific programs to be supported and funded at a later NSC meeting. We will review with OMB various funding strategies. It may be useful to call a meeting with OMB and the group that participated in the August 30 meeting before we have a formal NSC meeting. I will review the timetable after your comments and approvals have been received. (S)

William P. CLARK

ATTACHMENT

TAB A Draft letter to the President
TAB B Proposed NSDD

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NATIONAL SECURITY DECISION
DIRECTIVE NUMBER

MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY RELATIVE TO NATIONAL SECURITY

I have determined that it is necessary to strengthen the organization, planning and coordination of the various aspects of public diplomacy of the United States Government relative to national security. Public diplomacy is comprised of those actions of the U.S. Government designed to generate support for our national security objectives.

A Special Planning Group (SPG) under the National Security Council will be established under the chairmanship of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Membership shall consist of the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, the Director of the United States Information Agency or their designated alternate. Senior White House officials will attend as appropriate. Senior representatives of other agencies may attend at the invitation of the chairman.

The SPG shall be responsible for the overall planning, direction, coordination and monitoring of implementation of public diplomacy activities in both foreign and domestic areas. It shall ensure that a wide-ranging program of effective initiatives is developed and implemented to support national security policy,

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objectives and decisions.

Four interagency standing committees will be established, and report regularly to the SPG. The SPG will ensure that guidance to these committees is provided, as required, so that they can carry out their responsibilities in the area of public diplomacy. The SPG will further periodically review the activities of the four permanent coordinating committees to insure that plans are being implemented and that resource commitments are commensurate with established priorities.

The NSC staff, in consultation with the regular members of the SPG, will provide staff support to the SPG and facilitate effective planning, coordinating and implementing of plans and programs approved by the SPG. The NSC staff will call periodic meetings of the four committee chairmen or their designees to ensure inter-committee coordination.

-- Public Affairs Committee: This coordinating committee will be chaired by the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. This group will be responsible for the planning and coordinating on a regular basis of US Government

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public affairs activities relative to national security. Specifically, it will be responsible for the planning and coordination of major speeches on national security subjects and other public appearances by senior officials, and for planning and coordination with respect to public affairs matters of a primarily domestic nature or of particular Presidential interest. This committee will coordinate public affairs efforts to explain and support major US foreign policy initiatives.

-- International Information Committee: Under the chairmanship of a senior representative of the United States Information Agency, this committee will be responsible for planning, coordinating and implementing international information activities in support of US policies and interests relative to national security. It will assume the responsibilities of the existing "Project Truth" Policy Group. The committee shall be empowered to make recommendations and, as appropriate, to direct the concerned agencies, interagency groups and working groups with respect to information strategies in key policy areas, and it will be responsible for coordinating and monitoring implementation of strategies on specific functional or geographic areas.

-- International Political Committee: This committee will be established under the chairmanship of a senior representative

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of the Department of State. This group will be responsible for planning, coordinating and implementing international political activities in support of United States policies and interests relative to national security. Included among such activities are aid, training and organizational support for foreign governments and private groups to encourage the growth of democratic political institutions and practices. This will require close collaboration with other foreign policy efforts--diplomatic, economic, military--as well as a close relationship with those sectors of American society--labor, business, universities, philanthropy, political parties, press--that are or could be more engaged in parallel efforts overseas. This group will undertake to build up the U.S. Government capability to promote democracy, as enunciated in the President's speech in London on 8 June 1982. Furthermore, this committee will initiate plans, programs and strategies designed to counter totalitarian ideologies and aggressive political action moves undertaken by the Soviet Union or Soviet surrogates.

This committee shall be empowered to make recommendations and, as appropriate, to direct the concerned departments and agencies to implement political action strategies in support of key policy objectives. Attention will be directed to generate policy initiatives keyed to coming events. Close coordination with the other committees will be essential.

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-- International Broadcasting Committee: This committee will be chaired by a representative of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. This committee will be responsible for the planning and coordination of international broadcasting activities sponsored by the U.S. Government consistent with existing statutory requirements and the guidance established by NSDD 45. Among its principal responsibilities will be diplomatic and technical planning relative to modernization of US international broadcasting capabilities, the development of anti-jamming strategies and techniques, planning relative to direct radio broadcast by satellite and longer term considerations of the potential for direct T.V. broadcasting.

Each designated committee is authorized to establish, as appropriate, working groups or ad hoc task forces to deal with specific issues or programs.

All Agencies should ensure that the necessary resources are made available for the effective operation of the interagency groups here established.

Implementing procedures for these measures will be developed as necessary.

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II

INTRODUCTION TO PROGRAM BOOK

Political Action

Political Action is support for democracy on the ramparts. President Reagan, in his June 8 speech to the British Parliament at Westminster, declared the United States' intention to launch a new initiative "to foster the infrastructure of democracy, the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities, which allow a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

In short, America has now gone on the political and economic offensive, precisely as the defensive character of our military programs becomes better understood. Ironically, America's ability to nourish and sustain democratic forces abroad has waned just as the decline in Soviet political credibility gives our undertakings a sharp cutting edge. And as Moscow substitutes military power for more peaceable tools of influence, the need for cost-effective political action becomes yet more compelling.

We are faced, it must be said, not with a money problem as such, but with a conceptual problem. Once the needs are properly identified and their urgency measured against competing options, we believe that funds will be found in the small sums requested to accomplish these large tasks.

The Soviet Union is engaged in a well-funded and frequently effective campaign in Europe and the third world to weaken the

democratic institutions of our friends and allies and drive a wedge between them and the United States. Despite the shambles of their own system, they labor effectively to foster the myth of the USSR as the true friend of the third world and the political and ideological hope for the masses. We can no longer allow this challenge to go unanswered.

Developing countries, in their scramble for modernization and security, seek new models that work for them. Many third world regimes have thus embarked on political and social experiments of state control and authoritarianism that stray far from and are indeed antithetical to democracy.

The United States has long recognized and acted upon the need to offer military support to its allies. We have also supported economic development as a sine qua non for furthering democracy. But we have woefully failed to support the third critical element: the political, intellectual, and social infrastructures that make democracies work.

Our agenda has three clusters of tasks. First is the educational challenge: demonstrating the nexus of democracy and modernization, of economic growth and the western development model. Conferences, institutes, and publications have been targeted. Second, there is training and exchanges: the direct recruitment of potential and present friends into the democratic cause. Finally, there is support for parties, unions, and political groups whose survival is threatened or who can fight along parallel lines with us. Whether the job is to organize pressures against the use of

yellow rain in Asia or martial law in Poland, or to develop popular support for elections in Nicaragua, the means must be found to mobilize the vast majority of the world's people whose sentiments and preferences lie with the causes we espouse and live by.

To accomplish this objective, the United States should immediately begin to work with likeminded groups in critical areas. We must:

- Increase the dialogue with Europe to secure a clear understanding of our mutual strategic and ideological interests and to emphasize the common threat of Soviet expansion.

- Strengthen the democratic forces in Latin America, especially in Central America and the Caribbean.

- Devise a comprehensive strategy to foster the international free labor movement.

- Establish a network of international institutes to bring together military and civilian strategists and underscore the underlying interests we share with key countries.

- Allocate resources to democratic forces in the third world media to promote the principle of freedom of speech that is basic to the development of democratic societies.

- Dramatically increase the training and in-depth personal contact with leaders in other countries.

- Support or create the regional study and research-and-training institutes such as the Asia Foundation which work to promote democratic traditions in emerging countries.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

P:RHAVERKAMP

CLEARANCES

IMMEDIATE LAGOS

E.O. 12065: DECL: 10/6/88

TAGS: PEPR, PORG, OVIP, NI, US

SUBJECT: FGN PARTICIPATION IN WASHINGTON CONFERENCE
ON FREE ELECTIONS

REF: LAGOS 10007

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT~~

2. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT
REAGAN TO PRESIDENT SHAGARI:

3. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I SINCERELY
REGRET YOU WILL BE UNABLE TO ATTEND THE WASHINGTON
CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS. I WARMLY WELCOME,
HOWEVER, YOUR SUPPORT OF THE CONFERENCE AND PARTIC-
ULARLY YOUR GRACIOUS OFFER TO SEND A PERSONAL EMISSARY
TO READ YOUR KEYNOTE SPEECH. I AM DELIGHTED THAT
NIGERIA WILL IN THIS WAY BE ABLE TO MAKE ITS UNIQUE
CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONFERENCE.

-- WE ARE AWARE OF THE DEEP PERSONAL COMMITMENT YOU
HAVE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THE DETERMINATION
OF YOUR PEOPLE TO FURTHER THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMO-
CRATIC PROCEDURES AND INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA. YOUR
LONG SERVICE TO YOUR COUNTRY AND NIGERIA'S EXPERIENCE,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

Continued on Sheet _____

OPTIONAL FORM 185-A (OCR) (REV. 3-76)
Formerly DS-322-A (OCR)
Dept. of State

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-2

AS AFRICA'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY, IN ADAPTING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS TO ITS OWN NEEDS AND CIRCUMSTANCES WILL MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONFERENCE ONE OF PARTICULAR VALUE.

-- I LOOK FORWARD TO AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOU AGAIN AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME.

SINCERELY/RONALD REAGAN END TEXT

PP

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PAGE 01
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MONROVIA 0161
AN011989

DTG: 051848Z OCT 82 PSN: 003737
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4973

UNCLAS MONROVIA 10161

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, OCON, LI
SUBJ: CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS: CONFIRMED
LIBERIAN PARTICIPANT DR. AMOS SAWYER
REFS: (A) STATE 276927, (B) STATE 276012

1. ONE TWO-INCH-BY-TWO AND THREE-QUARTER-INCH PHOTO-
GRAPH OF DR. AMOS SAWYER WILL BE POUCHED TO ROY
HAVERKAMP/VICTOR BONILLA, OFFICE OF THE UNDERSECRETARY
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, ROOM 7244, MAIN STATE, VIA NEXT
AVAILABLE POUCH THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7.

2. DR. SAWYER'S ADDRESS IS: LIBERIA COLLEGE, UNI-
VERSITY OF LIBERIA, MONROVIA, LIBERIA. THE TELEPHONE
NUMBER IS 222537 OR 222515. THE TELEPHONES USUALLY DO
NOT WORK. A MESSAGE MAY BE LEFT FOR DR. SAWYER AT THE
CONSTITUTION COMMISSION HEADQUARTERS, TELEPHONE 224855
OR 224370. IN VIEW OF UNRELIABILITY OF INTERNATIONAL
MAIL, SUGGEST INVITATION BE POUCHED OR MAILED
TO DR. SAWYER IN CARE OF THE EMBASSY, APO NEW YORK
09155.

3. BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION:

--NAME: AMOS SAWYER
--ADDRESS, TELEPHONE: AS IN PARA 2
--CURRENT POSITION: DEAN, LIBERIA COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY
OF LIBERIA AND CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL CONSTITUTION
COMMISSION OF LIBERIA.
--SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS POSITIONS: DEAN, LIBERIA COLLEGE:
1980 TO PRESENT. ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF LIBERIA: 1978 TO
PRESENT. ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF LIBERIA,
1973-1978.
--EDUCATION: PH.D IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, NORTHWESTERN
UNIVERSITY, 1973. B.A. IN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT,
UNIVERSITY OF LIBERIA, 1966. SWING
BT

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PAGE 01 OF 02 ATHENS 6291
EOB285 AN012052

DTG: 051507Z OCT 82 PSN: 003621
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2064

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ATHENS 16291

EXDIS
E.O. 12356: DECL: 10/5/84
TAGS: PGOV, OTRA (KARAMANLIS, CONSTANTINE) GR
SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS: KARAMANLIS MUST
 DECLINE
REF: A STATE 276648, B. ATHENS 16017, C. STATE 269901

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. AMBASSADOR PETROS MOLYVIATIS, DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS' POLITICAL OFFICE, INFORMED ME THIS MORNING THAT MUCH TO KARAMANLIS' REGRET, CANADIAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN UNABLE TO ADJUST DATES OF HIS PROJECTED OFFICIAL VISIT TO CANADA TO ENABLE HIM TO PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS IN WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 4-6. MOLYVIATIS SAID PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU WAS COMMITTED TO EUROPEAN TRIP NOVEMBER 8, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING CONFERENCE, AND THAT KARAMANLIS HIMSELF HAD TO BE IN THESSALONIKI FOR OXI DAY CELEBRATIONS OCTOBER 28. LATTER ENGAGEMENT MEANT KARAMANLIS COULD NOT ARRIVE IN CANADA BEFORE OCTOBER 30 WHICH, IN TURN, GIVEN TRUDEAU'S OTHER COMMITMENTS, WOULD REDUCE TIME AVAILABLE TO SEE HIM TO PART OF ONE DAY.

3. MOLYVIATIS STRESSED HOW MUCH KARAMANLIS REGRETTED BEING UNABLE TO ACCEPT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE AND TO MEET WITH HIM IN WASHINGTON. MESSAGE EXPRESSING HIS DISAPPOINTMENT WAS BEING CABLED THIS AFTERNOON TO AMBASSADOR KARANDREAS IN WASHINGTON WHO WOULD BE DELIVERING IT TO DEPARTMENT. TEXT OF KARAMANLIS' LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN IS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
I HAVE DEEPLY APPRECIATED YOUR INVITATION TO VISIT WASHINGTON AND ADDRESS THE CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH.
YOUR INVITATION WAS ALL THE MORE APPRECIATED SINCE MY VISIT TO WASHINGTON WOULD GIVE ME THE PLEASURE TO MEET YOU AND HAVE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH YOU, BOTH ON MATTERS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. AND THAT WOULD BE, IN MY OPINION, VERY USEFUL, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES ARE CONNECTED DIRECTLY OR

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BY d, NARA, DATE 8/27/99

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PAGE 02 OF 02 ATHENS 6291

DTG: 051507Z OCT 82 PSN: 003621

INDIRECTLY WITH PROBLEMS CONCERNING NOT GREECE ALONE BUT ALSO THE WIDER GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF WHICH GREECE IS PART. MOREOVER I WOULD HAVE THE PLEASURE TO HAVE CONTACTS WITH THE LARGE GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, WHOSE PRESENCE IN YOUR GREAT AND HOSPITABLE COUNTRY STRENGTHENS AND PROMOTES EVEN MORE THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE DATES OF THE CONFERENCE IN QUESTION DO NOT PERMIT ME TO MAKE USE OF THE OPPORTUNITY THAT YOUR KIND INVITATION OFFERS ME, DUE TO PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED ENGAGEMENTS OF SUCH A NATURE THAT THEY CANNOT BE POSTPONED.

IN FACT, FROM OCTOBER 14 TO OCTOBER 19 I WILL BE PAYING A STATE VISIT TO CANADA; FROM OCTOBER 25 TO OCTOBER 30 I AM UNDER THE OBLIGATION TO PRESIDE OVER THE CEREMONIES WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN NORTHERN GREECE IN CELEBRATION OF NATIONAL ANNIVERSARIES. FURTHERMORE, I AM TO VISIT FRANCE AND GERMANY IN THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER NEXT. PLEASE BE ASSURED, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT I DEEPLY REGRET THE FACT THAT THESE UNFORTUNATE COINCIDENCES MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES FROM NOVEMBER 4 TO NOVEMBER 6.

I NEVERTHELESS HOPE THAT I WILL HAVE THE PLEASURE AND THE HONOUR TO MEET YOU ON ANOTHER OCCASION IN THE FUTURE.

(SIGNED)

END TEXT

4. COMMENT: IN REVIEWING THE TEXT OF FOREGOING LETTER WITH ME, MOLYVIATIS SAID KARAMANLIS HAD GONE INTO SOME DETAIL ABOUT HIS OCTOBER-NOVEMBER SCHEDULE IN HOPES THAT IT WOULD STILL BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE FOR HIM TO MEET PRESIDENT REAGAN IN WASHINGTON EITHER IN THE ORIGINAL TIMEFRAME IN THIRD WEEK OF OCTOBER OR LATER IN NOVEMBER.
BT

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EOB286

ATHENS 6291
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ATHENS 16291

EXDIS

I SAID, HAVING JUST RETURNED FROM A SHORT TRIP TO WASHINGTON, I KNEW HOW JAMMED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SCHEDULE WAS RIGHT THROUGH THE END OF THE YEAR AND THAT I COULD NOT, THEREFORE, OFFER ANY HOPE THAT ALTERNATIVE DATES WERE POSSIBLE. I ASSURED MOLYVIATIS THAT I WOULD, HOWEVER, REPORT HIS COMMENT. IT WAS CLEAR TO ME -- AS IT WAS TO HIM -- THAT AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE OF GREEK-U.S. RELATIONS A MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS WOULD BE VERY MUCH IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

5. FINALLY, MOLYVIATIS NOTED THAT ONE OR TWO GREEK JOURNALISTS HAD BECOME AWARE OF POSSIBILITY THAT KARAMANLIS MIGHT BE VISITING UNITED STATES THIS MONTH OR NEXT. TO AVOID ANY IMPRESSION THAT FAILURE OF VISIT TO TAKE PLACE REFLECTED "COOLNESS" IN RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND U.S., MOLYVIATIS WONDERED WHETHER USG WOULD HAVE ANY OBJECTION IF GREEK GOVERNMENT WERE TO RELEASE TEXT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER AND KARAMANLIS' RESPONSE. MOLYVIATIS SAID THIS WOULD ONLY BE DONE IF IT PROVED NECESSARY TO CORRECT MALICIOUS OR MISLEADING PRESS SPECULATION. I SAID IT SEEMED TO ME THAT WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO RELEASE OF LETTERS IN GREECE, BUT THAT I WOULD CONFIRM THIS WITH WASHINGTON. STEARNS
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10/28/82



NOTE TO: Walt Raymond

Thought you would be interested in the reaction of the Vandamme group. Given their reputation and serious work, I would like to see them as active players in the democratic initiatives process.

They obviously approach the issue from a broader perspective than we do, but it would be a shame not to keep up the useful contact. They are interested in the same thing we are.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bud", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Bud Hensgen

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UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01

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ACTION OFFICE ECA-08

INFO TCO-01 DSO-02 DIS-01 EU-03 /015 A1 5

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 1933

INFO RUENRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 3800

RUESNA/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 0408

RUENC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0258

RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 1934

BT

UNCLAS BRUSSELS 14110

FOR E/V; EU. STATE FOR P.

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: VOLUNTARY VISITORS -- DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES

REF: USIA 49631; STATE 298999

1. PAO LUNCHEd WITH PROFESSORS VANDAMME AND BAECKE AND WAS DELIGHTED TO HEAR THEIR LAUDATORY REACTION TO THE ENHANCED VOLUNTARY VISITORS PROGRAM ARRANGED IN WASHINGTON FOR THEM AND TWO OTHER MARITAIN INSTITUTE COLLEAGUES.

2. BOTH PRAISED ACCOMMODATIONS, SCHEDULE, APPOINTMENTS AND SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS THEY HAD WITH A WIDE RANGE OF OFFICIALS AT STATE, NSC, USIA, AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE.

3. ESCORT INTERPRETER HARVEY CASH WAS SINGLED OUT AS NOT ONLY A HELPFUL BUT ALSO ENJOYABLE COMPANION DURING THEIR STAY.

4. VANDAMME AND BAECKE CAME AWAY WITH INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES. BOTH EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNDERTAKING AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE PURSUED SERIOUSLY WITH CONCRETE PROGRAMS OVER THE LONG RUN.

5. THE TWO ACADEMICS QUESTIONED, HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION'S EMPHASIS ON "FREE ELECTIONS" IN PROMOTING THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY. THEY BELIEVE IT IS BOTH TOO NARROW AND MECHANISTIC A VIEW OF HOW TRULY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES CAN AND SHOULD FUNCTION.

6. THEY ADVOCATE PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC IDEALS IN ALL IMPORTANT SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS, SUCH AS IN THE FAMILY, WORKPLACE, CHURCH AND SCHOOLS. THEY ASK, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE WE MORE INFLUENCED AS INDIVIDUALS BY THE FREEDOM TO VOTE FOR THE POLITICAL CANDIDATE OF OUR CHOICE OR BY HAVING BEEN REARED IN A FAMILY WITH EITHER AUTHORITARIAN OR PERMISSIVE PARENTS? THEY ASK, ADDITIONALLY, HOW DOES ONE MEASURE THE IMPACT ON THE INDIVIDUAL OF CASTING A BALLOT FREELY EVERY TWO OR THREE YEARS AS OPPOSED TO THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE OF WORKING ON AN ASSEMBLY LINE UNDER AN AUTHORITARIAN FOREMAN FOR A COMPANY WHOSE MANAGEMENT IS COMPLETELY INDIFFERENT TO ITS EMPLOYEES' FEELINGS, IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS?

7. BOTH PROFESSORS VANDAMME AND BAECKE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO FOLLOW THROUGH, BUILDING ON THE MOMENTUM GENERATED DURING THEIR WASHINGTON VISIT, BY ORGANIZING A SEMINAR IN BELGIUM THAT WOULD BRING TOGETHER PROMINENT AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS TO PROBE MORE DEEPLY INTO THE PHILOSOPHY AND STRUCTURES OF DEMOCRACY AND TO FIND WAYS TO PROMOTE EFFECTIVELY DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS THAT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DIVERSE SOCIAL, CULTURAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

8. THE PAO URGED THEM TO DEVELOP THEIR IDEA FOR A SEMINAR FURTHER WITH THE PROSPECT THAT THE POST WOULD COSPONSOR IT NEXT YEAR WITH AN APPROPRIATE BELGIAN ORGANIZATION, SUCH AS THE POLITICAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE, OF WHICH BAECKE WILL LIKELY BECOME PRESIDENT IN 1983.

9. MEANWHILE, BAECKE IS PREPARING A BRIEF REPORT ON THE VISIT WHICH HE PROMISES TO SUBMIT TO THE PAO FOR FORWARDING TO THE AGENCY WITHIN 10 DAYS. THE POST BELIEVES THE PROGRAM LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR A NUMBER OF FUTURE COLLABORATIONS WITH THESE TWO PROMINENT ACADEMICS AND THE VARIOUS PRESTIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS THEY REPRESENT. THE POST COMMENDS E/V FOR ITS OUTSTANDING SUPPORT WHICH, IN THE PROCESS, FURTHER VALIDATED FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE THE CONCEPT AND UTILITY OF THE ENHANCED VOLUNTARY VISITORS PROGRAM. MORAO

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 29, 1982

Dear Charlie and Coy:

As you begin to develop private sector support for the International Youth Exchange Initiative which we launched at the White House on May 24, I am writing to stress once again my commitment to this initiative.

As you know, the program of increased youth exchange announced at that time was agreed to by our allies at Versailles in June. I firmly believe it will help build a lasting mechanism for peace. An indication of the broad support this initiative has already attained is represented by Italian Prime Minister Spadolini's remarks on September 28 to a group of Italian students returning from a summer in our country:

"I am sure it was an experience of fundamental importance for you, and will have a lasting effect on your lives, no matter what profession you enter. I wish to say that our government hopes other groups of young people will repeat your experience and that increasingly close cultural exchanges, the meeting ground of our two countries' respective experiences, will lead to growing understanding between Italian and American youth..."

These words eloquently express the reason I have decided to form a Council for International Youth Exchange to expand exchanges of young people between the United States and Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan.

As Japan's Foreign Minister Sakurachi wrote to Secretary of State Shultz in his letter of September 28, the same day that Prime Minister Spadolini greeted the returning Italian students: "I am fully convinced that the expansion of the exchanges of young people is very significant in further promoting the friendly relations between our two nations since they belong to coming generations which are to play decisive roles in the future U.S.-Japan relationship." This statement mirrors my own beliefs.

Our alliance with the six nations listed above is based on over thirty-five years of cooperative relations. Particularly at this time of stress in the alliance, it is imperative that we take steps to establish a vehicle which emphasizes the close relations of our nations and will increase cooperation and strengthen the alliance in future years.

It is increasingly clear that the successor generation, which was not present to rebuild Europe and Japan following the devastating destruction of the Second World War, does not share the same appreciation felt by the leaders of today for international cooperation among the industrialized nations. In the long term, our world can only survive the continuing and ever more vigorous challenge of our adversaries if today's generation of young people cherish the same ideals of freedom which we hold so dear and which are the foundation of all democratic nations.

I believe we have a great opportunity to form new networks of international cooperation and strengthen existing ones via expanded international exchange of youth. That is why I have asked you, Charlie, as my personal representative in this effort and you, Coy, as Chairman of the President's Council, to reach out to outstanding leaders in the private sector for important advice and assistance in this project. This will enable our young people to build a shared commitment to peace through strengthened relations with our closest allies.

Sincerely,

Ron

The Honorable Charles Z. Wick
Director
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

115074

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

October 27, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*
PETER R. SOMMER *PRS*

SUBJECT: Funding for "Project Democracy"

As you are aware, we are having a hard time getting Project Democracy off the ground because the policy decision to move ahead was accompanied by a funding decision.

With regard to government funding, two weeks ago we had a long talk with Al Keel on the need to come up with a funding strategy (TAB I). At that time Keel thought we could initiate Project Democracy by moving funds from State's refugee budget to USIA. OMB advised us on 27 October that though technically feasible, such action would require legislation--a near impossibility during the lame-duck session.

OMB now suggests that the quickest way to move the President's program forward would be for the four or five involved agencies (USIA, State, Aid, and Defense) to reprogram small amounts of funds. In our view this will only happen with a strong push from the White House.

Thus, we need a short meeting with you and Keel to ensure that OMB and NSC are in accord on how to move forward. Assuming we are, we would be asking your agreement to chair a small follow-up meeting with the concerned agencies. Our aim would be:

- 1) to initiate FY 83 reprogramming and
- 2) to make sure the agencies include Project Democracy funding in their FY 84 budget submissions.

Recommendation

That you meet Keel on October 29 at 1400 in your office. We will also attend.

APPROVE _____ OTHER _____

PRS Kimmitt concurs.

Attachment

TAB I MR: Meeting with Al Keel

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NLRR M430/2 #115076

BY KNL NARA DATE 5/10/13~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



11/5077

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

NLRR M430/2 #115077

SUBJECT: Meeting with Al Keel

BY KML NARA DATE 11/2/12

I. I reviewed with OMB the book of programs prepared to support the Public Diplomacy initiatives necessary to get the President's democracy program started now. The book includes an estimated \$69 million for FY 83 and \$107 million for FY 84. The funds for radio enhancement are treated separately. Until funds are voted by Congress for the Democracy Project, which will come into being after Allen Weinstein's study is completed and legislation prepared, the only way to move forward is via direct federal funding (hence the program book) and/or via private fund raising. This, of course, will be tried too.

Al Keel favors the proposal and believes the "black book" of programs is a good start. He believes it is critical for the program to move forward now, even if we can only launch a small part. A small step permits further building. Keel recommends four points:

1) Reprogram \$20-25 million to launch the program and to get this action carried out during the lame duck session. In effect, this will mean identifying soft spots within the 150 budget account. He has his eye on some unused "refugee funds." He sees no other way short of deferring until the new Congress convenes at which time we could go for a supplement. Such funds would mean that we would not be able to provide any federal support to the President's program until summer 1982--one whole year after his proposal.

2) We must get advocates for the program. In this regard we believe Secretary Shultz should take the lead in presenting the program to the Hill.

3) Whether in terms of reprogramming, in terms of a sequel supplement for FY 83, or new funds for FY 84, the enriched "political action" budget should be presented on the Hill as a "consolidated budget" by the spokesman (State). Each individual Department and Agency will, of course, defend his portion, too.

4) The projected political action program activity will be by offset. We need, however, to avoid the bitter fight of internal rankings--USIA and State for example strongly resist any effort to move funds from one part of their budget to this new activity. Keel noted, inter alia, that if we mandated that each Agency/Department cough up funds for this program, they will resist. If OMB simply sets their FY 84 mark at a somewhat

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lower figure, thus providing the margin for the political program than this would be a non-issue. He rationalized this in terms of the fact that this is a Presidential program which transcends individual authorizations.

II. If we can not come up with an agreeable solution, we will need to have a meeting involving Bud McFarlane, OMB and representatives of the concerned departments--probably at the Deputy Secretary level--to resolve this matter so that both the budget presentation to Congress as well as the NSC meeting on public Diplomacy can be handled in an orderly fashion.

III. I recommend the following steps be taken immediately:

1) A brief session involving Bud McFarlane, me, Bob Kimmitt's office and Al Keel to develop agreement on a key strategy.

2) Keel to meet with my working group, which includes Scott Thompson, Jerry Helman, Dick Stilwell, and the bugeteers.

3) If no solution, then we call a meeting, chaired by Bud, with the Agency/Department deputies.

IV. The bottom line:

-- We must identify \$20-25 million as the initial cut for the political program from within the budget. This should be tabled at the lame duck.

-- We must agree both on the source of funds but also the method of presentation: by State, by each Agency, as appropriated funds of the President etc.

-- We must agree on the strategy for FY 84 as the budgets are in final preparation. Does each Agency swallow their proportionate load? Do we provide added sums? Do we withhold from the Departments/Agencies a certain amount and then return as political democracy funds?

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FUNDS NOW FROM THEIR MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS. SHULTZ
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS; THE AMERICAN
ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

REF: STATE 233507

1. THE CONFERENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS WILL BE CO-SPONSORED
BY THE DEPARTMENT AND THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE
(AEI) (REFTEL). THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS PROVIDE INFOR-
MATION ON THE AEI THAT MAY BE USEFUL IN EMOFF'S DISCUS-
SIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

2. THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY
RESEARCH, TO GIVE IT ITS FULL NAME, IS A PRIVATE ORGANIZA-
TION LOCATED IN WASHINGTON, D.C. IN ITS OWN WORDS "THE
PRIMARY ROLE OF AEI IS TO INSURE SUFFICIENT COMPETITION OF
IDEAS IN THE PUBLIC POLICY FORMATION PROCESS." THE
ORGANIZATION IS NON-,ARTISAN, ITS OFFICIALS REPRESENT A
WIDE RANGE OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL BELIEFS AND COMMITMENT.
THEY STUDY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, FOSTER
INNOVATIVE RESEARCH, IDENTIFY AND PRESENT VARYING POINTS OF
VIEW ON ISSUES, DEVELOP PRACTICAL OPTIONS, AND ANALYZE
PUBLIC POLICY PROPOSALS. THEIR AREAS OF CONCENTRATION ARE

ECONOMICS, LAW, GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY. AS AN
INDEPENDENT, NON-PROFIT, NON-,ARTISAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
IT DOES NOT TAKE POSITIONS ON POLICY ISSUES. SUPPORT COMES
FROM GRANTS FROM FOUNDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS FROM COR-
PORATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

3. WHAT MAKES THE AEI PARTICULARLY SUITED AS AN ASSOCIATE
IN OUR FREE ELECTIONS CONFERENCE IS ITS SERIES OF PUBLICA-
TIONS ON THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL SELECTION PROCESS AND
ITS "AT THE POLLS" SERIES OF STUDIES OF ELECTIONS IN OTHER
DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES. DR. HOWARD PENNIMAN, WHO DIRECTED
AND EDITED THAT SERIES, AND DR. AUSTIN RANNEY, CO-DIRECTOR,
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROCESSES STUDIES, ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED
IN ARRANGING THE CONFERENCE.

4. AEI IS INVITING DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS FROM AROUND
THE WORLD TO PRESENT MAJOR PAPERS AT THE CONFERENCE OR TO
SERVE AS DISCUSSANTS OR PANELISTS. THEY ALSO PLAN POST
CONFERENCE PUBLICATION OF STUDIES BASED ON PRESENTATIONS
AND DISCUSSIONS AT THE CONFERENCE. FUNDING WILL BE PRO-
VIDED BY AID, ICA, AND STATE, AND THE AEI WHICH IS RAISING

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F95-041/2 #32

BY

d

NARA, DATE

8/27/99

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