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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name RAYMOND, WALTER: FILES

Withdrawer

SMF 7/14/2011

File Folder [PROJECT TRUTH, PROJECT DEMOCRACY, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, AND NED 1985]

FOIA

M430

Box Number 7

LAMB,
CHRISTOPHER

71

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of	Doc Date	Restrictions
115188	MEMO	RAYMOND TO MCFARLANE RE BIB/RFE/RL <i>R 5/10/2013 M430/2</i>	2	6/3/1985	B1 P5
115189	AGENDA	IIC MEETING 12/17/85 <i>R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #76</i>	1	ND	B1
115190	MEMO	RAYMOND TO SCHNEIDER RE USIA DETAILEE <i>R 7/3/2000 NLSF95-041/2 #77</i>	1	4/11/1985	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

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: RAYMOND, WALTER: Files

Archivist: lov

File Folder: [Project Truth, Project Democracy, Public
Diplomacy, and NED 1985] OA 91162

Date: January 27, 1998

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Raymond to Robert McFarlane, re BIB/RFE/RL (2)	6/3/85	P1 P5
2. agenda	IIC meeting 12/17/85 (1) <i>2/27/99 NLSF 95-0412 #76</i>	nd	P1
3. memo	Raymond to Michael Schneider, re USIA detailee (1) <i>R 7/3/00 NLSF 95-0412 #77</i>	4/11/85	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-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(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 information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

(194)

National Security Council
The White House

System # OTS

Package # _____

85 JUN 3 P 6: 33

1799

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	1	<i>K</i>	A
John Poindexter	2	<i>[Red scribble]</i>	_____
Paul Thompson	3		A
Wilma Hall	3		_____
Bud McFarlane	4	Has seen	A
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
<i>Raymond</i>	6	_____	_____

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____ (Date/Time)

Consult this to a HP PROFS note to Bud.

[Large signature]

85 JUN 3

P 6: 33

13

MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET~~

(outside the system)

115188

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

ACTION

June 3, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: BIB/RFE/RL

With your proxy in hand, I had a good lunch with Jim Buckley on May 29. He had just been told by the White House that all systems were "go" concerning his appointment as Chairman, BIB, subject to the usual clearance process.

We had a frank discussion of personnel, and he appeared to be receptive. He is particularly focussed on the BIB Staff which we in the NSC (Matlock, Raymond, Lenczowski) all believe needs to be changed, starting with the Staff Director. As you know, the staff has, if anything, been retarding the process of modernization.

I also indicated our strong feelings that we would like to be part of the process -- advisory, not command and control -- concerning the selection of the three key posts in Munich: President, RFE/RL, Director of RFE, and Director of RL. He listened. I did suggest two names for the currently vacant or soon-to-be vacant positions: Dick Shifter for President, RFE/RL, and Herb Ellison for Director, RL. You might, if you agree, endorse these to Jim. Herb is widely hailed as an excellent choice and is leaving his position as Director, Kennan Institute. In this regard, Jack Matlock has gotten wind that a chap named John Dunlop (a man described as a Shakespeare-clone) is under consideration for one of the two posts. He, and I agree, does not believe that Dunlop has the stature or the political balance to be a happy choice. My information adds that he has no managerial skill and is very closely tied to "Russian nationalism." An example of the problem is seen in the letter at Tab I from the Russian leaders of the so-called "Democratic Movement" to President Reagan. This sounds too much like a repeat of the George Bailey disaster.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M430/2 + 115188

BY KML NARA DATE 5/10/13

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

2

The main point of this memorandum is that I expect that you will have a chance to talk to Jim Buckley this week, and I would urge you to reinforce two points:

-- Our pleasure over his acceptance of the post.

-- Our concern over the need to consult over the key appointments in RFE/RL.

RECOMMENDATION

That you reinforce our concerns over RFE/RL key personnel assignments and would like a chance to consult.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

JSM
Jack Matlock concurs.

Attachments

Tab I Ltr to President, May 28, 85
Tab II The Rise of Unofficial Thought

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

I

LUDMILLA ALEXEEVA
293 Benedict Ave.
Tarrytown, N.Y. 10591

5/30

May 28, 1985

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Reagan:

We are recent emigres from the Soviet Union who are appealing to you because of our fears for the future of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe (RL/RFE). As longtime listeners to Radio Liberty, we recognize from our own experience the important role broadcasts from the free world have for people deprived of access to truthful information and alternative ideas. Western broadcasts have played a major role in encouraging the national, religious and intellectual dissent movements which have evolved in the Soviet Union.

We have learned that on June 6 the directors of the Board for International Broadcasting are meeting in order to consider the nomination of Professor John Dunlop to become president of RL/RFE. Professor Dunlop's publications demonstrate that he is not an impartial Sovietologist, but rather a fervent supporter of Russian nationalism, which he considers the sole constructive force in contemporary Soviet society. Professor Dunlop takes a dim view of the past and present state of the democratic movement in the USSR and believes it lacks any potential.

Absorbed by their particular national problems, Professor Dunlop treats the Russians as if they were the only nationality in the USSR. He pays almost no attention to the serious problems caused by the multi-national nature of the Soviet state. All his published works are primarily propaganda for Russian nationalism rather than balanced, impartial studies. Although an American, Professor Dunlop is so caught up in his subject that, without exaggeration, he can be called a Russian nationalist himself.

We believe that his sympathy for Russian nationalism is the principal reason why Professor Dunlop has been nominated to become president of RL/RFE since he lacks experience in administration and in broadcasting. It is a mistake for the management of RL/RFE (and particularly for the president) to be a partisan of any specific dissident trend inside the USSR or, still worse, of a particular emigre group. This contradicts RL/RFE's commitment to pluralism and toleration. This damages RL/RFE's credibility with its audience which includes millions of persons of diverse nationalities, faiths and opinions. The president of RL/RFE should be an impartial arbiter among the various approaches and points of view of staff and audience. He should protect Radio Liberty from becoming the captive of any specific interest group inside or outside the USSR.

It would seem natural for us to appeal to Frank Shakespeare, the president of the Board for International Broadcasting, rather than to the President of the United States. We did appeal to him on a similar occasion three years ago with respect to the appointment of George Bailey as director of Radio Liberty. Mr. Bailey is closely associated with the same emigre group as Professor Dunlop. Mr. Shakespeare, who evidently sympathizes with their position, did not answer us. Mr. Bailey was appointed director. After the passage of three years, it is evident that this appointment has had sad consequences for Radio Liberty's reputation, and we are now faced with a still more threatening nomination to the post of president of RL/RFE.

Therefore we are appealing directly to you to preserve the credibility of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

Sincerely Yours,

Ludmilla Alexeeva

Pavel Litvinov
Andrey Sinyavsky
Cronid Lubarsky
Thomas Venclova
Nina Strokata
Aishe Seytmuratova

cc: Jack Matlock (NSC)
Directors (Board for International Broadcasting)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~F. Personnel~~
F-101/
Put Obj

ACTION

July 16, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
FROM: CONSTANTINE C. MENGES *ccm*
SUBJECT: My New Responsibilities

It is my understanding that President Reagan views me and my work on Latin America positively and that he has been given to understand that my reassignment to a new position within the NSC is intended as an increase in responsibilities which will make additional use of my skills. I am writing this note in order to clarify my new responsibilities based on our recent discussion.

I. Our Conversations of May 20, July 8, 1985

I. At your initiative, we have had two conversations in recent weeks (May 20 and July 8) about my future work with the NSC. During the first discussion on May 20 you were very complimentary about my conceptual and analytic skills, as well as my suggestions for policy and action. You indicated that since the work of the NSC is mainly focused on "bureaucratic coordination", I might make a larger contribution where policy is formulated--either in State or Defense. I replied that from my perspective additional intrinsic responsibilities of the NSC are to assure that the President makes the key decisions in foreign policy and that these decisions are actually implemented; and, to alert the President to major foreign policy threats and opportunities. I noted that I expected to have very productive and excellent working relations with the new Assistant Secretary for Latin America and told you I wished to continue serving in my capacity as the senior person for Latin America.

On July 8 you asked me if I had thought about what I wished to do. My reply was that I had established a productive working relationship with the new Assistant Secretary and felt that I could best serve the President as leader of the Latin American group. You replied that there was an urgent requirement for a senior person who could communicate with and seek to persuade the leaders and public of the United States as well as the leaders of key foreign countries about the main issues of US foreign policy (including Central America, international terrorism, strategic defense) and that you believed I have exceptional analytical and

communications skills and could best serve the President by undertaking this task and, therefore, you were reassigning me to this new position.

II. My New Responsibilities As You Outlined Them

During our July 8 conversation, you said that in my new role you wanted me to personally undertake a wide variety of activities to communicate with and seek to persuade the US public and leaders as well as foreign leaders on key controversial foreign policy issues. Among the specific activities, you mentioned were:

(working with and for Walt Raymond)

- briefing senior US personnel here and abroad;
- briefing foreign leaders here and abroad;
- public speaking on the issues "including ^{regional} talk shows on the media" (your words);
- meetings with editorial boards of the media to explain US foreign policy;
- authorship of op ed articles and occasional longer articles;
- participation in academic and other conference-type discussions of foreign policy.

As examples of specific activities along these lines, both our OAS Ambassador and our UN Ambassador have invited me to provide briefings on Central America for all 31 foreign OAS ambassadors and for a selected, open-minded group of foreign ambassadors to the United Nations. In addition, several US ambassadors to EEC countries have requested my participation in briefings on Central America (Otto Reich and I would each visit three to four countries, and his office would pay the costs).

To ^{reorientation} enable me to accomplish the above task you described to me as "~~an expansion~~ of my responsibilities", I would trust that you would assure I retain my presidential commission and participate in the Senior Staff meetings (both would help prevent any misunderstanding that this change is a demotion) and that NSC would provide comparable office space, secretarial, and other support.

Unless you inform me to the contrary, I shall assume that this memo correctly describes my new responsibilities and your support so I can carry them out.

Approve PCN Disapprove _____

*19/t
ecde
shis.
ne from
he shop.*

Dr. Menges has moved from the directorate on Latin American to the Directorate on International Communications and Information in the NSC. This is the office which the NSC established several years ago to monitor and supervise our public diplomacy programs. By assigning Mr. Menges to this position, the NSC will take advantage of his extensive knowledge and ability as a communicator. Dr. Menges will continue to serve as a senior staff member of the NSC and as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Dr. Menges is succeeded by Ray Burghardt who is moving up to be Senior Director of Latin American Affairs on the NSC staff.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Ed should
use the attached
in response to
questions.*

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

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Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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101

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WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
VOA /PHILIPPINE RELAY STATION TINANG PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY PRIORITY
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GERMANY PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY PRIORITY
CINCUSAVEUR LONDON ENGLAND PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE BELGIUM PRIORITY
CINCUSOUTH NAPLES ITALY PRIORITY

UNCLAS USIA 84498

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND STEINER;

FT BRAGG FOR JACK TUOHEY AND MBFR FOR KARCH; PARIS

ALSO PASS USUNESCO TONINI; OECD; MACDILL FOR USIA BELL;

OTHER MILITARY ADDEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAD

EO 12356 N/A

SUBJECT: PUBLIC AFFAIRS THEMES: FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION
REFERENCE: (A) USIA 77639, DTG 142032Z NOV 85; (B) USIA
GLOBAL AND REGIONAL THEMES FY-87: THEME FOUR - COMMUNICATION
AND INFORMATION

1. REFTEL A PROVIDED DETAILED BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND
EXTENSIVE THEME MATERIAL TO PROMOTE THE US FREE FLOW OF
INFORMATION GOAL. THEME FOUR IS ALSO USEFUL IN THAT REGARD.
BOTH REFS UNDERSCORE A POINT EMPHASIZED BY SECRETARY SHULTZ
IN HIS UNGA SPEECH IN SEPTEMBER, NAMELY: LET INFORMATION

FLOW AND TECHNOLOGY FLOWER; WHERE THE EFFORT IS TO CURB
INFORMATION AND FETTER TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE SECOND-CLASS
STATUS IS ENSURED.

2. THIS THEME WAS REEMPHASIZED IN SECRETARY SHULTZ'S ADDRESS
TO THE PILGRIMS' SOCIETY IN LONDON DECEMBER 10. EXCERPTS, IN
PARA 3 BELOW, SHOULD ALSO BE DRAWN ON TO PROMOTE THE FREE
FLOW OF INFORMATION PRINCIPLE.

3. BEGIN EXCERPTS: FINALLY, I WANT TO SPEAK OF ANOTHER KIND
OF REVOLUTION THAT IS ALTERING THE WORLD...A NEW ERA IN THE
TECHNOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION.
MICROCHIP COMPUTERS, ADVANCED TELECOMMUNICATIONS, AND AN
ACCELERATING PROCESS OF INNOVATION ARE TRANSFORMING THE WORLD
WE LIVE IN.

BY NO COINCIDENCE, THIS CREATIVITY IS COMING FROM THE
SOCIETIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD THAT LET IDEAS, PEOPLE, AND
CAPITAL RESOURCES FLOW FREELY ACROSS BOUNDARIES, THAT
ENCOURAGE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND EXPERIMENT. THESE SOCIETIES
HAVE GRASPED THE PLAIN FACT THAT THE SOURCE OF ECONOMIC
VITALITY IS INDIVIDUAL CREATIVITY AND NOT THE STATE. THE
ADVANCE OF THESE TECHNOLOGIES IS BOUND TO CHALLENGE MANY
TRADITIONAL NOTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY. BUT THE WEST HAS THE
ADVANTAGE BECAUSE THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION IS INTRINSIC
TO OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM AND PRINCIPLES.

THE INDUSTRIAL AGE IS COMING TO AN END. THE AGE WHEN
ECONOMIC POWER WAS SYMBOLIZED BY THE STEEL MILL, AND THE
ASSEMBLY LINE, IS PASSED. IN SOME PLACES THIS AGE IS
COMPLETELY OVER. THE ECONOMY OF THE FUTURE WILL BE BASED
MORE AND MORE ON INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES. AND THE FLOW OF
INFORMATION REQUIRES FREEDOM--FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND
COMMUNICATION. IDEOLOGY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS: IT'S
JUST A FACT OF LIFE.

THE COMMUNIST RULERS THUS FACE AN EXCRUCIATING PROBLEM. THEY
REMEMBER THE POWER OF THE AYATOLLAH'S MESSAGE ON TAPE
CASSETTES IN IRAN; THEY FEAR THE PHOTOCOPIING MACHINE AS A
DANGEROUS INSTRUMENT TO BE KEPT UNDER LOCK AND KEY. THE MORE
THEY TRY TO STIFLE THESE TECHNOLOGIES, THE MORE THEY ARE
LIKELY TO FALL BEHIND IN THIS MOVEMENT FROM THE INDUSTRIAL TO
THE INFORMATION AGE; BUT THE MORE THEY PERMIT THESE NEW
TECHNOLOGIES, THE MORE THEY RISK THEIR MONOPOLY CONTROL OVER
INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION. IN THE END, THOUGH, THEY
DON'T REALLY HAVE A CHOICE, BECAUSE THEY CANNOT REVERSE THE
TIDE OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE. END EXCERPTS. (P/C)

WICK
BT

F-11C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IIC AGENDA

Date: December 17, 1985
3:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Place: U.S. Information Agency
301 4th Street, S.W.
Room 800
Washington, D.C.

1. Post-Geneva Review

- The U.S. agenda and policy after Geneva; review of the Geneva meeting and next steps. (Ambassador Matlock, NSC)
- Review of foreign media and public opinion on the results of the Geneva meeting and the issues in the U.S. agenda. (Nils Wessell, USIA P/R)

2. IIC Working Group on Terrorism

- Vice President's Task Force. (Admiral Holloway)

3. ANZUS and U.S. Public Diplomacy

- Review of Public Diplomacy strategy (Bill Lenderking, USIA EA)

4. Other Issues

a. Afghanistan

- Preparations for commemorating the anniversary of the Soviet invasion. (Rob McLellan, USIA P/G)
- A status report on the DOD pamphlet on Afghanistan. (Irwin Kern, DOD)

b. Public Diplomacy on African political and economic issues

- Brief discussion of the establishment of IIC subcommittee. (John Clingerman, USIA AF)

c. Training for Public Diplomacy Strategy

- Brief discussion of interagency working group. (Joe Boerner, USIA M/P)

Strong programs -
 . Prior experience -
 . 3rd World issues -
 . Success: keep in eye
 . Put So. Africa into context

DECLASSIFICATION ISSUE
(status report?)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by Michael D. Schneider
Declassify or Downgrade on: OADR

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NLS 95-0412 #16

UNCLASSIFIED

cc-JL d...
F-101

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- AMCONSUL DURBAN PRIORITY
- USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI PRIORITY
- CDR 1STSOCOM FT BRAGG NC PRIORITY
- NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
- WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
- SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
- USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY
- USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY PRIORITY
- CINCUSAREUR HEIDLEBERG GERMANY PRIORITY
- CINCUSAFE RAMSTEINAB GERMANY PRIORITY
- RIYDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENGLAND PRIORITY
- USMHR SHAPE BELGIUM PRIORITY
- CINCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION #1 OF #4 USIA 77639

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND/STEINER;
 FT BRAGG FOR JACK TUOHEY AND MBFR FOR KARCH; PARIS
 ALSO PASS USUNESCO TONINI; OECD; MACDILL FOR USIA BELL;
 OTHER MILITARY ADDEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAD
 EO 12356 N/A

SUBJECT: PUBLIC AFFAIRS THEMES: FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

1. BACKGROUND: IN THE MIDST OF A TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION WHICH HAS CREATED THE INFORMATION AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE THERE IS AN EVER-INCREASING HUNGER TO KNOW, TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF KNOWLEDGE. AS A NATION, THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO A FREE AND OPEN MARKET PLACE OF IDEAS, AS WELL AS TO THE FREEST POSSIBLE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND GOODS. WE ATTACH THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THESE GOALS BECAUSE WE TAKE IDEAS SERIOUSLY; THEY ARE THE CARRIERS OF OUR

CIVILIZATION, THE LIFEBLOOD OF OUR INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE, TOO, THAT THE ENTIRE WORLD WILL BENEFIT FROM THE FREEST POSSIBLE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE, AND THAT ALL CIVILIZATIONS WILL FLOURISH FROM THE UNHINDERED EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION.

2. ONGOING CHANGES IN COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES HAVE GREAT POTENTIAL FOR FOSTERING THE GROWTH OF MORE OPEN SOCIETIES WORLDWIDE. THROUGH GREATER OPENNESS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG NATIONS CAN BE IMPROVED, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH BENEFICIAL TO ALL NATIONS FOSTERED. MORE EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES, MORE BENEFICIAL TRADE POLICIES, AND MORE EFFECTIVE RESPONSES TO GLOBAL PROBLEMS ARE POSSIBLE THROUGH OPENNESS. THIS WILL SURELY ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR FOSTERING STABILITY AND MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. END BACKGROUND.

3. PARAGRAPHS THAT FOLLOW CONTAIN FURTHER THEME MATERIAL FOR APPROPRIATE USE IN PROMOTING US GOAL OF FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. THE MATERIAL TIES IN, AND DRAWS UPON ONE OF KEY THRUSTS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VOA ADDRESS NOVEMBER 9 TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

4. THE THEME MATERIAL IS CAST IN POSITIVE TERMS, TO REFLECT A CONSTRUCTIVE AND FORTHCOMING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POSTURE ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES. THE THEMES UNDERSCORE THE US COMMITMENT TO THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, BUT ALSO THE NEGATIVE EFFECT OF SOVIET JAMMING ON US-USSR RELATIONS.
BT

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EO 12356 N/A

5. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND A FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL BLOCKS ON WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS BUILT. THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION PRINCIPLE IS AT THE HEART OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTS TO THE WORLD; THE ESSENCE OF OUR OPEN SOCIETY.

6. PRESIDENT REAGAN UNDERScoreD THIS IN HIS VOA ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION NOVEMBER 8. THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT "WE FAVOR FREE AND OPEN DIALOGUE NOT JUST FOR

AMERICANS, BUT FOR ALL PEOPLES. WE BELIEVE IN FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL, FREEDOM OF WORSHIP, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS..." THE PRESIDENT PROCLAIMED THAT "ONE OF OUR PROUDEST INSTITUTIONS IS A FREE PRESS." THE PRESS'S ROLE IS "TO RAISE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS AND KEEP OFFICIALS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE." MR. REAGAN RECALLED THE PLEDGES UNDERTAKEN BY SIGNATORIES OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS TO "PERMIT OUR CITIZENS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND TRAVEL, AND IMPROVE COMMUNICATION AMONG OUR PEOPLES."

7. PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS INDICATED TO SOVIET LEADER GORBACHEV THAT HE IS INTERESTED IN A BROADENING AND A DEEPENING OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF THE CONTRIBUTION THAT A FREE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE CAN MAKE TO INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. THE PRESIDENT REPEATED THAT DESIRE IN HIS VOA ADDRESS, EMPHASIZING THAT "I'M PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN INCREASING EXCHANGES AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR THEY ARE OUR FUTURE."

8. FURTHER POINTS TO BE DRAWN UPON:
--AN INCREASED FLOW OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE AROUND THE WORLD IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT WILL LEAD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDIVIDUAL WELL-BEING.
--HARMFUL INTERFERENCE, OR JAMMING, IMPEDES THE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE, AND IS WASTEFUL OF A LIMITED RESOURCE; IT AFFECTS ALL BROADCASTERS, EVEN THE LDGS.
--JAMMING INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTS VIOLATES THE ITU CONVENTION AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

--HALTING JAMMING WOULD PROVIDE CONCRETE EVIDENCE ON THE PART OF THE USSR OF AN INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.
--HALTING JAMMING WOULD PERMIT INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, PROMOTE GREATER STABILITY, AND - THEREBY - SUPPORT THE UNIVERSAL DESIRE FOR PEACE.
--OPENNESS PERMITS THE INDIVIDUAL TO GROW, AND PROMOTES DEVELOPMENT; WHERE THERE IS NO OPENNESS THE CONSEQUENCES ARE SECOND-CLASS STATUS FOR BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY.

SECRETARY SHULTZ CAPTURED THIS PERFECTLY IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS SEPTEMBER 23, AS QUOTED IN THE NEXT TWO TICKS.

--"THOSE POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT TRY TO STAND IN THE WAY OF THE FREE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION WILL RELEGATE THEIR CITIZENS TO SECOND-CLASS STATUS IN THE NEXT CENTURY."
--"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIETIES THAT CAN SPREAD KNOWLEDGE, ADAPT, INNOVATE, TAP THE UNFETTERED TALENTS OF WELL-INFORMED CITIZENS."

9. AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM IN LATE OCTOBER THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC DELEGATION POSED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS TO BT

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THE US DELEGATION ON THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. THE US DELEGATION RESPONSES, IN QUESTION AND ANSWER FORMAT, ARE REPEATED BELOW TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL USEFUL MATERIAL FOR PROMOTING US GOALS. BEGIN TEXT OF QS AND AS:

Q. WHAT IS MEANT BY "FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION?"

A. LITERALLY, JUST WHAT IT SAYS. THE US BELIEVES THAT GREATER UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED WHEN THERE IS THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE FREEDOM FOR THE CITIZENS OF ALL COUNTRIES TO OBTAIN THE INFORMATION THEY HAPPEN TO WANT -- WHETHER IT IS IN THE FORM OF BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, TECHNICAL JOURNALS, FILMS, POEMS, RELIGIOUS TRACTS, RADIO AND

TELEVISION BROADCASTS, OR ANYTHING ELSE; WHETHER ITS SOURCE IS DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN AND WHETHER OR NOT THE INFORMATION IS AGREEABLE TO THOSE WHO GOVERN THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE CITIZENS LIVE.

Q. DOES NOT EVERY COUNTRY HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS OWN FLOW OF INFORMATION?

A. WE BELIEVE THAT EVERY CITIZEN OF EVERY COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT AND THAT NO GOVERNMENT SHOULD IMPOSE ON ANY CITIZEN ANY LIMIT ON INFORMATION HE MAY SEEK. IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL WE SUPPORT, NOT THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Q. IF THERE WERE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION WOULD THIS NOT LEAD TO "INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM," PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THERE COULD BE A GREATER FLOW OF INFORMATION IN ONE DIRECTION THAN IN ANOTHER?

A. THAT IS ENTIRELY A QUESTION OF WHAT THE INDIVIDUALS IN ANY COUNTRY HAPPEN TO WANT. IF CITIZENS FROM A COUNTRY WANT MORE INFORMATION FROM OUTSIDE THEIR BORDERS, THAT IS THEIR FREE CHOICE. IF NOT, IT IS ALSO THEIR FREE CHOICE.

Q. IS THIS FREE FLOW ONLY A WAY TO EXPAND THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR INFORMATION?

A. THAT IS A CHOICE TO BE MADE BY INDIVIDUAL DECISION. IF THE INDIVIDUAL WANTS MORE INFORMATION FROM THE US HE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO OBTAIN IT. IF HE WANTS LESS, THAT IS ENTIRELY HIS BUSINESS.

Q. ARE YOU NOT JUST BANDING ABOUT THE WORDS "FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION?"

A. MOST EMPHATICALLY NOT. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION -- AND THEIR COROLLARIES -- ABSENCE OF CENSORSHIP, ABSENCE OF RESTRICTIONS, ABSENCE OF ANY OFFICIAL ORTHODOXY -- ARE ABSOLUTELY BASIC TO OUR AMERICAN IDEALS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ALL MEN IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD ALSO WANT SUCH FREEDOMS, AND THAT WHEN THESE FREEDOMS ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL, UNDERSTANDING AMONG ALL PEOPLES WILL BE WITHIN OUR REACH. END TEXT OF QS AND AS.

10. JAMMING HAS ALSO ARISEN AS AN ISSUE AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM. THE US DELEGATION HAS MADE CLEAR THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF JAMMING IN DEPRIVING AN INDIVIDUAL OF THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE HIS OR HER SOURCE OF INFORMATION. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL, THE HEAD OF THE US DELEGATION, STATED NOVEMBER 1 THAT RADIO "IS SO EFFECTIVE IN CROSSING BORDERS AND LOWERING BARRIERS TO CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS, FEARFUL OF ITS IMPACT, HAVE RESORTED TO THE PRACTICE OF JAMMING THE AIRWAVES. IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS A WASTE AND A SAD COMMENTARY ON THE DETERMINATION OF SUCH GOVERNMENTS TO SHIELD THEIR PEOPLES FROM RECEIVING A FULL RANGE OF INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD EVENTS AND CULTURAL

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DEVELOPMENTS." AMBASSADOR STOESSEL WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THE PRACTICE OF DELIBERATE INTERFERENCE REMAINS A SERIOUS PROBLEM. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE HIGH FREQUENCY WORLD ADMINISTRATIVE RADIO CONFERENCE (WARC) IN EARLY 1984 PASSED A RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A WORLDWIDE MONITORING PROCESS WHICH THE USSR AND ALL THE WARSAW PACT MEMBERS SIGNED. HOWEVER, STOESSEL SAID, THOUSANDS OF VIOLATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED; THE US HOPES ALL NATIONS WILL RESPECT THE RESOLUTION IN THE FUTURE. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL POINTED OUT ANOTHER PROBLEM, RELATED TO JAMMING, NAMELY, THE REFUSAL OF SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS TO ALLOW WESTERN

11. TO SUM UP: TRUE PEACE REQUIRES OPENNESS, UNFETTERED COMMUNICATIONS, AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEOPLES, ALL PEOPLES, TO GET TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER DIRECTLY. AS SECRETARY SHULTZ UNDERScoreD IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS: "THE FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIETIES THAT CAN SPREAD KNOWLEDGE." PRESIDENT REAGAN'S FORESIGHT WAS CLEARLY EVIDENT IN HIS VOA ADDRESS TO THE 'SOVIET PEOPLE: "I'M PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN INCREASING EXCHANGES AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR THEY ARE OUR FUTURE."
(P/C)
WICK
BT

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TO MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 10 DEC 85

F - ICI

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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

MANDEL

SUBJECT: STATE APPROVAL OF MANDEL EXTENSION TO NSC 1 JUL 86

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

STATUS C

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

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December 10, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Judyt Mandel

This is in response to Mr. Martin's memorandum of November 15 requesting the extension of Ms. Judyt Mandel's non-reimbursable detail. The extension of Ms. Mandel's detail has been approved through July 1, 1986.

Nicholas Platt
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
The Hague

Handwritten: ~~Ady~~ F-101

Handwritten: ~~Personnel~~

November 5, 1985

Walter Raymond, Esquire
Senior Director for Public Diplomacy
and Special Advisor to the President
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building, Rm. 351
Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Walt:

I enjoyed seeing you in September and appreciated your willingness to meet me on short notice.

As discussed, I will be coming back to Washington next summer and am looking for an assignment in which I can use the experience acquired during my last ten years of service abroad. Following four years at NATO headquarters and a tour in The Hague, I know arms control and security issues well. Service in the Pacific and years of prior experience in southeast Asia make me familiar with a range of Third World issues. And of course I have gained management experience here and have worked very closely with the press and others concerned with international affairs.

Regarding the latter, Max Snijders, former chairman of the International Press Institute (IPI) and the editor of a large regional daily in Utrecht, will be in Washington November 21-26 and has asked me to arrange meetings for him to discuss economic developments in the U.S. and the latest developments in Geneva.


Snijders has some interesting insights into UNESCO's approaches to the press following our withdrawal. He is still involved with the IPI and hopes to become the organization's secretary general. Those two things led me to suggest that the Foreign Press Center try to arrange a brief meeting for him with you. I have not told him about this possibility, so you are not committed in any way. If you would have a few minutes for him, I think you would find them well used.

Handwritten: we
you
are

Handwritten: seeing
him
Nov 26
emo

Anyway, please let me know in due course -- say, by mid-January, when the system will start to focus on me -- whether you think anything might work out at the NSC, either on your staff or in some form of special assignment at USIA or in the Department. My curriculum vitae is attached.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'F. Albert', written in a cursive style.

Frank L. Albert
Counselor for Public Affairs

September 30, 1985

CURRICULUM VITAE

Frank L. Albert
Counselor for Public Affairs
American Embassy
The Hague

Age: 45 (DoB: 6/18/1940)
Married: two children
(ages 12 and 9)

Tel: (31-70) 624911 (office)
(31-70) 603439 (home)

Mailing Address:
c/o American Embassy
APO New York 09159

WORK EXPERIENCE

1. Foreign Service Officer (U.S. Information Agency)
 - a. 1982 - (note: re-assignment expected in July 1986)
Counselor for Public Affairs, American Embassy,
The Hague
Ambassador: L. Paul Bremer III
 - b. 1978 - 82
Deputy Counselor for Public Affairs and Information
Officer, U.S. Mission to NATO
Ambassador: W. Tapley Bennett
 - c. 1976 - 78
Public Affairs Officer, American Embassy,
Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea)
Ambassador: Mary Olmsted
 - d. 1975 - 76
Branch Public Affairs Officer, Northeast Thailand
Ambassador: Charles Whitehouse
 - e. 1974 - 75
Mid-Career Fellow, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton
University
 - f. 1972 - 74
Desk Officer for ASEAN countries, USIA/Washington
Supervisors: Kent Crane and Bill Payeff

- g. 1969 - 72
Field Program Officer, USIS/Vientiane
DCM/Ambassador: Monteagle Stearns/G. McMurtrie Godley
- h. 1967 - 69
Radio Officer, USIS/Thailand (duty stations: Sakorn
Nakorn and Udorn)
- i. 1966
USIA Trainee (Voice of America - Thai Service)

2. Peace Corps Volunteer, 1963 - 65, Thailand
Duty: Instructor in Teacher Training College (English and Math)

EDUCATION

Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School, 1974 - 75
American University, School of International Service, 1965 - 66, M.A.
University of Oregon, 1958 -62, B.A.

LANGUAGES

(note: I received the scores shown below from FSI in Lao,
Thai and French. The score in Dutch, in which I have yet to
be tested, is a self-assessment)

Lao	(S-4, R-4)
Thai	(S-4, R-4)
French	(S-3, R-3+)
Dutch	(S-1, R-3)



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AT THE HEART OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTS TO THE
WORLD; THE ESSENCE OF OUR OPEN SOCIETY.

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6. PRESIDENT REAGAN UNDERSCORED THIS IN HIS VOA ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION NOVEMBER 9. THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT "WE FAVOR FREE AND OPEN DIALOGUE NOT JUST FOR AMERICANS, BUT FOR ALL PEOPLES. WE BELIEVE IN FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL, FREEDOM OF WORSHIP, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS..." THE PRESIDENT PROCLAIMED THAT "ONE OF OUR PROUDEST INSTITUTIONS IS A FREE PRESS." THE PRESS'S ROLE IS "TO RAISE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS AND KEEP OFFICIALS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE." MR. REAGAN RECALLED THE PLEDGES UNDERTAKEN BY SIGNATORIES OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS TO "PERMIT OUR CITIZENS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND TRAVEL, AND IMPROVE COMMUNICATION AMONG OUR PEOPLES."

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7. PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS INDICATED TO SOVIET LEADER GORBACHEV THAT HE IS INTERESTED IN A BROADENING AND A DEEPENING OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF THE CONTRIBUTION THAT A FREE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE CAN MAKE TO INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. THE PRESIDENT REPEATED THAT DESIRE IN HIS VOA ADDRESS, EMPHASIZING THAT "I'M PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN INCREASING EXCHANGES AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR THEY ARE OUR FUTURE."

- TO ALL PRINCIPAL POSTS PRIORITY
- AMEMBASSY BELIZE PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL DOUALA PRIORITY
- AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
- AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
- AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL FLORENCE PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL HAMBURG PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL IZMIR PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL KRAKOW PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL NAPLES PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL PALERMO PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL POZNAN PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL TORONTO PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL TRIESTE PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL ZAGREB PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL GENOA PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG PRIORITY
- AMCONSUL DURBAN PRIORITY
- USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI PRIORITY
- CDR 1STSOCOM FT BRAGG NC PRIORITY
- NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
- WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
- SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
- USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY
- USCINCEUR WAIHINGEN GERMANY PRIORITY
- CINCUSAREUR HEIDLEBERG GERMANY PRIORITY
- CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GERMANY PRIORITY
- RIYDLGNE CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENGLAND PRIORITY
- USSNHR SHAPE BELGIUM PRIORITY
- CINCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY PRIORITY

8. FURTHER POINTS TO BE DRAWN UPON:
- AN INCREASED FLOW OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE AROUND THE WORLD IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT WILL LEAD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDIVIDUAL WELL-BEING.
 - HARMFUL INTERFERENCE, OR JAMMING, IMPEDES THE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE, AND IS WASTEFUL OF A LIMITED RESOURCE; IT AFFECTS ALL BROADCASTERS, EVEN THE LDGS.
 - JAMMING INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTS VIOLATES THE ITU CONVENTION AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.
 - HALTING JAMMING WOULD PROVIDE CONCRETE EVIDENCE ON THE PART OF THE USSR OF AN INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.
 - HALTING JAMMING WOULD PERMIT INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, PROMOTE GREATER STABILITY, AND - THEREBY - SUPPORT THE UNIVERSAL DESIRE FOR PEACE.
 - OPENNESS PERMITS THE INDIVIDUAL TO GROW, AND PROMOTES DEVELOPMENT; WHERE THERE IS NO OPENNESS THE CONSEQUENCES ARE SECOND-CLASS STATUS FOR BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY.

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 USIA 77639

SECRETARY SHULTZ CAPTURED THIS PERFECTLY IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS SEPTEMBER 23, AS QUOTED IN THE NEXT TWO TICKS.
--"THOSE POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT TRY TO STAND IN THE WAY OF THE FREE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION WILL RELEGATE THEIR CITIZENS TO SECOND-CLASS STATUS IN THE NEXT CENTURY."
--"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIETIES THAT CAN SPREAD KNOWLEDGE, ADAPT, INNOVATE, TAP THE UNFETTERED TALENTS OF WELL-INFORMED CITIZENS."

USIA

9. AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM IN LATE OCTOBER THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC DELEGATION POSED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS TO BT

- WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND/STEINER;
- FT BRAGG FOR JACK TUOHEY AND MBFR FOR KARCH; PARIS
- ALSO PASS USUNESCO TONINI; OECD; MACDILL FOR USIA BELL;
- OTHER MILITARY ADDEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAD

EO 12356 N/A

5. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND A FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL BLOCKS ON WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS BUILT. THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION PRINCIPLE IS

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 USIA 77639

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND/STEINER;

FT BRAGG FOR JACK TUONEY AND MBFR FOR KARCH; PARIS

ALSO PASS USUNESCO TONINI; OECD; MACDILL FOR USIA BELL;

OTHER MILITARY ADEDES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAD

EO 12356 N/A

THE US DELEGATION ON THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. THE US DELEGATION RESPONSES, IN QUESTION AND ANSWER FORMAT, ARE REPEATED BELOW TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL USEFUL MATERIAL FOR PROMOTING US GOALS. BEGIN TEXT OF QS AND AS:

Q. WHAT IS MEANT BY "FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION?"

A. LITERALLY, JUST WHAT IT SAYS. THE US BELIEVES THAT GREATER UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED WHEN THERE IS THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE FREEDOM FOR THE CITIZENS OF ALL COUNTRIES TO OBTAIN THE INFORMATION THEY HAPPEN TO WANT -- WHETHER IT IS IN THE FORM OF BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, TECHNICAL JOURNALS, FILMS, POEMS, RELIGIOUS TRACTS, RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTS, OR ANYTHING ELSE; WHETHER ITS SOURCE IS DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN AND WHETHER OR NOT THE INFORMATION IS AGREEABLE TO THOSE WHO GOVERN THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE CITIZENS LIVE.

Q. DOES NOT EVERY COUNTRY HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS OWN FLOW OF INFORMATION?

A. WE BELIEVE THAT EVERY CITIZEN OF EVERY COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT AND THAT NO GOVERNMENT SHOULD IMPOSE ON ANY CITIZEN ANY LIMIT ON INFORMATION HE MAY SEEK. IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL WE SUPPORT, NOT THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Q. IF THERE WERE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION WOULD THIS NOT LEAD TO "INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM," PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE A GREATER FLOW OF INFORMATION IN ONE DIRECTION THAN IN ANOTHER?

A. THAT IS ENTIRELY A QUESTION OF WHAT THE INDIVIDUALS IN ANY COUNTRY HAPPEN TO WANT. IF CITIZENS FROM A COUNTRY WANT MORE INFORMATION FROM OUTSIDE THEIR BORDERS, THAT IS THEIR FREE CHOICE. IF NOT, IT IS ALSO THEIR FREE CHOICE.

Q. IS THIS FREE FLOW ONLY A WAY TO EXPAND THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR INFORMATION?

A. THAT IS A CHOICE TO BE MADE BY INDIVIDUAL DECISION. IF THE INDIVIDUAL WANTS MORE INFORMATION FROM THE US HE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO OBTAIN IT. IF HE WANTS LESS, THAT IS ENTIRELY HIS BUSINESS.

Q. ARE YOU NOT JUST BICYCLING ABOUT THE WORDS "FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION?"

A. MOST EMPHATICALLY NOT. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION -- AND THEIR COROLLARIES -- ABSENCE OF CENSORSHIP, ABSENCE OF RESTRICTIONS, ABSENCE OF ANY OFFICIAL ORTHODOXY -- ARE ABSOLUTELY BASIC TO OUR AMERICAN IDEALS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ALL MEN IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD ALSO WANT SUCH FREEDOMS, AND THAT WHEN THESE FREEDOMS ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL, UNDERSTANDING AMONG ALL PEOPLES WILL BE WITHIN OUR REACH. ENO TEXT OF QS AND AS.

10. JAMMING HAS ALSO ARISEN AS AN ISSUE AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM. THE US DELEGATION HAS MADE CLEAR THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF JAMMING IN DEPRIVING AN INDIVIDUAL OF THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE HIS OR HER SOURCE OF INFORMATION. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL, THE HEAD OF THE US DELEGATION, STATED NOVEMBER 1 THAT RADIO "IS SO EFFECTIVE IN CROSSING BORDERS AND LOWERING BARRIERS TO CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS, FEARFUL OF ITS IMPACT, HAVE RESORTED TO THE PRACTICE OF JAMMING THE AIRWAVES. IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS A WASTE AND A SAD COMMENTARY ON THE DETERMINATION OF SUCH GOVERNMENTS TO SHIELD THEIR PEOPLES FROM RECEIVING A FULL RANGE OF INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD EVENTS AND CULTURAL BT

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 2, 1985

TO:

W. Kenneth Thompson
Department of State/S/SA
Room 7527

FROM:

Walt Raymond

~~E Ned~~
7/21/85 WR

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 20, 1985

TO:

Mr. Carl Gershman
President
National Endowment for Democracy
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 304

FROM:

Walter Raymond, Jr.

Treat this as an unofficial draft.
Roy Godson and I will be talking about
it in the next few days, and you will
receive a formal submission later.

61 Dorset Road, London W5 4HX, England. Tel: (01) 567 9584

ANEKS - POLITICAL QUARTERLY

ANEKS - PUBLISHERS

A Short Presentation

We differ in our views, we do not share the same philosophical allegiance and we do not see the current events in Poland always in the same light. We are united, however, in the conviction that neither mature political consciousness nor rational assessment of the most important issues in Poland and in the Polish diaspora can exist without a knowledge of programmes, analyses, and viewpoints inspired by different traditions of political thinking. That is why we publish Aneks and that is how we publish it - without an ideological axe to grind but with a view to providing good service to an intellectually varied readership and in the liberal spirit of "healthy eclecticism".

(from the Editors' Statement of Aims)

Aneks is a quarterly published in the Polish language and aimed, primarily though not exclusively, at intellectuals and students in Poland. The first issue appeared in June 1973 and the latest (no. 37) in February 1985.

Intellectual Aims

Aneks is almost exclusively concerned with social, economic and political issues and publishes original articles written by Polish authors both in Poland and in exile as well as translations of essays, articles and book excerpts from Western sources. Aiming at the highest intellectual standards, it tries to bring together the best and the most important writings in both Western and East European social thought. The editors hope that Aneks may thereby prove useful in providing intellectual alternatives to the political system currently prevailing in the East European countries and inspire discussion on those alternatives in Poland.

Development of the Quarterly

Aneks was launched in 1973 as a rather modest enterprise. Its aim was to publish not only original material but also translations which were considered to be a very important part of the whole venture. Only when those who were later to become editors of Aneks found themselves in the West, did they fully realize the extent to which political censorship in Poland had isolated Polish intelligentsia from

many intellectual and political developments in Western Europe and the United States and from the reality of Poland's communist neighbours. A yawning gap waited to be filled with the best, the most interesting and the most original Western thinking banned by the Polish censors. Heilbroner, Huntington, Besançon and Koestler were among the authors selected for the first issues. The translations published by Aneks included material from West European and American books and journals such as Encounter and Dissent, Index on Censorship and Survey, New York Review of Books and Soviet Studies, Telos and Problems of Communism, to mention just a few. We have had the honour and pleasure of getting advice and practical assistance from as well as making friends with various Western academics and intellectuals: the late Raymond Aron, Pierre Hassner, Andre Glucksman, Cornelius Castoriadis, and many others.

Great attention was also paid to East European thinkers who had fallen foul of their regimes and whose works could under no circumstances be published in their own countries. But Aneks takes care to maintain a East European dimension not only in giving space to problems of Eastern Europe, but in having East European authors - dissidents or emigrés - comment on the situation of their respective countries as well as on broader political, social and moral issues. Among our East European contributors have been Russians, Czechs, Hungarians and Yugoslavs. We have published Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Amalrik, Nadezdha Mandelstam, Andrei Sakharov, Andrei Sinyavsky, Alexander Zinoviev, Antonin Liehm, George Moldau, Zdenek Mlynar, Ivan Svitak, Peter Kende, Milovan Djilas, Mikhailo Mikhajlov, Tomas Venclova and many others. As a result of our close cooperation with East European authors articles from Aneks have been published in Czech, Russian, Ukrainian journals - both in Samizdat and in the West.

Gradually, however, translated material gave way to original contributions. Articles started coming in from Poland: at the beginning merely a trickle, later almost a flood. Among the first to be published were the two leading dissidents, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik. Many wrote under a pseudonym but others, like Jan Józef Lipski - literary critic, dissident, founder-member of KOR (Workers' Defence Committee), Edward Lipiński - economist of great distinction and another founder-member of KOR, Karol Modzelewski - economist and political scientist, Father Mażkowski - dissident priest, Marcin Król - sociologist, writer, journalist, on the editorial board of the Catholic Tygodnik Powszechny, Jerzy Holzer - historian, author of an excellent study on "Solidarity" appeared under their own names.

Also emigré intellectuals have found in Aneks a congenial atmosphere in which to publish essays, articles, comments or book reviews. Among the regular contributors are Leszek Kołakowski - a philosopher and social thinker of international standing, Krzysztof Dorosz - a leading essayist of the younger generation, Jan T. Gross - sociologist and historian, lecturer in sociology at Yale University, Stanisław Barańczak - considered by many the finest contemporary Polish poet and literary critic, now lecturer at Harvard University (previously at Poznań University), Waldemar Kuczyński - economist from Warsaw University and former "Solidarity" adviser, Włodzimierz Brus - economist from Oxford University (previously Warsaw University), Stanisław Gomułka - economist from the London School of Economics, and Aleksander Smolar - economist, Editor-in-Chief of Aneks who provides analytical commentaries on the current situation in Poland. Czesław Miłosz - a Nobel Prize winner in Literature - and Zbigniew Brzezinski have also recognized the significance of Aneks and contributed essays and political analyses.

Although Polish and East European affairs now occupy the largest amount of space, translations of Western authors still figure prominently on the pages of Aneks. We have been proud to publish in Polish otherwise "unpublishable" material from philosophers and sociologists: Hannah Arendt, Raymond Aron, Daniel Bell, Alain Besançon, Friedrich Hayek, political scientists: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Pierre Hassner, Paul Hollander, J. F. Hayek, L. Heilbroner, Irving Howe, Samuel Huntington, Melvin J. Lasky, Richard Loeventhal, Boris Levickij, Domenico M. Nuti, Adam Ulam; writers: Anthony Burgess, Guenter Grass, Arthur Koestler, George Orwell, Octavio Paz; and political journalists: Timothy Garton Ash, Hendrick Smith and many others.

From the very beginning we have tried to give our readers in-depth analyses of different subjects by exploring them in series of essays by different authors arranged in separate sections under a common title. Thus,

<u>Aneks</u> no.2	dealt with "The Left and Utopia",
no.3	with "The Fifth Anniversary of the Czechoslovak Experiment",
no.4	with "Prospects for a Revolution in Eastern Europe",
no.6	brought a publication (for the first time in Polish) of "Selected Essays by George Orwell",
nos.7-8	discussed different currents of opposition movement in USSR under the title "Archipelago of Independent Thought",
nos.12 & 13-14	explored the problems of "Christianity, Socialism, Church and Politics in Poland",
nos.13-14	dealt with "October 1956 in Poland",
nos.16-17	with "Eurocommunism",
no.18	with "China-Poland-USSR", publishing some previously unknown secret documents,
no.19	with "The Economy of Exploitation" (USSR-Poland),
no.20	with "The Polish Economy - Diagnosis and Perspectives",
no.21	- "The Language of Totalitarianism"
no.22	- "The Slavophiles - Russian Nationalists - Tolerated Dissent?"
no.23	- "The Socialist Thought",
no.26	- "The Political Power Elites and Their Privileges Under Communism",
no.27	- "Poland After December 13th, 1981",
nos.29-30	with "The Return of the Sacred; <u>Sacrum</u> and <u>Profanum</u> in Public Life - East and West",
no.31	- "Kadarism and the Polish Perspectives",
no.33	- "War and Peace" (East and West European Peace Movements),
nos.35, 36 & 37	- "Intelligentsia, Solidarity and the Rulers of Poland" - a lively and at times bitter debate on the role of the intelligentsia in opposition to the Communist system in Poland,
no.36	published a collection of essays "In Memory of George Orwell".

For the contents of issues nos. 1-37 see Annexe no.1.

The Achievements of Aneks Quarterly

Almost from the moment of its appearance in 1973 Aneks has been recognized as an important non-dogmatic source of intellectual information and a suitable forum for a lively, wide-ranging debate not only on

political, but also social, economic, philosophical and spiritual issues. The journal has been appearing for over 12 years now and a considerable number of /free-of-charge/ copies (at least 1,200 copies of every single issue) have been reaching Poland thanks to the continuous efforts of the editors and the large number of collaborators from all over the world. According to the most conservative estimates one copy of Aneks is read by 30 people in Poland.

Thanks to its growing popularity and esteem among academics, writers, teachers and students Aneks can not only increase the amount of valuable material for publication but also work out better contacts with its readers and potential contributors in Poland or abroad during their temporary stay in the West (university grants, family visits, etc.)

It should also be noted that Aneks has its official subscribers in Poland. These are: the National Library, the libraries of the Polish Parliament, Warsaw, Jagiellonian and 3 other leading universities, Polish Academy of Sciences. Librarians of more than 30 research institutes, which are not allowed to receive officially Polish literature published in the West, have approached us privately with the request for Aneks Quarterly as well as for other books published by ANEKS. We have been able to supply them continuously with our publications, though, of course, not by post...

Of all the Polish periodicals published abroad Aneks and the Paris Kultura managed to win great recognition in Poland and are regarded as the only publications of lasting significance. However, it should be noted that while Kultura tries to influence the situation in Poland in a direct political manner, Aneks wishes to preserve its analytical and intellectual rather than overtly political character. High esteem of Aneks has been expressed, for example, by: Adam Michnik in several essays, A. Mart in Krytyka, The Polish Independence Association (Polskie Porozumienie Niepodległościowe) in its study of emigration (1979), influential Experience and Future Discussion Group (Konwersatorium "Doświadczenie i Przyszłość") in its 1980 Report on the State of the Nation, and many others;

Professor Leszek Kołakowski, Oxford: "There cannot be any doubts whatsoever that Aneks is a very useful, very well done and very important journal. The texts published in Aneks are all without exception of such a character that they could not have been published in Poland because of the political censorship regime. They are not however a propaganda material but serious theoretical works discussing the most important social and political issues both of the Soviet-type societies and of the Western world. In my opinion Aneks deserves all kind of support from people interested in fighting against the cultural isolation of East European countries and in freedom of thought and print."

Leopold Labedz, Survey Editor, London: "Ever since the appearance of its first number, it struck me as an important and useful initiative. Its choice of material and its presentation of Western public debates on the important issues of the day seems to me admirable. It preserves the living substance of independent thought."

Professor Adam B. Ulam, Harvard: "Your enterprise is most worthwhile and certainly deserves widest support. I find what I have seen of Aneks to be of very high quality."

Professor Peter J. Potichnyj, Mc Master University: "I want you to know that I personally consider Aneks one of the most interesting journals devoted to Eastern European problems anywhere in the world."

Great appreciation and high prestige that Aneks enjoys in Poland can be illustrated by the fact that several times in the past either entire issues of Aneks or its sections on specific subjects or various individual articles have been reprinted in Poland by a number of underground journals and publishing houses, especially after the imposition of "martial law" in December 1981 (for examples, see Annexe no.2). Underground publishing house Krag (The Circle) decided to reprint in Warsaw every issue of Aneks - until now, issues no.33 and no.34 have been reprinted, 3,000 copies each. Whether this important venture can be continued will depend, as we have been informed, on our financial assistance.

Book Publishing

We entered the field of book publishing out of necessity, at first, when approached by several authors, for political reasons prevented from publishing at home, who did not wish to be published by Kultura in Paris. However, following the initial experience in this field, the editors of Aneks, for whom book publishing had become an important continuation and extension of their efforts, decided to continue as book publishers. Until April 1985 ANEKS has published:

22 titles of Documents, Accounts and Documentaries, Political Essays and Analyses, Fiction and Poetry,

16 issues of Krytyka - the most significant quarterly journal of political analysis, edited and published originally in Polish samizdat,

8 issues of Res Publica - a liberal quarterly originally published underground in Poland until the introduction of "martial law" in December 1981, when it ceased to appear.

5 volumes are now in print.

For the full list of titles see Annexe no.3.

Editors and Finances

Aleksander Smolar (Editor-in-chief of Aneks Quarterly, economist at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris,

Eugeniusz Smolar Aneks Quarterly co-editor and publishing organizer, sociologist, now journalist with the BBC, London.

Members of the Editorial Board:

Dr. Nina Smolar biochemist, previously Imperial Cancer Research Fund, now ANEKS Books editor.

Irena Grosfeld economist at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris,

Dr. Jan Gross (US Aneks Quarterly Editor), sociologist, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, USA,

Dr. Krzysztof Dorosz linguist and literary critic, now journalist with the BBC, London.

Aneks Quarterly is edited in Paris and London, typeset in-house and printed in London.

Books published by ANEKS are edited, typeset in-house and printed in London.

Subscriptions, sale and administration is handled by the "London branch".

All operations are being handled from private homes of the editors.

There are now 1,400 paying subscribers to Aneks Quarterly (including 220 institutional subscribers) at the subscription rate of £10 /US \$20 each.

Since its first issue Aneks has been appearing thanks to the efforts of unpaid editors, contributors, translators and other collaborators.

All ANEKS editors are professionals and hold full-time jobs. Due to lack of funds London-based editors - apart from other duties - have to cope with all the administration work involving, for example, subscriptions, contacts with the printers, bookshops, etc. Existing workload, mainly administrative, makes it difficult, and sometimes even impossible, for the editors to focus their attention on the really important editorial matters. Their publishing achievements, though recognized both in Poland and in the West, do not always meet the needs and take advantage of the existing possibilities. A lot of their time is taken up with establishing contacts with current and potential contributors as well as with readers in Poland crucial for ANEKS's impact among various groups in the country.

Therefore, there is an urgent need for the external financial assistance which:

- 1) would enable us to set up proper editorial facilities, i.e.,
 - a full-time assistant in charge of administrative work. This would give the editors time to engage more efficiently in various publishing undertakings and to make full use of the means at their disposal. (Approximately £10,000 p.a.)
 - funds for setting up the editorial office. (Approx. £4,000 p.a.)
- 2) would enable us to pay fees to the authors.

The repressions which followed the imposition of "martial law" resulted in many intellectuals being deprived of the opportunity to work in their professions. Therefore, it is very important that we find funds to enable us to pay fees for articles and books written and/or translated for ANEKS as well as for the initial research for the articles and books to be published. Such aid would be of enormous importance, also in the long run, as it would make academics and writers independent, at least partly, from a very acute form of repression, namely, prohibition to earn their living in their own professions. (£2,000 p.a.)

- 3) would enable us to increase the number of copies printed of Aneks Quarterly as well as of ANEKS books.

Until now, the free-of-charge distribution in Poland of the greatest possible number of copies of our quarterly and books, which is the raison d'etre of the editors' efforts, has depended exclusively on the rather limited sale in the West and on occasional private donations, and, of course, on the unpaid efforts and contributions of authors, translators, and editors. All funds received through sale are being used to publish new manuscripts (strictly from hand to mouth

policy...)). However, because of the increasing demand for Aneks Quarterly and our books in Poland, we would have to print 1,000 - 2,000 extra copies to be sent free-of-charge to Poland. Whether we are able to meet the demand depends entirely on the possibility of receiving financial assistance.

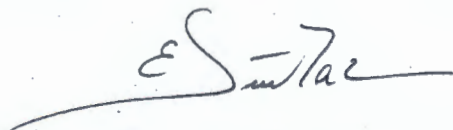
For this purpose we seek £10,000 p.a.

We also wish to point to an increased demand on our meagre resources for the publication of new manuscripts sent to us by authors from Poland. We have now in our hands 16 book manuscripts of high-quality, mostly academic and intellectual character, which we, however, have no possibility to publish and which other Polish publishers in the West will not be willing to publish because of their limited sale-value in the West. (Cost: £24,000 p.a.)

Submitting this proposal for funds we would like to quote Professor Leszek Kołakowski, our eminent author, who wrote that ANEKS:

"deserves all kind of support from people interested in fighting against cultural isolation of East European countries and in freedom of thought and print."

For and on behalf of Aneks Editors,



Eugeniusz Smolar

TOTAL FUNDS SOUGHT - £50,000 p.a.

- 1 full-time assistant, incl. social insurance, etc:	£10,000
- rent of the editorial office	£4,000
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BOOKS PUBLISHED BY ANEKS

Non-fiction

Documents:

1. "Wypadki czerwcowe i działalność Komitetu Obrony Robotników" ("June 1976 and the Activity of the Workers' Defence Committee"), 24pp.
2. "Czarna księga cenzury PRL" ("The Black Book of Polish Censorship"), vol 1 - 248pp., vol. 2 - 470pp.

Secret documents smuggled out to the West by an official of the censors' office in Cracow. The first such set of documents showing modus operandi of a Communist regime available in the West since Smoleńsk documents captured during World War II.

"This is a splendid book, the significance of which extends far beyond the immediate context of Poland and illuminates the phenomenon of totalitarianism as a whole." - R. T. Davies, former US Ambassador to Poland.

The Black Book has been smuggled back to Poland and printed in excerpts by the underground Publishing House NOWA, Warsaw, Published in English by Random House, New York, 1984

3. "Apel do społeczeństwa i inne dokumenty Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej KOR" ("An Appeal to Society and Other Documents of The Committee for Social Self-Defence KOR"), 12pp.
4. Irena Grudzińska-Gross and Jan T. Gross: "W czterdziestym nas matko na Sybir zesłali" ("In Nineteen-forty They Sent Us to Siberia, Mum..."), 512pp., with analytical introduction by Dr. Jan T. Gross, who is a professor of sociology at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.

The book is a collection of essays on the Russian occupation of Poland in 1939-1941 and on life in Siberian exile written by children and adults in 1943. Extensive insight into life under communist rule. Published as "War Through Children's Eyes" by Hoover Institution Press, 1981.

Excerpts were reprinted by underground Publishing House NOWA, Warsaw.

5. Barbara Toruńczyk: "Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli politycznej 1985-1905" ("National Democracy. An Anthology of Political Thought"), 320pp.

Barbara Toruńczyk is a member of democratic opposition in Poland; now, Editor-in-chief of the literary quarterly Zeszyty Literackie in Paris. The book was also printed in Poland in underground by NOWA Publishers.

Accounts, Documentaries:

1. "1956 - w dwadzieścia lat później - z myślą o przyszłości" ("1956: Twenty Years Later"). Collection of essays presented at the international conference in Paris on the Polish October and Hungarian Revolution, co-organized by ANEKS.

Speakers included: Francois Fejtö, Leszek Kołakowski, Claude Lefort, Włodzimierz Brus, Annie Kriegel, Adam Michnik, Jiri Pelikan, Aleksander Smolar, Pierre Kende, Krzysztof Pomian.

2. Jerzy Surdykowski: "Notatki Gdańskie" ("Notes from Gdansk")
The author, former Party member, journalist from Cracow, deputy chairman of National Union of Journalists during the Solidarity period.

A collection of literary biographies and interviews with the Gdansk shipyard workers and leading members of Solidarity such as, Lech Wałęsa, Bogdan Lis, Anna Walentynowicz, Andrzej Gwiazda and others. The book explains the desire of workers to establish state-independent trade unions.

Reprinted in Poland by underground Publishing House KRAĞ, Warsaw.

3. Jan Józef Lipski: "Komitet Obrony Robotników" ("Workers' Defence Committee"), 436pp.

The author, leading member of the Polish democratic opposition, presents the history of KOR - a human rights organization of a character unique in Eastern Europe. Its members, coming from the wide political spectrum, acted openly, their names and addresses having been made public, and who united in support for workers and other victims of persecution in Poland.

Two reprints by underground publishing houses in Poland: NOWA Warsaw, and CDN, Warsaw.

The book has been translated into English and published by California University Press, due in Autumn 1985.

4. Tadeusz Mazowiecki: "Internowanie" ("Internment"), 61pp.

Author - a Catholic intellectual, former editor-in-chief of the catholic monthly Wież, then, editor-in-chief of the Solidarity Weekly, former member of the Polish Parliament (Sejm), interned on December 13th, 1981.

The book has been published in collaboration with the underground Publishing House KRAĞ.

5. Waldemar Kuczynski: "Obóz" ("The Camp"), 120pp.

Author - a well-known economist, deputy editor of Solidarity Weekly (Tygodnik Solidarność), interned on December 13th, 1981.

6. Władysław Bartoszewski: "Dni Walczącej Stolicy - Kronika Powstania Warszawskiego" ("Warsaw Uprising"), 382pp.

Author - leading catholic intellectual, professor at the Catholic University in Lublin. The book has been published in collaboration with the underground Publishing House KRAĞ.

7. Dariusz Fikus: "Foksal '81", 208pp.

Author - former member of the editorial board of Polityka, leading party weekly; during the Solidarity era he became chairman of the Union of Polish Journalists. He describes changes in the mass media and journalists' fight for reliability of journalistic profession.

Essays:

1. Leszek Kołakowski: "Czy diabeł może być zbawiony i 27 innych kazań" ("Can the Devil Be Saved and 27 Other Sermons"), 355pp.
The book has been reprinted in Poland by the underground Publishing House KRAĞ, Warsaw, and many other underground firms.
2. Adam Michnik: "Szanse polskiej demokracji" ("On Polish Democracy") 256pp. Collection of articles and essays by the leading member of democratic opposition imprisoned on December 13th, 1981.
The book also includes essays written in prison in the years 1981-1984.
3. Jacek Kuroń: "Polityka i odpowiedzialność" ("Politics and Responsibility"), 22pp.
Includes essays written during the Solidarity period. The author was then an adviser to National Committee of Solidarity and Lech Wałęsa. Also includes titles written during his imprisonments in the years 1981-1984.
4. Włodzimierz Brus: "Uspołecznienie a ustrój polityczny (na tle doświadczeń socjalizmu wschodnioeuropejskiego)" ("Nationalization Versus Political System - East European Experience"), 304pp.
Author - leading Polish economist, expelled from the Warsaw University in 1968, now at Wolfson College in Oxford, describes economic reforms and its dependence on changes of the political system in Eastern Europe.

Fiction

1. Aleksander Ścibor-Rylski: "Człowiek z marmuru, człowiek z żelaza" ("Man of Marble, Man of Iron"), 224pp.
Novels on which two films by Andrzej Wajda have been based.
2. Georgij Wladimow: "Wierny Rusłan" ("Faithful Ruslan"), 112pp.
Author - a dissident writer, published his novel in Samizdat in the Soviet Union.
The book has been reprinted by a number of underground publishing houses in Poland, among them - KRAĞ, Warsaw.
3. Milan Kundera: "Nieznosna Lekkość Bytu" ("The Unbearable Lightness of Being"), 215pp.
By a leading Czech author, now living in Paris.
To be reprinted by the underground Publishing House KRAĞ, Warsaw.
4. Tadeusz Konwicki: "Rzeka Podziemna, Podziemne Ptaki" ("Underground River, Underground Birds"), 152pp.
The latest novel by the famous Polish writer; on martial law in Poland. The book has been published in Poland by underground Publishing House KRAĞ,

Poetry

1. Stanisław Barańczak: "Sztuczne Oddychanie" ("Artificial Respiration"), 46pp. illustrated by Jan Lebenstein.
Author - leading poet, member of KOR, now a professor at Harvard University.
2. Wiktor Woroszyński: "Lustro, Dziennik Internowania, Tutaj" ("Mirror, Internment Diary, Here"), 64pp., illustrated by Jan Lebenstein.
Author - a very well-known poet, member of democratic opposition, editor of Zapis independent quarterly, interned on December 13th, 1981.

ANEKS Publishing House also reprints the underground quarterly Krytyka. So far, 16 issues have appeared, each of around 260pp. in print.

Includes articles and Essays on broad political and social problems of Poland as well as historical documents on communist movement in Poland and elsewhere.

The Quarterly Krytyka was founded in 1978 by, among others, Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuroń. The journal has been appearing regularly in spite of the introduction of martial law in Poland.

The editorial board, apart from Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuroń, includes Miklos Haraszti (Hungary) and Vaclav Havel (Czechoslovakia).

Res Publica - liberal quarterly published underground in Poland. It ceased to appear following the imposition of "martial law" in Poland. All eight issues have been reprinted by ANEKS.

In Print

1. Krzysztof Pomian: Collection of essays on the social and political system in Poland.
2. Andrzej Walicki: "My Encounters With Miłosz"
Political biography of an intellectual under communist rule - from seduction by the system to an independent view.
Author - former head of Philosophy Department at the Warsaw University, now in Australia, professor at Canberra University since 1982.
3. C. Castoriadis: "Before the War"
Famous book on the Soviet system and the balance of military and political power between East and West.
Translated from French.
4. Małgorzata Szejnert and Tomasz Zalewski: "Szczecin - December (1970) - August (1980) - December (1981)"
Published in collaboration with the underground Publishing House NOWA, Warsaw.
An account on Szczecin shipyard workers rising in 1970 and their way to Solidarity followed by its suppression.
3. Krytyka, no.17.

Dr. J. Piotr Lasota
14, Villa d'Este, Apt. 1107
75648 Paris, Cedex 13
France

Mr. Y. Richmond
National Endowment for Democracy
1156 15th Street NW, Suite 304
Washington, D.C. 20005
U.S.A.



Paris, April 29, 1985

Dear Mr. Richmond,

I have been instructed to apply to the National Endowment for Democracy for a grant of 30,000 US dollars to support the activities of the Committee for Independent Culture (KKN) in Poland. KKN is one of three groups, together known as OKN (Culture, Education, and Academic Research), working to maintain and develop independent culture, education and academic research in Poland.

KKN was created at the beginning of 1983, partly as a reaction to the dissolution of "Solidarity" and partly as a result of the deteriorating situation of various fields in the arts and humanities. The boycott of official media and cultural institutions, which had originated as a spontaneous protest to the imposition of the state of war in December 1981, grew in the space of one year into a wide movement of refusal among literary and artistic circles. KKN's first activity was to offer various groups the possibility of expressing their opinions and views. Their suggestions led, for example, to the creation of the "Solidarity" awards; a regular literary supplement to the independent journal KOS; and the foundation of the literary monthly entitled "Independent Culture".

KKN had initially intended to support already existing initiatives rather than to plan new ones. KKN then decided to use the experience of these groups to foster and inspire other activities. This made it necessary to implement some changes on the organizational level: the number of participants increased, activities were expanded to include other cultural centers, interdisciplinary artists' groups were contacted and created in various cities. In this way, KKN became a fully-fledged organization.

OKN has only two official representatives in the West. They are: Professor Leszek Kolakowski from Oxford, and myself. I am the sole representative responsible for organizing and co-ordinating OKN funds and activities in the West. I enclose a letter to this effect from Mr. Wiktor Kulerski, vice-chairman of the Mazowsze region of "Solidarity", who was nominated by the "Solidarity" Temporary Co-ordinating Commission (TKK) to co-ordinate OKN activities in Poland.

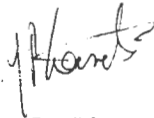
I further enclose a projected budget for the remainder of the 1985 calendar year (June through December 1985). This budget has been drawn up after consultation with the KKN.

PROJECTED BUDGET FOR 1985
(for the Committee for Independent Culture)

(1) Co-financing of publications:	
(a) printing and distribution	8,000 USD
(b) stipends, royalties, social benefits.....	2,000 USD
(2) Arts:	
(a) documentation and exhibitions.....	4,000 USD
(b) stipends.....	1,000 USD
(3) Films and documentaries (including running and equipment costs).....	7,000 USD
(4) Co-financing of concerts and other independent artistic events.....	3,000 USD
(5) Documentation (photographs, archives, etc.).....	5,000 USD
	<hr/>
Sum Total:	30,000 USD

I thank you for your attention and remain,

Yours Faithfully,



Dr. J. Piotr Lasota

TRANSLATION

Warsaw, December 1984

Dr. Piotr Lasota
Paris

Upon the decision of all three OKN structures (the Society for Independent Education, the Committee for Independent Culture, and the Social Committee for Academic Research), taken in consultation with the authorized OKN representative in the West, Prof. Leszek Kolakowski, I am authorized to ask you to assist Prof. Kolakowski in organizing support for OKN in the West and to take over responsibility for co-ordinating and organizing activities in this regard.

With Best Wishes,

Wiktor Kulerski

Szanowny Pan prof.
Jean Piotr Łasota
w Paryżu

Na podstawie wyników dwóch struktur OKN-a (Zespołu
Osiaroty Mieralekiej, Komitetu Kultury Mieralekiej i Społecznego
Komitetu Nauki) oraz w uzgodnieniu z przedstawicielem
i podsumowaniem OKN-a zagranicy panem prof. Lesławem
Kotakowskim zwracam się do Pana z prośbą o udzielenie
panu prof. Lesławowi Kotakowskiemu pomocy w organizowaniu
zagranicznej współpracy i pomocy dla OKN-a oraz o przyjęcie
moich treści obowieszków organizacyjnych.

Z wyrazami szacunku i serdecznym pozdrowieniem

Michał Ruler

Warszawa, grudzień 1984.

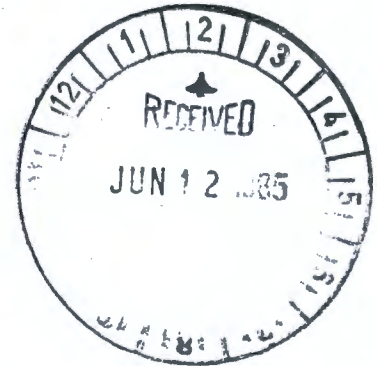
5/12/85

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

45 St Giles'
Oxford
OX1 1QS
England
Tel: Oxford (0865) 511869

Our reference:

Your reference:



30 May, 1985

Mr. Carl Gershman
President
National Endowment for Democracy
1156 Fifteenth Street N.W. Suite 304
Washington D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Gershman,

I was very pleased to learn from Mr. Maciej Jachimczyk about your meeting in Washington last January and the interest you expressed in the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies and its journal of East European Jewish Studies, POLIN.

We have developed the enclosed proposal to review some of the ground which you and Mr. Jachimczyk covered in January, and also to introduce you to some other areas of the Institute's activities. Obviously, we hope that your interest in our work will continue, and we would be most happy to respond to any queries you may have.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Antony Polonsky". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Antony Polonsky
Editor, POLIN

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

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Our reference:

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PROPOSAL TO THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

30 May 1985

"Programmes for Iron-Curtain Scholars"

Background - The Context of Our Proposal

One of the principal characteristics of communist regimes has been their desire to rewrite the past in order to serve their own purposes. As George Orwell put it in 1984, "He who controls the present, controls the past, he who controls the past controls the future." Thus it is not surprising that one of the main features of the democratic upsurge in Poland which culminated in the emergence of Solidarity should have been the desire to establish a truer picture of the Polish past. This development was intensified by the highly developed historical consciousness of the Poles and their long-established tendency to seek lessons for the present from past experience. As one of the submissions to the report by the Doświadczenie i Przyszłość group in Poland in 1979 observed, "the source of public consciousness in Poland lies in the nineteenth century [particularly in its second half] and in the first half of the twentieth century. Modern political thought emerged during this period; time-tables were set and choices made that are often relevant to this day."

Nowhere is the need for an honest and unprejudiced confrontation with the past more apparent than in the tangled and controversial area of Polish-Jewish relations. From today's perspective, it is apparent that the widespread nature of Polish antisemitism had much to do with the weakness of democratic institutions in Poland between the wars and also partly accounts for the large number of people of Jewish origin who joined the Communist party. Discussion of this subject

was for long taboo in Communist Poland and when it did come out into the open in 1968, it was characterized by the attempt of one faction within the ruling party to exploit popular feelings and hostility to alleged Jewish influence within the government in order to make possible their accession to power. Since the establishment of martial law in December 1981, there have also been sporadic attempts to claim that the Solidarity leadership (itself not free from antisemitic sentiment) was controlled by a "Zionist" clique.

Yet at the same time there has been a growing desire among many circles in Poland to look more honestly at the history of the Jews and at the Polish-Jewish interaction. Partly this has been stimulated by the revised attitude of Vatican Council II to the Jewish people and Judaism. Despite lingering antisemitism in some church circles, the liberal Catholic journals Znak and Więź have both devoted entire issues to Polish-Jewish history and many items relating to Jewish matters have appeared in the Cracow Catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny. In some intellectual circles and in the universities there has been a similar desire to investigate more openly the role of the Jewish minority which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century contained not only the large part of world Jewry but also constituted nearly ten percent of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. This willingness to look again at the Polish-Jewish past has been shared by Jewish scholars in Israel, Western Europe and the United States. Here, it has been increasingly realized that Jewish scholarship has taken too little account of Polish records and the Polish background in assessing the development of the enormously important Jewish cultural centre in Poland.

The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies was conceived at a Conference held in Oxford in September 1984. Among the participants whose presence lent weight to the proceedings were Professor Salo Baron (Columbia University, New York), Professor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski (Catholic University of Lublin), Professor Leszek Kolakowski (University of Oxford), Mr. Leo Labedz, (Editor of the Survey magazine, London), and Professor Czeslaw Milosz (University of California, Berkeley). At the time this gathering of scholars from East and West met and reached a consensus that a politically neutral international institute of high academic standing was needed to promote the study of the Polish Jewish experience and to provide

a conduit for further exchanges between East and West.

It was consequently decided that Oxford would be an ideal place for the institute's headquarters. Its coordinating role would mean that the Institute would serve as a convenient meeting-place for scholars, intellectuals, and students associated with the academic centres of Eastern and Western Europe, Israel and the United States. Representatives of academic institutions from these centres were involved in the planning of the Oxford conference and in the establishment of the Institute. An article on the Conference, published in Soviet Jewish Affairs is attached for your own information. The appended documents provide further background information on the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, its activities and supporters.

Our Hopes for POLIN's Role

The history of Polish-Jewish relations is of cardinal importance in the history of the Jews since the late Middle Ages, and scarcely less so in the history of Poland in more modern times. The story is often painful, at all times complex, and at times of high achievement; and it deserves the kind of objective and illuminating treatment that I am sure this journal will provide. I am very glad that it is being started.

Sir Isaiah Berlin

By facilitating exchanges between Polish and Jewish scholars in Poland and the outside world, the Institute's forthcoming POLIN, can play a vital role in the rethinking of the history and culture of Eastern Europe in general and Poland in particular. It is not going too far to compare this process to the confrontation with the past which has enhanced the post war development of West Germany and of the Christian Churches. Through the circulation of the journal the democratic values of pluralism, tolerance and mutual respect will be fostered among its readers and any official Polish or East European attempts to exploit chauvinistic prejudices can be undermined. Our objectives are closely related to those of the National Endowment for Democracy of "buttressing a strong civic culture" and enlarging the "possibilities...for independent thought, expression and cultural activity." In addition, our journal and institute will provide "courage and sustenance...of independent public opinion and promote a freer flow of opinion to and from [Poland]" and, hopefully, from other East European countries.

Proposed Institute Programmes of Interest to the National Endowment for Democracy

The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies is developing a number of programmes designed to serve its varied constituency - scholars and students from the East and West in need of translated material, study or teaching opportunities and reliable data from remote areas. We are planning two projects central to the mandate of the Institute which we believe will be of particular interest to the National Endowment for Democracy.

With aid from the National Endowment for Democracy, the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies hopes to establish and maintain an academic exchange programme providing the Jagiellonian University in Cracow with the service of one scholar from the West per term. Candidates from America, Israel and Europe would be considered for a full time teaching position at the Institute for Polish-Jewish History which is now being set up at the Jagiellonian University and would also run occasional seminars at the Catholic University of Lublin. The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies proposes to administer the programme from our Oxford office and to pay airfare and honoraria to the scholars visiting Poland. We expect our budget for this project to total £20,000 (\$26,000) per year.

The Cracow project is of crucial importance. Since the emergence of the Cracow Institute, based in the oldest and most esteemed university in Poland, would certainly draw attention from over the Soviet bloc, we view our support as vital to encouraging the development of Jewish scholarship and the suppression of antisemitism in Eastern Europe. Its special significance from the point of view of the National Endowment lies in the fact that the Jagiellonian University is one of the increasingly rare democratic institutions in Poland - perhaps the only one outside the umbrellas of the Church and the underground Solidarity organisation which have survived martial law and subsequent anti-democratic legislation. Our contribution to the diminution of antisemitism promotes democratic values. The clear commitment on the part of important sectors of Polish society to eradicate the plague of antisemitism would undoubtedly increase support for Polish causes in the United States.

The second programme which we ask the National Endowment for Democracy to support is the distribution of two hundred copies of our forthcoming journal POLIN to institutions and individual scholars and intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain. Our projected £5,500 (\$7,150) annual budget for this project covers the purchase of the two hundred volumes from

our publisher, Basil Blackwell, and the cost of getting the volumes to Poland and distributing them there.

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

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Our reference:

Your reference:

OBJECTIVES OF THE INSTITUTE AS DESCRIBED IN ITS MEMORANDUM AND ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH-JEWISH STUDIES IS A COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE AND NOT HAVING A CAPITAL SHARE

The registered office of the Institute is situated in Oxford, England.

The object for which the Institute is established is to promote research, public knowledge of and understanding concerning the history, literature, language, religion, philosophy and sociology concerning East European Jewry (Poland and Polish Jewry in particular) as well as to encourage cooperation between Polish and Jewish students and scholars.

In furtherance of the above object the Institute shall have power to do all or any of the following:

- (i) To promote or commission and provide for a centre and facilities for study and research in Polish-Jewish studies.
- (ii) To undertake or support the publication and dissemination or to make grants towards the cost of others of publishing books, periodicals, journals or other material (whether printed audio visual or stored and retrievable material) calculated to advance the charitable object of the Institute.
- (iii) To promote or assist in the promotion of the exchange of students and scholars between the United Kingdom, Poland, Israel and North America in order to further the charitable object of the Institute.
- (iv) To promote or assist in the promotion of prizes, fellowships, grants or scholarships.
- (v) To assist in or organise lectures or seminars for the public benefit within the charitable fields of learning aforesaid.
- (vi) To promote or assist in the promotion of the translation and preservation of Polish, Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian literature, writings, monuments, works of art and other artifacts.
- (vii) To promote or assist in promoting the establishment of libraries and archives being wholly charitable in nature.

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

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Proposed Programmes

May 1985

Programme 1 Estimated cost: £25,000 (\$32,000) per year

To publish in cooperation with the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, an interdisciplinary journal for East European-Jewish studies POLIN (to be published and distributed by Basil Blackwell, Oxford).

Programme 2 Estimated cost: £5,500 (\$7,150) per year

To send, in accordance with our contract with Basil Blackwell, at our expense, two hundred copies of our journal, POLIN, to Polish and hopefully other East European universities, libraries and individual specialists in the field.

Programme 3 Estimated cost: £20,000 (\$26,000) per year

To assist the Institute for Polish-Jewish History, being set up at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, by devoting a significant part of our resources to financing those American, Israeli and West European scholars, specializing in the field of East European-Jewish studies, who would be willing to go there to teach on a temporary basis (at least one term per academic year). We estimate that this programme will need to run for at least 7-8 years — that is until a first generation of Polish scholars, being able to handle Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian material, emerges out of this programme.

Programme 4 Estimated cost: £8,000 (\$10,400) per year

To sponsor the visit of scholars from Poland to Oxford to undertake research in Polish-Jewish history and to make contact with scholars from Western Europe, North America and Israel.

Programme 5 Estimated cost: £15,000 (\$19,500) per year

To translate scholarly literature written in East European and Jewish languages into English, as well as to make available to an East European audience scholarly literature produced in the West. The editors of the Journal have already received articles written by several of the leading specialists in the history and culture of Eastern Europe and have arranged for their translation. We also intend to initiate and supervise the translation of monographs from Eastern European languages into English and vice versa.

Programme 6 Estimated cost: £10,000 (\$13,000) per year

To sponsor or co-sponsor conferences in this field in Cracow (1985), Boston (1986), Rome (1987), Jerusalem (1988), as well as an annual conference at Oxford.

Programme 7 Estimated cost: £5,000 (\$6,500) per year

To publish proceedings of the Oxford Conference of 1984, as well as of the future conferences, in the form of books, monographs and articles.

Programme 8 Estimated cost: £20,000 (\$26,000) per year

To create a fund for scholarships and grants for:

- a) Polish and other East European scholars and students wishing to visit Oxford, Jerusalem, New York or elsewhere to learn Hebrew and/or Yiddish and to take up Jewish studies.
- b) Judaica scholars and students wishing to visit Poland (or perhaps elsewhere in Eastern Europe) for language study, to use archives, libraries and museums or to teach at universities.

(A group of several Jewish scholars from Israel and the USA have already been invited as Visiting Professors to Cracow, Warsaw and Lublin. Similarly, we have already received applications from several Polish scholars and students who would like to study Hebrew and Yiddish in Oxford, Jerusalem and New York.)

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POLIN

A Journal Devoted to East European Jewish Studies

Prospectus

POLIN will provide a central forum for the growing number of scholars seeking authoritative historical and cultural material on Poland and East European Jewry in general.

The origins of Jewish settlement in this region precede the establishment of the Polish state in the 10th century. Seven hundred years later, East European Jewry constituted more than 75 percent of the world's Jewish community. As late as 1939, Polish Jewry was the second largest Jewish community in the world.

The relationship between Poles, Jews, and other ethnic minorities can only be understood within the historical context of Eastern Europe. *POLIN* will encourage the exploration of East European Jewry from an interdisciplinary perspective.

The Journal's editors, then, will solicit contributions from historians, sociologists, students of politics, anthropologists, folklorists, linguists and students of literature. In keeping with its broadly defined nature, *POLIN* will be open to a wide variety of scholarly opinions.

Our Readership

A marked increase in scholarly activity in the field of Polish and East European Jewish studies in the last few years in Poland, Israel, and the West, means that a wide readership should welcome this new publication.

Of particular significance are the recent, widely discussed books of Lucjan Dobroszycki (New York), Israel Gutman (Jerusalem) and Ezra Mendelsohn (Jerusalem) which have all focused on the Jewish communities in Poland and East Central Europe. Cracow's journal, *Znak*, and its sister publication in Warsaw, *Wież*, have both devoted major issues in the last years to Polish-Jewish studies thus reflecting the growing interest of Poland's Catholic intelligentsia in this area.

Conferences on Polish-Jewish relations at Columbia University (1983) and at Oxford (1984) both generated a great deal of interest in the field and will be followed by a series of annual conferences already planned in Cracow (1985), Brandeis University (1986), Rome (1987), and Jerusalem (1988).

Another indication of this interest is the recent establishment of a chair in Jewish studies at Warsaw University. A similar plan is being formulated for the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, and the trend may perhaps extend to the Catholic University of Lublin.

Our Authors

POLIN benefits from particularly well-qualified and enthusiastic editorial and advisory boards (listed below) whose members rank among the leading specialists in Polish and East European Jewish studies in Poland, Israel, Europe and North America. Among the board members who have agreed to contribute to our first issues are:

Shmuel Ettinger - Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Jozef Gierowski - Jagiellonian University, Cracow
Aleksander Gieysztor - Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw
Jerzy Kloczowski - Catholic University of Lublin
Ezra Mendelsohn - Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Chone Shmeruk - Hebrew University, Jerusalem

The Journal has also received commitments for contributions from many other scholars and literary figures, including:

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Snr. - Catholic University of Lublin
Leszek Kolakowski - All Souls College, Oxford
Czeslaw Milosz - University of California, Berkeley

Structure

The editors of *POLIN* have developed a structure for the journal designed to serve an international readership with interdisciplinary interests:

i. Articles

Each issue will begin with presentations of recent original research.

ii. Documents

Previously unpublished documents will be printed in their original languages (Polish, Hebrew, Yiddish, German or Russian) with English translations. They will be annotated and accompanied by an introductory essay.

iii. Archives and Sources

Short descriptions of the holdings of specific archives or other repositories of primary source material will be published.

iv. Bibliographical Essays

In order to make the literature of a wide range of disciplines comprehensible to the spectrum of scholars reading the journal, *POLIN* will present one major bibliographical essay per issue.

v. Reviews

Each issue of the journal will contain an extensive section of 500 to 1000 word book reviews.

Beyond the general structure outlined above, the journal will, from time to time, publish special issues or supplementary volumes. Possible themes include:

- Jewish Autonomy in Pre-Partition Poland
- Hasidism
- The Origins of Yiddish
- Ethnic Structure of Inter-War Poland
- Poles and Jews during the Second World War

POLIN - A Unique Contribution

The potential and the excitement represented in *POLIN* is embodied in the fact that for the first time Jewish and non-Jewish specialists will meet on equal footing to examine, in a non-partisan way, Polish and East European Jewish history and culture. This journal, the first of its kind, will bring together students of East European and Jewish studies who up to now have been working in isolation on the same topics. What the editors of *POLIN* hope to create is a definitive source for a body of literature which until now has received only sporadic treatment in a diverse array of journals.

Sponsoring Institutions

The journal will be sponsored by the newly created Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies and by the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies.

The Oxford based Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies has been established to promote public knowledge and understanding of the history, literature, language, religion, philosophy and sociology of Poland and Polish Jewry and in particular to encourage cooperation between Polish and Jewish students and scholars.

The Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies which is associated with Oxford University, is a research institute which promotes international scholarship in the field of Jewish studies by bringing together in Oxford scholars from all over the world. The Centre publishes two journals, the *Journal of Jewish Studies* and the *Jewish Law Annual*.

Staff

Editor: Dr Antony Polonsky
Reader in International History, London School of Economics

Associate Editor: Dr Steven J. Zipperstein
Fellow, Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies
Research Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford

Managing Editor: Mr Maciej Jachimczyk
Theology Student, Campion Hall, Oxford

Editorial Board

Dr Lucjan Dobroszycki, New York	Professor E. Mendelsohn, Jerusalem
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Professor A. Gierys, Warsaw	Professor H. Samsonowicz, Warsaw
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- Professor Jacob Goldberg, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
'Polish Sources on Jewish Communal Life, 16th-18th Centuries'
- Dr. Anna Zuk, University of Lublin
'A "Mobile Class": Polish Perceptions of Jews in the 18th Century'
- Professor Chimen Abramsky, University College, London
'Problems in Russian-Jewish Historiography'
- Dr. Magda Stomma-Opalski, University of Ottawa
'Literary Accounts of Polish-Jewish Relations in the 1863 Uprising'
- Professor Jan Blonski, Jagiellonian University, Cracow
'Is there a Jewish School of Polish Literature?'
- Professor Chone Shmeruk, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
'Jews and Poles in Yiddish Literature in Poland Between the Two World Wars'

(The Editors have also solicited contributions from Professor Ezra Mendelsohn, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Professor Hans Rogger, University of California; and Professor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Catholic University of Lublin)

DOCUMENTS

- Dr. Steven Zipperstein, Wolfson College, Oxford University'
A translation from the Yiddish and the original text, with an introductory essay and annotation, of a major historiographical essay published by the Russian-Jewish historian Sosis in 1930.
- Professor Jerzy Tomaszewski, University of Warsaw
A Polish account of the Pinsk pogrom, 1919

ARCHIVES AND SOURCES

A guide to the Tcherikover archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York - prepared by Dr. Lucjan Dobroszycki, Visiting Professor, Yale University

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

- Dr. Andrzej Chojnowski, University of Warsaw
A survey of the treatment of Jewish issues in recent Polish historical writings on the late 19th and 20th centuries
- Dr. David Engel, Tel Aviv University
On recent books on Allied responses to the Holocaust, with special reference to works by Laqueur, Gilbert, Wasserstein, Penkower, Borwicz and Bartoszewski

REVIEWS

An extensive survey of recently published literature, with some 50 reviews.

May 1985

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

Our reference:

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45 St Giles'
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GOVERNING COUNCIL

1 June 1985

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Dr. Constantin Jelenski, Paris
Mrs. Seward Johnson, New York
Dr. Joseph Lichten, Rome
Dr. David Patterson, Oxford
Dr. Zbigniew A. Pelczynski, Oxford
Dr. Antony Polonsky, London
Professor Norman Stone, Oxford
Dr. Steven Zipperstein, Oxford

THE COMPANIES ACTS, 1948 TO 1981

COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE
AND NOT HAVING A SHARE CAPITAL

M E M O R A N D U M

- and -

A R T I C L E S O F A S S O C I A T I O N

- of -

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH-JEWISH STUDIES

45 ST. GILES', OXFORD, OXI 3LP, ENGLAND.

PAISNER & CO.
BOUVERIE HOUSE,
154 FLEET STREET,
LONDON EC4A 2DQ

REF: NC

/SNH

DRAFT: 06/12/84

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THE COMPANIES ACTS 1948 TO 1981

COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE
AND NOT HAVING A SHARE CAPITAL

MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

- of -

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH-JEWISH STUDIES

1. The name of the Company (hereinafter called "the Institute") is "THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH-JEWISH STUDIES"

2. The registered office of the Institute will be situate in England.

3. The object for which the Institute is established is to promote public knowledge of and understanding concerning the history literature language religion philosophy and sociology of and concerning Poland and Polish Jewry and in particular (but without prejudice nevertheless to the generality of the foregoing) to encourage cooperation between Polish and Jewish students and scholars.

In furtherance of the above object (but without prejudice to the generality thereof) the Institute shall have power to do all or any of the following:-

- (i) To promote or commission and provide for a centre and facilities for study and research in Polish-Jewish studies.
- (ii) To undertake or support the publication and dissemination or to make grants towards the cost of others of publishing and disseminating books periodicals journals or other material (whether printed audio visual or stored and retrievable material) calculated to advance the charitable object of the Institute.
- (iii) To promote or assist in the promotion of the exchange of students and scholars between the United Kingdom, Poland, Israel and North America in order to further the charitable object of the Institute.

- (iv) To promote or assist in the promotion of prizes, fellowships, grants or scholarships.
- (v) To assist in or organise lectures or seminars for the public benefit within the charitable fields of learning aforesaid.
- (vi) To promote or assist in the promotion of the translation and preservation of Polish, Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian literature, writings, monuments, works of art and other artifacts.
- (vii) To promote or assist in promoting the establishment of libraries and archives being wholly charitable in nature.

And in furtherance of the above mentioned object but not otherwise the Institute shall have power to do all or any of the following:-

(i) To raise funds by subscription donation grants loans or otherwise for the purposes of the Institute invite and accept gifts of all kinds and whether inter vivos or by will and whether or not subject to conditions and carry out any condition imposed on any gift which may be accepted Provided that the Institute shall not undertake or carry on any trading of a permanent nature in raising funds for the object of the Institute.

(ii) to make grants or loans whether out of income or capital and upon such terms and conditions (if any) as to interest repayment security or otherwise as may be thought fit to any charitable institution or association for or towards charitable purposes in any way connected with the purposes of the Institute and calculated to further its object.

(iii) Purchase, take on lease or in exchange, hire or otherwise acquire any real or personal property and any rights or privileges which the Institute may think necessary for the promotion of its objects and to construct, maintain, manage and alter any buildings or erections necessary or convenient for the work of the Institute and to fit out such property and buildings with all necessary furniture and other equipment.

(iv) Subject to such consents as may be required by law sell, let, mortgage, dispose of or turn to

account all or any of the property or assets of the Institute as may be thought necessary with a view to the promotion of its object.

(v) Subject to such consents as may be required by law borrow or raise money for the purposes of the Institute on such terms and on such security (if any) as may be thought fit.

(vi) Enter into and carry out contracts.

(vii) Engage and remunerate agents, employ and remunerate such staff as may from time to time be necessary, grant pensions and retirement benefits to or for employees or former employees of the Institute and to the widows children and other dependants of deceased employees who are in necessitous circumstances and pay or subscribe to funds or schemes for the provision of pensions and retirement benefits for employees and former employees of the Institute their widows children and other dependants.

(viii) Constitute special charitable trusts for any particular purposes of the Institute, to act as trustee of any such special charitable trust whether constituted by the Institute or otherwise and generally undertake and execute any charitable trusts which may lawfully be undertaken by the Institute and may be conducive to its object.

(ix) Co-operate with any local or public authority or other body concerned to achieve the object of the Institute.

(x) Invest the moneys of the Institute not immediately required for its purposes in or upon such investments, securities or property of whatsoever nature and wheresoever situate and whether involving liabilities or producing income or not as may be thought fit subject nevertheless to such conditions (if any) and such consents (if any) as may for the time being be imposed or required by law and subject also as hereinafter provided.

(xi) Establish and support or aid in the establishment and support of any charitable associations or institutions and to subscribe or guarantee money for charitable purposes in any way connected with the purposes of the Institute or calculated to further its object.

(xii) Do all such other things as are necessary for the attainment of the above object.

PROVIDED THAT:-

(i) In case the Institute take or hold any property which may be subject to any trusts, the Institute shall only deal with or invest the same in such manner as allowed by law, having regard to such trusts.

(ii) The Institute's object shall not extend to the regulation of relations between workers and employers or organisations of workers and organisations of employers.

(iii) In case the Institute shall take or hold any property subject to the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales the Institute shall not sell, mortgage, charge or lease the same without such authority, approval or consent as may be required by law, and as regards any such property the Governing Council or Governing Body of the Institute shall be chargeable for any such property that may come into their hands and shall be answerable and accountable for their own acts, receipts, neglects and defaults, and for the due administration of such property in the same manner and to the same extent as they would as such Governing Council or Governing Body have been if no incorporation had been effected, and the incorporation of the Institute shall not diminish or impair any control or authority exercisable by the Chancery Division, the Charity Commissioners over such Governing Council or Governing Body, but they shall as regards any such property be subject jointly and separately to such control or authority as if the Institute were not incorporated.

4. The income and property of the Institute whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the object of the Institute as set forth in this Memorandum of Association, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit, to the members of the Institute.

Provided that nothing herein shall prevent the payment, in good faith, of reasonable and proper remuneration to any officer or servant of the Institute or to any member

of the Institute, in return for any services actually rendered to the Institute, nor prevent the payment of interest at a rate not exceeding 6 per cent per annum on money lent or reasonable and proper rent for premises demised or let by any member to the Institute; but so that no member of the Governing Council or Governing Body of the Institute shall be appointed to any salaried office of the Institute or any office of the Institute paid by fees, and that no remuneration or other benefit in money or money's worth shall be given by the Institute to any member of such Council or Governing Body, except repayment of out-of-pocket expenses and interest at the rate aforesaid on money lent or reasonable and proper rent for premises demised or let to the Institute; provided that the provision last aforesaid shall not apply to any payment to any company of which a member of the Governing Council or Governing Body may be a member, and in which such member shall not hold more than one hundredth part of capital, and such member shall not be bound to account for any share of profits he may receive in respect of any such payment.

5. The liability of the members is limited.

6. Every member of the Institute undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Institute, in the event of the same being wound up while he is a member, or within one year after he ceases to be a member, for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Institute contracted before he ceases to be a member, and of the costs, charges and expenses of winding up, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories among themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding £1.

7. If upon the winding up or dissolution of the Institute there remains, after the satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities, any property whatsoever, the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the members of the Institute, but shall be given or transferred to some other charitable institution or institutions having objects similar to the object of the Institute; and which shall prohibit the distribution of its or their income and property among its or their members to an extent at least as great as is imposed on the Institute under or by virtue of Clause 4 hereof, such institution or institutions to be determined by the members of the Institute at or before the time of dissolution, and if and so far as effect cannot be given to such provision, then to some charitable object.

WE, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into a Company in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association.

NAMES, ADDRESSES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF SUBSCRIBERS

SUBSCRIBERS

WITNESS

DATED the day of 1984

WITNESS to the above Signatures:-

THE COMPANIES ACTS, 1948 TO 1981

COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE
AND NOT HAVING A SHARE CAPITAL

A R T I C L E S O F A S S O C I A T I O N

- of -

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH-JEWISH STUDIES

GENERAL

1. In these presents the words standing in the first column of the Table next hereinafter contained shall bear the meaning set opposite to them respectively in the second column thereof, if not inconsistent with the subject or context:-

WORDS	MEANINGS
The Act	The Companies Act 1948.
These presents ..	These Articles of Association, and the regulations of the Institute from time to time in force.
The Institute	The above-named Company.
The Council ..	The Governing Council for the time being of the Institute.
The Office	The registered office of the Institute.
The Seal	The common seal of the Institute.
The United Kingdom	Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
Month	Calendar month.
In writing	Written, printed or lithographed, or partly one and partly another, and other modes of representing or reproducing words in a visible form.

And words importing the singular number only shall include the plural number, and vice versa.

Words importing the masculine gender only shall include the feminine gender; and

Words importing persons shall include corporations.

Subject as aforesaid, any words or expressions defined in the Act or any statutory modification thereof in force at the date on which these presents become binding on the Institute shall, if not inconsistent with the subject or context, bear the same meanings in these presents.

2. The Institute is established for the purposes expressed in the Memorandum of Association.

MEMBERS

3. The number of members with which the Institute proposes to be registered is unlimited.

4. The subscribers to the Memorandum of Association and such other persons as may desire to be admitted to membership and who may be elected by the Council to membership shall be members of the Institute.

5. Every application for membership shall be in writing signed by or on behalf of the applicant in such form as the Council may from time to time determine.

6. Election to membership shall be made by the Council which shall have full discretion to elect or refuse to elect a member.

7. By unanimous vote of the Council or, if there shall be more than six members of the Council, by resolution of the Council passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the Council members present and voting at a meeting of the Council convened for the purpose (at which the member concerned shall be entitled to be heard in person) the membership of any member of the Institute may be terminated.

8. A member may by notice in writing resign his membership but shall be eligible for re-election.

GENERAL MEETINGS

9. The Institute shall hold a General Meeting in every calendar year as its Annual General Meeting at such time and

place as may be determined by the Council, and shall specify the meeting as such in the notices calling it, provided that every Annual General Meeting except the first shall be held not more than fifteen months after the holding of the last preceding Annual General Meeting, and that so long as the Institute holds its first Annual General Meeting within eighteen months after its incorporation it need not hold it in the year of its incorporation or in the following year.

10. All General Meetings, other than Annual General Meetings, shall be called Extraordinary General Meetings.

11. The Council may whenever they think fit convene an Extraordinary General Meeting, and Extraordinary General Meetings shall also be convened on such requisition, or in default may be convened by such requisitionists, as provided by Section 132 of the Act.

12. Twenty-one days' notice in writing at the least of every Annual General Meeting and of every meeting convened to pass a Special Resolution, and fourteen days' notice in writing at the least of every other General Meeting (exclusive in every case both of the day on which it is served or deemed to be served and of the day for which it is given), specifying the place, the day and the hour of meeting, and in the case of special business the general nature of that business, shall be given in manner hereinafter mentioned to such persons (including the Auditors) as are under these presents or under the Act entitled to receive such notices from the Institute; but with the consent of all the members having the right to attend and vote thereat, or of such proportion of them as is prescribed by the Act in the case of meetings other than Annual General Meetings, a meeting may be convened by such notice as those members may think fit.

13. The accidental omission to give notice of a meeting to, or the non-receipt of such notice by, any person entitled to receive notice thereof shall not invalidate any resolution passed, or proceedings had, at any meeting.

PROCEEDINGS AT GENERAL MEETINGS

14. All business shall be deemed special that is transacted at an Extraordinary General Meeting, and all that is transacted at an Annual General Meeting shall also be deemed special, with the exception of the consideration of the income and expenditure account and balance sheet, and the reports of the Council and of the Auditors, the election of members of the Council in the place of those retiring, and

the appointment of, and the fixing of the remuneration of, the Auditors.

15. No business shall be transacted at any General Meeting unless a quorum is present when the meeting proceeds to business. Save as herein otherwise provided seven members or one-tenth of the total number of members (whichever is the greater) personally present shall be a quorum.

16. If within half an hour from the time appointed for the holding of a General Meeting a quorum is not present, the meeting, if convened on the requisition of members, shall be dissolved.

In any other case it shall stand adjourned to the same day in the next week, at the same time and place, or at such other place as the Council may determine, and if at such adjourned meeting a quorum is not present within half an hour from the time appointed for holding the meeting the members present shall be a quorum.

17. The Chairman (if any) of the Council shall preside as Chairman at every General Meeting, but if there be no such Chairman, or if at any meeting he shall not be present within fifteen minutes after the time appointed for holding the same, or shall be unwilling to preside, the Members present shall choose some member of the Council, or if no such member be present, or if all the members of the Council present decline to take the chair, they shall choose some member of the Institute who shall be present to preside.

18. The Chairman may, with the consent of any meeting at which a quorum is present (and shall if so directed by the meeting) adjourn the meeting from time to time, and from place to place, but no business shall be transacted at any adjourned meeting other than business which might have been transacted at the meeting from which the adjournment took place. Whenever a meeting is adjourned for thirty days or more, notice of the adjourned meeting shall be given in the same manner as of an original meeting. Save as aforesaid, the members shall not be entitled to any notice of an adjournment, or of the business to be transacted at an adjourned meeting.

19. At any General Meeting a resolution put to the vote of the meeting shall be decided on a show of hands, unless a poll is, before or upon the declaration of the result of the show of hands, demanded by the Chairman or by at least three members present in person or by proxy, or by a member or members present in person or by proxy and representing

one-tenth of the total voting rights of all the members having the right to vote at the meeting, and unless a poll be so demanded a declaration by the Chairman of the meeting that a resolution has been carried, or carried unanimously or by a particular majority, or lost, or not carried by a particular majority, and an entry to that effect in the minute book of the Institute shall be conclusive evidence of the fact without proof of the number or proportion of the votes recorded in favour of or against that resolution. The demand for a poll may be withdrawn.

20. Subject to the provisions of Article 21, if a poll be demanded in manner aforesaid, it shall be taken at such time and place, and in such manner, as the Chairman of the meeting shall direct, and the result of the poll shall be deemed to be the resolution of the meeting at which the poll was demanded.

21. No poll shall be demanded on the election of a Chairman of a meeting or on any question of adjournment.

22. In the case of an equality of votes, whether on a show of hands or on a poll, the Chairman of the meeting shall be entitled to a second or casting vote.

23. The demand for a poll shall not prevent the continuance of a meeting for the transaction of any business other than the question on which a poll has been demanded.

VOTES OF MEMBERS

24. Subject as hereinafter provided, every member shall have one vote.

25. Save as herein expressly provided, no member other than a member duly registered shall be entitled to vote on any question either personally or by proxy, or as a proxy for another member, at any General Meeting.

26. Votes may be given on a poll either personally or by proxy. On a show of hands a member present only by proxy shall have no vote. A proxy need not be a member.

27. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing under the hand of the appointor or his attorney duly authorised in writing.

28. The instrument appointing a proxy and the power of attorney or other authority (if any) under which it is signed or a notarially certified or office copy thereof shall be

deposited at the Office not less than forty eight hours before the time appointed for holding the meeting or adjourned meeting at which the person named in the instrument proposes to vote, or in the case of a poll not less than twenty four hours before the time appointed for the taking of the poll, and in default the instrument of proxy shall not be treated as valid. No instrument appointing a proxy shall be valid after the expiration of twelve months from the date of its execution.

29. A vote given in accordance with the terms of an instrument of proxy shall be valid notwithstanding the previous death or insanity of the principal or revocation of the proxy or of the authority under which the proxy was executed, provided that no intimation in writing of the death, insanity or revocation as aforesaid shall have been received at the office before the commencement of the meeting or adjourned meeting at which the proxy is used.

30. Any instrument appointing a proxy shall be in the following form or as near thereto as circumstances will admit:-

"The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies"

"I,
"of
"a member of The Institute for
"Polish-Jewish Studies
"hereby appoint
"of
"and failing him,
"of
"to vote for me and on my behalf at the
"[Annual or Extraordinary, or Adjourned,
"as the case may be] General Meeting of
"the Trust to be held on the day
"of , and at every adjournment
"thereof.

"As witness my hand this day of
"19 ".

The instrument appointing a proxy shall be deemed to confer authority to demand or join in demanding a poll.

GOVERNING COUNCIL

31. The number of the members of the Council shall not be less than three nor more than twenty one unless otherwise

determined by the Institute in General Meeting, provided nevertheless that the Council shall have power to co-opt additional members from time to time as they may consider necessary or desirable.

32. The members of the Council shall consist of an Honorary Chairman Honorary Vice Chairman Honorary Treasurer an Honorary Secretary and seventeen other persons being members of the Institute all of whom shall be elected at each Annual General Meeting of the Institute

POWERS OF THE COUNCIL

33. The business of the Institute shall be managed by the Council who may pay all such expenses of, and preliminary and incidental to, the promotion, formation, establishment and registration of the Institute as they think fit, and may exercise all such powers of the Institute, and do on behalf of the Institute all such acts as may be exercised and done by the Institute, and as are not by statute or by these presents required to be exercised or done by the Institute in General Meeting, subject nevertheless to any regulations of these presents, to the provisions of the statutes for the time being in force and affecting the Institute, and to such regulations, being not inconsistent with the aforesaid regulations or provisions, as may be prescribed by the Institute in General Meeting, but no regulation made by the Institute in General Meeting shall invalidate any prior act of the Council which would have been valid if such regulation had not been made.

34. The members for the time being of the Council may act notwithstanding any vacancy in their body;

SECRETARY

35. The Secretary shall be appointed by the Council for such time, at such remuneration and upon such conditions as they may think fit, and any Secretary so appointed may be removed by them. The provisions of Sections 177 and 179 of the Act shall apply and be observed. The Council may from time to time by resolution appoint an assistant or deputy Secretary and any person so appointed may act in place of the Secretary if there be no Secretary or no Secretary capable of acting.

THE SEAL

36. The Seal of the Institute shall not be affixed to any instrument except by the authority of a resolution of the

Council, and in the presence of at least two members of the Council and of the Secretary, and the said members and Secretary shall sign every instrument to which the seal shall be so affixed in their presence, and in favour of any purchaser or person bona fide dealing with the Institute such signatures shall be conclusive evidence of the fact that the seal has been properly affixed.

DISQUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

37. The office of a member of the Council shall be vacated:-

(A) If a receiving order is made against him or he makes any arrangement or composition with his creditors.

(B) If he becomes of unsound mind.

(C) If by notice in writing to the Institute he resigns his office.

(D) If he ceases to hold office by reason of any order made under Section 188 of the Act.

(E) If he is removed from office by a resolution duly passed pursuant to Section 184 of the Act.

ROTATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

38. At the first Annual General Meeting and at the Annual General Meeting to be held in every subsequent year one-third of the members of the Council for the time being or if their number is not a multiple of three then the number nearest to one-third shall retire from office.

39. The members of the Council to retire shall be those who have been the longest in office since their last election or appointment. As between members of equal seniority the members to retire shall in the absence of agreement be selected from among them by lot. The length of time a member has been in office shall be computed from his last election or appointment. A retiring member of the Council shall be eligible for re-election.

40. The Institute at the meeting at which a member retires in manner aforesaid may fill the vacated office by electing a person thereto; and in default the retiring member shall, if offering himself for re-election be deemed to have been re-elected, unless at such meeting it is expressly

resolved not to fill such vacated office or unless a resolution for the re-election of such member shall have been put to the meeting and lost.

41. No person other than a member retiring at the meeting shall unless recommended by the Council be eligible for election to the Council at any General Meeting unless, not less than three nor more than twenty-one days before the date appointed for the meeting there shall have been left at the registered office of the Institute notice in writing, signed by a member duly qualified to attend and vote at the meeting for which such notice is given, of his intention to propose such person for election, and also notice in writing signed by that person of his willingness to be elected.

42. The Institute may from time to time in General Meeting increase or reduce the number of members of the Council and determine in what rotation such increased or reduced number shall go out of office and may make the appointments necessary for effecting any such increase.

43. In addition and without prejudice to the provisions of Section 184 of the Act, the Institute may by Extraordinary Resolution remove any member of the Council before the expiration of his period of office and may by an Ordinary Resolution appoint another qualified member in his stead but any person so appointed shall retain his office so long only as the member in whose place he is appointed would have held the same if he had not been removed.

44. The Council may from time to time appoint any eligible person as a member of the Council to fill a casual vacancy or as an addition to the Council provided that the prescribed maximum be not exceeded. Any member so appointed shall vacate office at the next Annual General Meeting but shall then be eligible for election.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL

45. The Council may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn and otherwise regulate their meetings as they think fit, and determine the quorum necessary for the transaction of business. Unless otherwise determined by the Institute in General Meeting, three shall be a quorum. Questions arising at any meeting shall be decided by a majority of votes. In case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

46. A member of the Council may, and on the request of a member of the Council the Secretary shall, at any time,

summon a meeting of the Council by notice served upon the several members of the Council.

47. The Council shall from time to time elect a Chairman who shall be entitled to preside at all meetings of the Council at which he shall be present, and may determine for what period he is to hold office, but if no such Chairman be elected, or if at any meeting the Chairman be not present within five minutes after the time appointed for holding the meeting and willing to preside, the members of the Council shall choose one of their number to be Chairman of the meeting.

48. A meeting of the Council at which a quorum is present shall be competent to exercise all the authorities, powers and discretions by or under the regulations of the Institute for the time being vested in the Council generally.

49. The Council may delegate any of their powers to committees consisting of such member or members of the Council as they think fit, and any committee so formed shall, in the exercise of the powers so delegated, conform to any regulations imposed on it by the Council. The meetings and proceedings of any such committee shall be governed by the provisions of these presents for regulating the meetings and proceedings of the Council so far as applicable and so far as the same shall not be superseded by any regulations made by the Council. Provided that all acts and proceedings of any such committee shall be reported back to the Council as soon as possible.

50. All acts bona fide done by any meeting of the Council or of any committee of the Council, or by any person acting as a member of the Council, shall, notwithstanding it be afterwards discovered that there was some defect in the appointment or continuance in office of any such member or person acting as aforesaid, or that they or any of them were disqualified, be as valid as if every such person had been duly appointed or had duly continued in office and was qualified to be a member of the Council.

51. The Council shall cause proper minutes to be made of all appointments of officers made by the Council and of the proceedings of all meetings of the Institute, and of the Council and of committees of the Council, and all business transacted at such meetings, and any such minutes of any meeting, if purporting to be signed by the Chairman of such meeting, or by the Chairman of the next succeeding meeting, shall be sufficient evidence without any further proof of the facts therein stated.

52. A resolution in writing signed by all the members for the time being of the Council or of any committee of the Council who are entitled to receive notice of a meeting of the Council or of such committee shall be as valid and effectual as if it had been passed at a meeting of the Council or of such committee duly convened and constituted.

ACCOUNTS

53. The Council shall cause proper books of account to be kept with respect to:-

(A) all sums of money received and expended by the Institute and the matters in respect of which such receipts and expenditure take place;

(B) all sales and purchases of goods by the Institute; and

(C) the assets and liabilities of the Institute.

Proper books shall not be deemed to be kept if there are not kept such books of account as are necessary to give a true and fair view of the state of the affairs of the Institute and to explain its transactions.

54. The books of account shall be kept at the office, or, subject to sub-sections (6) and (7) of Section 12 of the Companies Act 1976, at such other place or places as the Council shall think fit, and shall always be open to the inspection of the members of the Council.

55. The Council shall from time to time determine whether and to what extent and at what times and places and under what conditions or regulations the accounts and books of the Institute or any of them shall be open to the inspection of members not being members of the Council, and no member (not being a member of the Council) shall have any right of inspecting any account or book or document of the Institute except as conferred by statute or authorised by the Council or by the Institute in General Meeting.

56. At the Annual General Meeting in every year the Council shall lay before the Institute a proper income and expenditure account for the period since the last preceding account (or in the case of the first account since the incorporation of the Institute) made up to a date not more than four months before such meeting, together with a proper balance sheet made up as at the same date. Every such balance sheet shall be accompanied by proper reports of the

Council and the Auditors, and copies of such account, balance sheet and reports (all of which shall be framed in accordance with any statutory requirements for the time being in force) and of any other documents required by law to be annexed or attached thereto or to accompany the same shall not less than twenty-one clear days before the date of the meeting, subject nevertheless to the provisions of Section 158 (1) (c) of the Act, be sent to the Auditors and to all other persons entitled to receive notices of General Meetings in the manner in which notices are hereinafter directed to be served. The Auditors' report shall be open to inspection and be read before the meeting as required by Section 14 of the Companies Act 1967.

AUDIT

57. Once at least in every year the accounts of the Institute shall be examined and the correctness of the income and expenditure account and balance sheet ascertained by one or more properly qualified Auditor or Auditors.

58. Auditors shall be appointed and their duties regulated in accordance with Section 161 of the Act, Section 14 of the Companies Act 1967 and Sections 13 to 18 of the Companies Act 1976, the members of the Council being treated as the Directors mentioned in those sections.

NOTICES

59. A notice may be served by the Institute upon any member, either personally or by sending it through the post in a prepaid letter, addressed to such member at his registered address as appearing in the register of members.

60. Any notice, if served by post, shall be deemed to have been served on the day following that on which the letter containing the same is put into the post, and in proving such service it shall be sufficient to prove that the letter containing the notice was properly addressed and put into the post office as a prepaid letter.

DISSOLUTION

61. Clause 7 of the Memorandum of Association relating to the winding up and dissolution of the Institute shall have effect as if the provisions thereof were repeated in these Articles.

NAMES, ADDRESSES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF SUBSCRIBERS

SUBSCRIBERS

WITNESS

DATED the day of 1984

WITNESS to the above Signatures:-

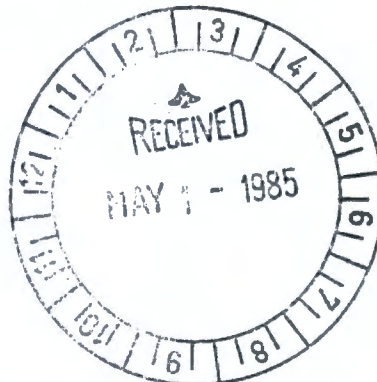
TELEX

RUSSIAN EDUCATIONAL BOOKS, INC.

Mailing Address:
Alexander SEREBRENNIKOV
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"TELEX" is a non-profit corporation which issues publications for the distribution inside the Soviet Union. Its main focus is on the review of the American foreign policy, especially on the Soviet-American relations, and also on books which expose the true essence of Soviet Communism.

The principal weapon in the ideological war waged by Moscow against the U.S. is the use of mass media to create a false image of America, i.e., that the American government obeys the will of the military-industrial complex, pursuing warmongering policies, while the U.S.S.R., a bulwark of peace and freedom, has the historic mission of curbing the expansion of American imperialists.

Our intention is to try to contain this malicious information aggression. It might seem hard to believe, but in a country with a quarter-billion population, saturated with propaganda, a few hundred "Tamizdat" books (a spinoff of "Samizdat", meaning "books printed in the free world") containing words of truth constitute a mighty weapon. Each copy is avidly read by tens of people, changing hands, travelling from one town to another. As a result, we can honestly claim that hundreds of copies of "TELEX" have the impact of thousands of copies.

"TELEX" is smuggled into the U.S.S.R. by Soviet nationals traveling to the West and by Westerners visiting the Soviet Union. To the extent of our knowledge, "TELEX" has been met with a great deal of interest in the U.S.S.R., and has rapidly been gaining in popularity.

So far, five issues of "TELEX" and three books have come off the press. The first two issues (#1 and #2) are made up of Western press materials translated into Russian. "TELEX" #3 and #4 comprise selected articles by American political scientists on the subject of detente and problems of disarmament. "TELEX" #5 is a collection of speeches, statements, and interviews of President Reagan for the years 1981-83. The special supplement to this issue has articles from the Western press which give a true information on the death of 269 passengers of the Korean aircraft.

In addition to five issues of "TELEX Review", three books of the "TELEX Library" were published: Katyn, 1940 (about the mass murders of 14,000 Polish officers by the Soviets); USSR-Germany, 1939 (documents on the Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 1939) and USSR-Germany, 1939-1941 (documents on the participation of Stalin in Hitler's initiation of the WWII).

At the present time we are preparing the translation into Russian of Z.A.B. Zeman's book Germany and the Revolution in Russia (1915-1918). Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry. (About the financing of Bolsheviks by Germans).

Lack of money severely handicaps our efforts. If we manage to collect enough money, in the coming year we would like to publish:

a) Next in turn issues of "TELEX Review":

#6 Defence in Space, about the purpose and technical projects of creation of the American system of anti-missile defense with elements of basement in space.

#7 Modern American Conservatism. Social principles and foreign policy of President Reagan's Administration.

#8 International Terrorism. Terrorism as the means of Soviet foreign policy. Moscow organizes the activities of terrorists. The attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II, shooting-down of the Korean aircraft, and the murder of major Nicholson as the demonstration of terrorist essence of Soviet Communism.

b) In the series of "TELEX Library", in addition to the above-mentioned book by Zeman, the book Northern Underground by Michael Futrell (on the Bolshevik activities in Scandinavia during the WWI and the February Revolution in Russia).

Approximate cost of "TELEX" publications:

a) Cost of 1 book (average size is 250 pages, 1500 copies)

<u>Translation into Russian</u>	
250 pages x \$12	\$3000
<u>Type-setting</u>	
250 pages x \$12	\$3000
<u>Printing</u>	
7 printer's sheets (250:32) x \$300	\$2100
	<hr/>
	\$8100

b) Cost of 5 books: \$8100 x 5 \$40,500

President of TELEX Corporation,
Alexander Serebrennikov.

Alexander Serebrennikov

Perdy
W

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR GASTON SIGUR

FROM: WALT RAYMOND *WR*

SUBJECT: Hajime Hirota

Hirota is the Director of the Forum for Policy Innovation. He headed the delegation of seven Japanese who have come to the U.S. under the auspices of the IV Program of USIA. They came to the Old EOB, and we discussed international information and telecommunications. There is a great deal of work that they are doing that parallels efforts we are doing. In our discussion, we considered the possible role of developed countries fostering communications assistance to the LDCs. As part of our NSDD 130 on International Information, we have devoted considerable time to the problem of developing communication assistance. At the meeting in the Old EOB, Hirota suggested that the field of developing communications assistance might be a particularly fruitful one to raise at the 1986 Economic Summit in Tokyo. I said that we would think about it. My initial reaction was one of interest because it is important to mobilize the developed world in support of some of the vital communications needs of the Third World. It is also a comparatively new subject for the Summit, and it might be appropriate for it to be triggered in Tokyo.

Hirota indicated that his organization had been involved in doing research work on policy subjects, and 17 social science specialists on board, including two who were part of Nakasone's brain trust. He added that his organization was developing a major paper on "International Public Goods to the Developing Countries" which, as I translate it, means support to the communications infrastructure in the LDCs.

I would be interested in your thoughts about the idea of communication development assistance for the LDCs as a Summit item. I would also be interested in any knowledge that you have concerning Hirota and his Forum for Policy Innovation.

Attachment

cc: Dave Wigg

HAJIME HIROTA
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE FORUM FOR POLICY INNOVATION
RM. 504 HIRAKAWACHO HOMES
HIRAKAWA-CHO 1-8-7, CHIYODA-KU, TOKYO
TEL: (03) 263-1363



*For appointment 4p.m., Aug 26. Many
Thanks -
Please ask your secretary to call me in specifics.*

Richard Straus

Jill Straus

Visitor Program Service of
Meridian House International

1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) 822-8688

THE FORUM FOR POLICY INNOVATION

(Seisaku Koso Foramu)

Rm. 504, Hirakawacho Homes
1-6-7 Hirakawa-cho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 102 Japan (Phone: 03-263-1363)

Started as a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan, voluntary organization in April 1976, the Forum for Policy Innovation (FPI) as a group of policy-oriented social scientists aims to draft the future design of Japanese society and identify options for viable policy systems based on empirical studies from the broadest possible perspectives. FPI publishes policy proposals on the basis of the above studies and holds discussions on the related matters with various sectors of society including political, administrative, managerial and labor sectors, and consumer groups.

Major Activities

Research Activities

To realize its objectives, FPI (1) explores means to promote individuals' further satisfaction via such steps as the designing of new industrial structure and the appropriate national minimum; (2) finds ways to direct Japanese social system towards decentralization through research on the social and cultural backgrounds; and (3) examines and reviews the current international system and Japan's position and role in it. FPI, as results of the above-mentioned activities has published the fifteen policy proposals since its inception in April 1976.

International Forum Activity

Aside from publishing the above policy proposals, FPI in September 1977 sponsored and international symposium under the title of "International Cooperation and Stabilization Policies -- A New Dimension of Keynesian Policy --."

Economists from government offices, journalists and FPI members exchanged views and opinions with overseas guests including Professor R. J. Ball (the United Kingdom), Professor B. G. Hickman (the United States), Professor L. R. Klein (the United States) and Professor J. Waelbroeck (Belgium).

Chairmen: Yasusuke Murakami
Chikashi Moriguchi

Executive Director: Hajime Hirota

Members:

Yujiro Hayami	Professor of Economics Tokyo Metropolitan University
Hajime Hirota	Executive Director The Forum for Policy Innovation
Masaki Homma	Professor of Economics Osaka University
Ken-ichi Imai	Professor of Economics Hitotsubashi University
Hiromitsu Ishi	Professor of Economics Hitotsubashi University
Keimei Kaizuka	Professor of Economics University of Tokyo
Kazuo Koike	Professor of Economics Kyoto University
Yutaka Kosai	Professor of Economics Tokyo Institute of Technology
Shumpei Kumon	Professor of International Relations University of Tokyo
Chikashi Moriguchi	Professor of Economics Kyoto University
Yasusuke Murakami	Professor of Economics University of Tokyo
Iwao Nakatani	Professor of Economics Osaka university
Konosuke Odaka	• Professor of Economics Hitotsubashi University

PROPOSALS MADE PUBLIC TO DATE

1. "Medium Term Outlook and Measures for Overcoming the Present Recession"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part I. (April 1976)
2. "A Political Vision for the Post-'Conservative/Progressive' Era"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part II. (December 1976)
3. "The Starting Point for a New Economic Policy and the Foundation for Management of the Economy in Fiscal 1977"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part III. (December, 1976)
4. "The Direction of Basic Policies for Breaking Through the Crisis"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part IV. (December 1977)
5. "A Proposal for the Liberalization of Imported Beef--Towards Coexistence of International Harmony and Domestic Agricultural Development"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part V. (April 1978)
6. "We Respond to of Criticisms of the Liberalization of Beef"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic

Shoichi Royama	Professor of Economics Osaka University
Seizaburo Sato	Professor of Political Science University of Tokyo
Naoaki Suzuki	Director, General Research Division Nippon Steel Corporation
Yoshio Suzuki	Director General Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies The Bank of Japan

Aside from the above members, some ten businessmen sympathetic to the basic objectives of the organization and willing to support its activities constitute sustaining members.

Society, Part VI. (June 1978)

7. "A Plan for Financial Reform--Towards a Free and Fair System"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part VII. (November 1978)

8. "Basic Direction of the Management of the Economy in Fiscal 1979--For the Establishment of an Outlook for the 1980s"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part VIII. (December 1978)

9. "Departure for the 1980's--A New Foundation for the Japanese Economy and a Proposal for the Management of the Economy in the Near Term"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part IX. (December 1979)

10. "Emergency Proposal Regarding the Stockpiling of Grains--As a Part of Overall National Security" (January 1980)

11. "Fiscal Reform from the National Perspective"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part X. (November 1980)

12. "Towards a Vigorous Decentralized Information Society--A Proposal Regarding Data Transmission Policy"--In Search of a New Framework for Industry and Enterprise, Part I. (December 1980)

13. "In Search of a Vitalization of the Financial System--A Way

to Solve the 'Postal Problem' "--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XI. (July 1981)

14. "A Policy Vision for Breaking Through the Current Situation"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XII. (January 1982)

15. "The Security and Prosperity of Japan Together with That of the World--A Proposal Regarding International Economic Policy"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XIII. (January 1983)

16. "Our Four Proposals--Towards a Reform of the Legal Framework of Telecommunications Operations"--In Search of a New Framework for Industry and Enterprise, Part II. (March 1984)

17. "A Proposal for Administrative Reform of School and Education Administration--Relaxation and Removal of Regulations as a Catalyst for Educational Reform"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XIV. (May 1985)

to Solve the 'Postal Problem' "--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XI. (July 1981)

14. "A Policy Vision for Breaking Through the Current Situation"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XII. (January 1982)

15. "The Security and Prosperity of Japan Together with That of the World--A Proposal Regarding International Economic Policy"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XIII. (January 1983)

16. "Our Four Proposals--Towards a Reform of the Legal Framework of Telecommunications Operations"--In Search of a New Framework for Industry and Enterprise, Part II. (March 1984)

17. "A Proposal for Administrative Reform of School and Education Administration--Relaxation and Removal of Regulations as a Catalyst for Educational Reform"--Towards a Consensus on the Construction of a New Economic Society, Part XIV. (May 1985)

REPORTS, ETC., MADE PUBLIC TO DATE

1. "In Search of the Most Appropriate Medium-Term Course"
(March 1976)
2. "International Cooperation and Stabilization Policies--A New
Dimension of Keynesian Policy" (May 1977)
3. "The Level of Protection of Japanese Agriculture in
International Perspective" (November 1983)
4. "Debate--Is Economic Policy Effective?" (Published by Toyo
Keizai Shimpo Sha, September, 1984)

Chairmen: Yasusuke Murakami
Chikashi Moriguchi

Executive Director: Hajime Hirota

Members:

Yujiro Hayami Professor of Economics
Tokyo Metropolitan University

Hajime Hirota Executive Director
The Forum for Policy Innovation

Masaki Homma Professor of Economics
Osaka University

Ken-ichi Imai Professor of Economics
Hitotsubashi University

Hiromitsu Ishi Professor of Economics
Hitotsubashi University

Keimei Kaizuka Professor of Economics
University of Tokyo

Kazuo Koike Professor of Economics
Kyoto University

Yutaka Kosai Professor of Economics
Tokyo Institute of Technology

Shumpei Kumon Professor of International Relations
University of Tokyo

Chikashi Moriguchi Professor of Economics
Kyoto University

Yasusuke Murakami Professor of Economics
University of Tokyo

Iwao Nakatani Professor of Economics
Osaka university

Konosuke Odaka • Professor of Economics
Hitotsubashi University

Shoichi Royama	Professor of Economics Osaka University
Seizaburo Sato	Professor of Political Science University of Tokyo
Naoaki Suzuki	Director, General Research Division Nippon Steel Corporation
Yoshio Suzuki	Director General Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies The Bank of Japan

Aside from the above members, some ten businessmen sympathetic to the basic objectives of the organization and willing to support its activities constitute sustaining members.

Member

訪問者リスト



Hajime Hirota

Executive Director
The Forum for Policy Innovation
(Seisaku - Koso Forum)

廣田 一

政策構想フォーラム
常任世話人



Takeo Miyazawa

Senior Manager
Corporate Strategy Planning HQ
NTT
(Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp.)

宮澤 健夫

日本電信電話株式会社
経営企画本部 経営計画部 調査役



Kazumasa Mabuchi

General Manager
EDP Department
The Kyoto - Shinkin Bank

間瀬 和正

京都信用金庫
システム部 部長



Hiromichi Odajima

Planner (New Business)
Corporate Planning Department
Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.

小田島 博道

富士ゼロックス株式会社
企画部 新規事業グループ



Hiroshi Rinno

Managing Director
Business Planning
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林野 宏

株式会社西武クレジット
常務取締役



Mutsunori Sano

Researcher
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Research Department
Nomura Research Institute

佐野 睦典

株式会社野村総合研究所
財務開発部 副主任研究員



Hideo Yamashita

Manager
Corporate Planning Division
SECOM Co., Ltd.

山下 英雄

セコム株式会社
企画室 次長



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Meridian House International

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PRELIMINARY

The following is biographic information on the members of a single country group project from Japan in the field of telecommunications. Members of the group have been invited to the United States under the auspices of the International Visitor Program of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). They will be accompanied by two U.S. Department of State escort-interpreters. The program is being coordinated by Messrs. Richard Straus and Joseph Ruland of the Visitor Program Service, Meridian House International (VPS/MHI).

August-September, 1985

BACKGROUND

The project is intended to provide the participants with an understanding of current developments in the field of American telecommunications and to explore ways to improve U.S.-Japan cooperation in this field. Additionally, the project will provide the visitors with an opportunity to learn about those American enterprises which utilize advanced telecommunications; examine high technology research; become acquainted with industrial parks and the reurbanization of industry; and discuss the problems of medium and long range coordination resulting from the information revolution. The activities organized to achieve these objectives and the supporting cultural program will also provide the visitors with a better understanding of American society and its values.

PARTICIPANTS

- Mr. Hajime HIROTA
- Mr. Takeo MIYAZAWA
- Mr. Kazumasa MABUCHI
- Mr. Kiromichi ODAJIMA
- Mr. Hiroshi RINNO
- Mr. Mutsunori SANO
- Mr. Hideo YAMASHITA

ICHIRO ~~MIKI~~ NISHIMURA (interpreter)

NAME: Hajime HIROTA
PRESENT POSITION: Executive Director, Forum for Policy
Innovation (FPI), since 1975

Mr. Hirota is devoted to the internationalization of Japanese society and economy. After serving as an economist as the Japan Committee for Economic Development for many years, he left the committee and organized the FPI, a private, non-profit, non-partisan, policy-proposing organization.

PAST POSITION: Economist, Hitotsubashi University,
Japan Committee of Economic Development
(CED), 1960-75

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: M.A. in Economics, Hitotsubashi University,
1961
B.A. in Liberal Arts, Tokyo University, 1958

PERSONAL DATA

Born: March 20, 1932 in Osaka
Marital Status: Married
Language: Japanese
Dietary Restrictions: None
Mailing Address: Rm. 503, Hirakawacho Homes, 6-7
Hirakawacho 1-Chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo 102
JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: Visits to U.S.: Research Fellow, Institute
of Public Administration, 15 months,
1967-69; visits three weeks long in 1973,
1975
European and Southeast Asian countries.

PUBLICATIONS: "Consumers' Needs and Business Opportunities
Provided by News Media", a chapter of News
Media and the Japanese Economy, Japan
Economic Research Center, 1984; and many
others

CONTINUED

NAME: Takeo MIYAZAWA

PRESENT POSITION: Director, Legal Team and Coordinator, Ad-Hoc Task Force, Corporate Strategic Planning Division, President's Office, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (NTT)

Entering NTT after graduation at the top of his class at Tokyo University's Law Department, Mr. Miyazawa was provided the opportunity to study at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Now he is noted as one of NTT's most reliable brain trusters.

PAST POSITIONS: Director, Commercial Bureau, 1982-83
Director, Service Administration Department, NTT's Hokkaido Regional Headquarters, 1979-82
Deputy Director, Commercial Bureau, NTT, 1977-79

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: M.A., Industrial Relations and Industrial Psychology, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1972, sent by NTT
Bachelor of Law, Tokyo University, 1965

PERSONAL DATA

Born: January 3, 1943 in Nagano
Marital Status: Married
Languages: English (Excellent), Japanese
Dietary Restrictions: None
Mailing Address: No. 101, 7-10, Wakabayashi 2-Chome, Setagaya-Ku, Tokyo 154, JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: Studied in London, 1970-72; visit to the U.K. in 1984

PUBLICATIONS:

CONTINUED

NAME: Mr. Kazumasa MABUCHI

PRESENT POSITION: General Manager, EDP Department, Kyoto Shinkin Bank

PAST POSITION: Manager, Corporate Planning Department, Kyoto Shinkin Bank

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: B.S. in Agriculture from Kyoto University, 1965

PERSONAL DATA

Born: January 5, 1940 in Hamamatsu

Marital Status: Married

Language: English (Good), Japanese

Dietary Restrictions: None

Mailing Address: 259-21 Tanakami Kurozu-Cho
Otsu 520, JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: Western Europe for two weeks to observe on-line banking systems

NAME: Mr. Kiromichi ODAJIMA

PRESENT POSITION: Corporate Planning Department, Corporate Strategy Office, Fuji Xerox Company, Ltd., since 1981

PAST POSITION: Technology Planning Department, Business Area Planning Department, Fuji Xerox Company

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: B.S. in Precision Engineering, Tohoku University, Sendai

PERSONAL DATA

Born: March 13, 1948 in Yokohama

Marital Status: Married

Languages: Japanese, some English

Dietary Restrictions: None

Mailing Address: Ohguchi House 613, 83-2 Ohguchi-dori,
Kanagawa-Ku, Yohohama 221, JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: None

CONTINUED

NAME: Mr. Hiroshi RINNO

PRESENT POSITION: Director, Ad Hoc Task Force, Corporate Business Planning Division and Personnel Section, Seibu Credit Company, Ltd.

PAST POSITION: Director, Business Planning Division and Business Promotion Division, Seibu Credit Company

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: B.A. from Arts Department, Saitama University

PERSONAL DATA

Born: August 1, 1942 in Kyoto

Marital Status: Married, wife Kumi

Language: Japanese, some English

Dietary Restrictions: None

Mailing Address: 1376 Takada, Kashiwa 277
JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: Three week trip to study U.S. Credit System, 1979

NAME: Mr. Mutsunori SANO

PRESENT POSITION: Consultant, Corporate Development and Service Unit, Finance and Management Research Department, Nomura Research Institute (NRI)

PAST POSITION: Security Analyst, Overseas Equity Research Unit, Investment Research Department, NRI

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: B.A. in Law, Kyoto University in 1974

PERSONAL DATA

Born: June 5, 1951 in Kagawa

Marital Status: Married

Languages: Japanese, some English

Dietary Restrictions: None

Mailing Address: 19-100 Kitakaruizawa, Nishi-Ku, Yokohama 220,
JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: One week business trip to the U.S., 1984;
One week tour of Thailand, Singapore and Hong Kong in 1977

PUBLICATION: "New Era of Emerging Growth Industries", June 1983

CONTINUED

NAME: Mr. Hideo YAMASHITA

PRESENT POSITIONS: Manager, Planning Office, Secom (Security)
Company, Ltd.
Manager, Managerial Accounting, Secom Co.

PAST POSITION:

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND: M.B.A., University of British Columbia,
Canada, 1969
B.A. in Economics from St. Paul University
(Tokyo), 1966

PERSONAL DATA

Born: February 4, 1943 in Tokyo

Marital Status: Married

Language: English (Fair), Japanese

Dietary Restrictions: None

Mailing Address: 26-32 Shimofujisawa, Iruma 35B, JAPAN

TRAVELS ABROAD: Two week business trip to U.S. in 1983;
Lived in Canada while studying for M.B.A.

	FY 85 <u>Excom-proposal</u>	'85 In budget	'84 In budget
USIA-			
National Endowment for Democracy	31.3	18.0	18.0
Democracy-related exchange & educational programs	20.0	11.0	8.0
Democracy-related non-exchange	20.0	7.0	
State-			
The Asia Foundation	10.0	10.0	10.0
Democracy & Public Diplomacy	5.0		
AID-			
Human Rights fund	5.0	3.0	3.0
Defense-			
Democracy & Public Diplomacy	5.0	5.2	3.2
Total	96.3	54.2	42.2

-- This schematic points up the need to make a deeper commitment of funds. What is particularly important to underscore is that the Department of State needs to have funds that can be used to support public diplomacy and democracy. USIA has to have more funds allocated to non-exchange democracy related programs. AID needs to review its ability to increase its commitment of funds for these purposes, although we have suggested an expansion of the Human Rights fund. DOD has been in the lead among non-USIA organizations in creating a budgetary item for public diplomacy and democracy.

-- OMB cautions against creating separate accounts as they may be attacked by Congress. This should be reviewed because if the funds are not identified but are subsumed under ESF or another account they may be used for other purposes. There must be a management commitment, if the SPG principals concur, that funds will be provided for the "democracy-related" programs.

Recommendation: That the SPG support the enhanced public diplomacy and democracy projection.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506ACTION

- August 8, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: International Communications and Information Directorate

On a number of different occasions I have made the point that our need to be actively engaged in the "War of Ideas in Building Democracies Around the World" requires a deeper manpower commitment. During the next few days, while you are in California, I will try to deal with this in a systematic manner. It involves not only our own needs in the NSC but perhaps more importantly a deeper commitment in the Department of State and the Department of Defense.

I would like to make a very specific request to you. Judyt Mandel has been with us on a full-time basis since July 8. She has immediately provided us with essential additional manpower in this directorate. I am sure that you have seen a number of her memoranda. She has done an excellent job for us and has covered a wide range of subjects. There had been some thought that Judyt's strengths were limited more to the arms control area, but most of her work to date has not even involved that subject. With Steve's virtually full-time commitment to arms control and defense issues -- a commitment which will possibly even increase in the buildup to the President's meeting with Gorbachev in November -- Judyt's presence, in my mind, is essential.

Judyt is scheduled to commence her Capitol Hill internship on September 1. The first three months are an educational/training phase which Judyt feels is not essential for her to attend. The important part of the cycle begins on December 1. I would like to request that we extend Judyt's time with the NSC to December 1. This will take us through the Presidential meeting with Gorbachev, the massive support operation which will be necessary at the UN, and help us develop other key initiatives in the fall which will permit us to hit the ground running when the President returns from the ranch.

If you concur, I will work with the Admin Office to negotiate this extension with the Department of State.

RECOMMENDATION

That you concur in the extension of Judyt Mandel's tour with the NSC to December 1.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

cc: Mary Dix

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL SCHNEIDER
Deputy Associate Director for Programs
United States Information Agency

SUBJECT: USIA Detailee (U)

I would welcome the assignment of a USIA officer to the NSC's Crisis Management group. I have discussed this with Rod McDaniel, the Director of the Center. He is very anxious to ensure that public diplomacy and foreign opinion are integrated tightly into any Crisis Management issues affecting U.S. foreign policy. This can only effectively be done if an information officer is integrated into the on-going work of the Center. *(U)*

In view of the parallel relationship between my office, the Director of International Communications and Information, the Information Officer assigned to the CMC would work very closely with me. The CMC Director has assured me that the only effective way for his Center to function is by tying in-closely with counterpart offices in the NSC as well as with the participating agencies. He further assures me that an Information Officer in the CMC will be available to assist my office with a number of duties when a crisis does not demand the full attention of the detailee. This assurance from Mr. McDaniel is an extremely important one and will be a very real help both to the function of my office as well as my ability to work more effectively with the other elements of the public diplomacy community, particularly USIA. With these assurances and understandings, I would strongly endorse the proposal to detail a USIA officer to the Crisis Management Center. *(U)*

Walter Raymond

Walter Raymond, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
and Director, International
Communications and Information

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DECLASSIFIED

NLS F95-041/2 #77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BY *smf* NARA, DATE 7/3/00

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AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF PRIORITY
AMCONSUL FLORENCE PRIORITY
AMCONSUL HAMBURG PRIORITY
AMCONSUL IZHIR PRIORITY
AMCONSUL KRAKOW PRIORITY
AMCONSUL NAPLES PRIORITY
AMCONSUL PALERMO PRIORITY
AMCONSUL POZNAN PRIORITY
AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI PRIORITY
AMCONSUL TORONTO PRIORITY
AMCONSUL TRIESTE PRIORITY
AMCONSUL ZAGREB PRIORITY
AMCONSUL GENOA PRIORITY
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG PRIORITY
AMCONSUL DURBAN PRIORITY
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI PRIORITY
CDR 1STSOCOM FT BRAGG NC PRIORITY
NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 USIA 77639

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND/STEINER;

FT BRAGG FOR JACK TUOMEY AND MBR FOR KARCH; PARIS

ALSO PASS USUNESCO TONINI; OECD; MACDILL FOR USIA BELL;

OTHER MILITARY ADDEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAD

EO 12356 N/A

SUBJECT: PUBLIC AFFAIRS THEMES: FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

1. BACKGROUND: IN THE MIDST OF A TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION WHICH HAS CREATED THE INFORMATION AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE THERE IS AN EVER-INCREASING HUNGER TO KNOW, TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF KNOWLEDGE. AS A NATION, THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO A FREE AND OPEN MARKET PLACE OF IDEAS, AS WELL AS TO THE FREEST POSSIBLE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND GOODS. WE ATTACH THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THESE GOALS BECAUSE WE TAKE IDEAS SERIOUSLY; THEY ARE THE CARRIERS OF OUR

CIVILIZATION, THE LIFELOOD OF OUR INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE, TOO, THAT THE ENTIRE WORLD WILL BENEFIT FROM THE FREEST POSSIBLE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE, AND THAT ALL CIVILIZATIONS WILL FLOURISH FROM THE UNHINDERED EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION.

2. ONGOING CHANGES IN COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES HAVE GREAT POTENTIAL FOR FOSTERING THE GROWTH OF MORE OPEN SOCIETIES WORLDWIDE. THROUGH GREATER OPENNESS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG NATIONS CAN BE IMPROVED, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH BENEFICIAL TO ALL NATIONS FOSTERED. MORE EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES, MORE BENEFICIAL TRADE POLICIES, AND MORE EFFECTIVE RESPONSES TO GLOBAL PROBLEMS ARE POSSIBLE THROUGH OPENNESS. THIS WILL SURELY ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR FOSTERING STABILITY AND MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. END BACKGROUND.

3. PARAGRAPHS THAT FOLLOW CONTAIN FURTHER THEME MATERIAL FOR APPROPRIATE USE IN PROMOTING US GOAL OF FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. THE MATERIAL TIES IN, AND DRAWS UPON ONE OF KEY THRUSTS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VOA ADDRESS NOVEMBER 9 TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

4. THE THEME MATERIAL IS CAST IN POSITIVE TERMS, TO REFLECT A CONSTRUCTIVE AND FORTHCOMING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POSTURE ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES. THE THEMES UNDERSCORE THE US COMMITMENT TO THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, BUT ALSO THE NEGATIVE EFFECT OF SOVIET JAMMING ON US-USSR RELATIONS.
BT

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USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND/STEINER;

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OTHER MILITARY ADEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAD

EO 12356 N/A

5. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND A FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL BLOCKS ON WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS BUILT. THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION PRINCIPLE IS AT THE HEART OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTS TO THE WORLD; THE ESSENCE OF OUR OPEN SOCIETY.

6. PRESIDENT REAGAN UNDERScoreD THIS IN HIS VOA ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION NOVEMBER 9. THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT "WE FAVOR FREE AND OPEN DIALOGUE NOT JUST FOR

AMERICANS, BUT FOR ALL PEOPLES. WE BELIEVE IN FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL, FREEDOM OF WORSHIP, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS..." THE PRESIDENT PROCLAIMED THAT "ONE OF OUR PROUDEST INSTITUTIONS IS A FREE PRESS." THE PRESS'S ROLE IS "TO RAISE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS AND KEEP OFFICIALS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE." MR. REAGAN RECALLED THE PLEDGES UNDERTAKEN BY SIGNATORIES OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS TO "PERMIT OUR CITIZENS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND TRAVEL, AND IMPROVE COMMUNICATION AMONG OUR PEOPLES."

7. PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS INDICATED TO SOVIET LEADER GORBACHEV THAT HE IS INTERESTED IN A BROADENING AND A DEEPENING OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF THE CONTRIBUTION THAT A FREE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE CAN MAKE TO INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. THE PRESIDENT REPEATED THAT DESIRE IN HIS VOA ADDRESS, EMPHASIZING THAT "I'M PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN INCREASING EXCHANGES AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR THEY ARE OUR FUTURE."

8. FURTHER POINTS TO BE DRAWN UPON:

- AN INCREASED FLOW OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE AROUND THE WORLD IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT WILL LEAD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDIVIDUAL WELL-BEING.
- HARMFUL INTERFERENCE, OR JAMMING, IMPEDES THE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE, AND IS WASTEFUL OF A LIMITED RESOURCE; IT AFFECTS ALL BROADCASTERS, EVEN THE LDGS.
- JAMMING INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTS VIOLATES THE ITU CONVENTION AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

--HALTING JAMMING WOULD PROVIDE CONCRETE EVIDENCE ON THE PART OF THE USSR OF AN INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

--HALTING JAMMING WOULD PERMIT INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, PROMOTE GREATER STABILITY, AND - THEREBY - SUPPORT THE UNIVERSAL DESIRE FOR PEACE.

--OPENNESS PERMITS THE INDIVIDUAL TO GROW, AND PROMOTES DEVELOPMENT; WHERE THERE IS NO OPENNESS THE CONSEQUENCES ARE SECOND-CLASS STATUS FOR BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY.

SECRETARY SHULTZ CAPTURED THIS PERFECTLY IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS SEPTEMBER 23, AS QUOTED IN THE NEXT TWO TICKS.

--"THOSE POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT TRY TO STAND IN THE WAY OF THE FREE FLOW OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION WILL RELEGATE THEIR CITIZENS TO SECOND-CLASS STATUS IN THE NEXT CENTURY."

--"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIETIES THAT CAN SPREAD KNOWLEDGE, ADAPT, INNOVATE, TAP THE UNFETTERED TALENTS OF WELL-INFORMED CITIZENS."

9. AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM IN LATE OCTOBER THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC DELEGATION POSED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS TO BT

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USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR DJEREJIAN AND NSC RAYMOND/STEINER;

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OTHER MILITARY ADDRESSES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLAO

EO 12356 W/A

THE US DELEGATION ON THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. THE US DELEGATION RESPONSES, IN QUESTION AND ANSWER FORMAT, ARE REPEATED BELOW TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL USEFUL MATERIAL FOR PROMOTING US GOALS. BEGIN TEXT OF QS AND AS:

Q. WHAT IS MEANT BY "FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION?"

A. LITERALLY, JUST WHAT IT SAYS. THE US BELIEVES THAT GREATER UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED WHEN THERE IS THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE FREEDOM FOR THE CITIZENS OF ALL COUNTRIES TO OBTAIN THE INFORMATION THEY HAPPEN TO WANT -- WHETHER IT IS IN THE FORM OF BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, TECHNICAL JOURNALS, FILMS, POEMS, RELIGIOUS TRACTS, RADIO AND

TELEVISION BROADCASTS, OR ANYTHING ELSE; WHETHER ITS SOURCE IS DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN AND WHETHER OR NOT THE INFORMATION IS AGREEABLE TO THOSE WHO GOVERN THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE CITIZENS LIVE.

Q. DOES NOT EVERY COUNTRY HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS OWN FLOW OF INFORMATION?

A. WE BELIEVE THAT EVERY CITIZEN OF EVERY COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT AND THAT NO GOVERNMENT SHOULD IMPOSE ON ANY CITIZEN ANY LIMIT ON INFORMATION HE MAY SEEK. IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL WE SUPPORT, NOT THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Q. IF THERE WERE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION WOULD THIS NOT LEAD TO "INTELLECTUAL IMPERIALISM," PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THERE COULD BE A GREATER FLOW OF INFORMATION IN ONE DIRECTION THAN IN ANOTHER?

A. THAT IS ENTIRELY A QUESTION OF WHAT THE INDIVIDUALS IN ANY COUNTRY HAPPEN TO WANT. IF CITIZENS FROM A COUNTRY WANT MORE INFORMATION FROM OUTSIDE THEIR BORDERS, THAT IS THEIR FREE CHOICE. IF NOT, IT IS ALSO THEIR FREE CHOICE.

Q. IS THIS FREE FLOW ONLY A WAY TO EXPAND THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR INFORMATION?

A. THAT IS A CHOICE TO BE MADE BY INDIVIDUAL DECISION. IF THE INDIVIDUAL WANTS MORE INFORMATION FROM THE US HE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO OBTAIN IT. IF HE WANTS LESS, THAT IS ENTIRELY HIS BUSINESS.

Q. ARE YOU NOT JUST BANDYING ABOUT THE WORDS "FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION?"

A. MOST EMPHATICALLY NOT. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION -- AND THEIR COROLLARIES -- ABSENCE OF CENSORSHIP, ABSENCE OF RESTRICTIONS, ABSENCE OF ANY OFFICIAL ORTHODOXY -- ARE ABSOLUTELY BASIC TO OUR AMERICAN IDEALS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ALL MEN IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD ALSO WANT SUCH FREEDOMS, AND THAT WHEN THESE FREEDOMS ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL, UNDERSTANDING AMONG ALL PEOPLES WILL BE WITHIN OUR REACH. END TEXT OF QS AND AS.

18. JAMMING HAS ALSO ARISEN AS AN ISSUE AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM. THE US DELEGATION HAS MADE CLEAR THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF JAMMING IN DEPRIVING AN INDIVIDUAL OF THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE HIS OR HER SOURCE OF INFORMATION. AMBASSADOR STOESEL, THE HEAD OF THE US DELEGATION, STATED NOVEMBER 1 THAT RADIO "IS SO EFFECTIVE IN CROSSING BORDERS AND LOWERING BARRIERS TO CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS, FEARFUL OF ITS IMPACT, HAVE RESORTED TO THE PRACTICE OF JAMMING THE AIRWAVES. IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS A WASTE AND A SAD COMMENTARY ON THE DETERMINATION OF SUCH GOVERNMENTS TO SHIELD THEIR PEOPLES FROM RECEIVING A FULL RANGE OF INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD EVENTS AND CULTURAL

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EO 12356 N/A

DEVELOPMENTS." AMBASSADOR STOESEL WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THE PRACTICE OF DELIBERATE INTERFERENCE REMAINS A SERIOUS PROBLEM. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE HIGH FREQUENCY WORLD ADMINISTRATIVE RADIO CONFERENCE (WARC) IN EARLY 1984 PASSED A RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A WORLDWIDE MONITORING PROCESS WHICH THE USSR AND ALL THE WARSAW PACT MEMBERS SIGNED. HOWEVER, STOESEL SAID, THOUSANDS OF VIOLATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED; THE US HOPES ALL NATIONS WILL RESPECT THE RESOLUTION IN THE FUTURE. AMBASSADOR STOESEL POINTED OUT ANOTHER PROBLEM, RELATED TO JAMMING, NAMELY, THE REFUSAL OF SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS TO ALLOW WESTERN

11. TO SUM UP: TRUE PEACE REQUIRES OPENNESS, UNFETTERED COMMUNICATIONS, AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEOPLES, ALL PEOPLES, TO GET TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER DIRECTLY. AS SECRETARY SHULTZ UNDERSCORED IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS: "THE FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIETIES THAT CAN SPREAD KNOWLEDGE." PRESIDENT REAGAN'S FORESIGHT WAS CLEARLY EVIDENT IN HIS VOA ADDRESS TO THE 'SOVIET PEOPLE: "I'M PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN INCREASING EXCHANGES AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR THEY ARE OUR FUTURE."
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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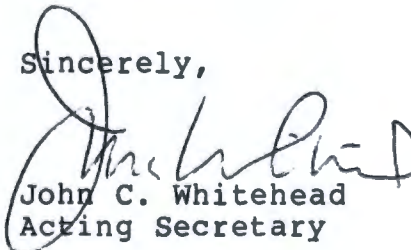
August 19, 1985

Dear Mr. Robinson:

Due to the Secretary's absence from Washington, I am replying to your recent note to him. We were pleased to receive a copy of your interesting article published in the Christian Science Monitor. It appropriately stresses the importance of coordinating our foreign policy messages to the public to ensure that they are consistent and clear.

As noted in your article, the Administration's public diplomacy structure was established by NSC directive and is coordinated by the NSC staff. As the relationship between this interagency structure and the Department's domestic public affairs information program evolves, rest assured that your specific suggestions for improving coordination will be kept in mind.

Sincerely,



John C. Whitehead
Acting Secretary

Mr. Gilbert A. Robinson,
1825 K Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

FACT Walt

2 Secretary - A

May work for more than one managerial/professional staff member. Reports administratively to the senior staff member within the unit. Is expected to establish general priorities in completing assignments, and in following the instructions outlined by the assignment originator. Turns to supervisor to resolve assignment conflicts.

Scans and sorts incoming mail and interoffice correspondence into priority categories; notes items of interest based on current projects; may retrieve and attach background material before forwarding.

Responds directly to requests for distributive materials and general information. Occasionally drafts replies on routine matters for staff members' signatures.

Transcribes from notes, dictating equipment and handwritten drafts in both draft and final format; a variety of documentation including; correspondence, agendas, releases, minutes, speeches, testimony, legal briefs, position papers and reports, charts and tables. Edits for grammar, punctuation, spelling and general sentence structure.

Screens incoming calls not specifically directed to staff member. Answers inquiries on routine matters, referring others to appropriate staff member or department. Takes messages in someone's absence. Makes tentative appointments, clearing these with staff before confirming.

Greets callers to the office, ascertains their business and announces them to appropriate party. Makes travel arrangements.

Maintains the office's working, publication, and subject files current by filing and retrieving material, establishing new folders and sections as needed, and periodically purging files of outdated material.

3 Secretary - B

In addition to performing all the assignments of Secretary A; this individual is involved in facilitating the supervisor's committee assignments. In most cases performs assignments for one professional staff member.

Provides general and logistical support to one or more standing and ad hoc committees served by supervisor, who acts as staff liaison while the secretary provides the necessary backup services. These include: preparing mailing lists, information releases and agendas; assembling agenda books which entails working with the printshop to reproduce, bind and package these for delivery; arranging for meeting rooms, meals, coffee breaks, audio-visual equipment and supplies; and making travel arrangements for staff.

In the case of in-town meetings, occasionally attends sessions to take and transcribe notes for minutes and chairmen's reports. Assists in resolving on-the-spot difficulties; and in resolving hotel reservations questions and making travel changes as requested.

For out-of-town meetings, works with selected hotels via phone and correspondence to make arrangements for meeting and sleeping rooms, to select menus, and to arrange for audio-visual equipment, materials and supplies.

May travel to annual conference/convention and coordinate arrangements and logistics for assigned committees holding sessions. Attends meeting sessions to see that committee proceedings go smoothly. Takes and transcribes session notes, minutes and chairmen's report. Also provides general meeting assistance as needed.

4 Administrative Secretary

Supervises the immediate activities of supervisor's office and support staff, assigning tasks and establishing priorities, and facilitating the decision making process on all general operational matters within the office.

In addition to the secretarial assignments that might be performed as outlined for Secretaries A & B, this individual coordinates the follow-up, collection, compilation, assembly and reproduction of unit projects, which are oftentimes developed by other managers/professionals to be completed according to scheduled times. May provide supporting services to unit managers/professionals to assist them in scheduling and completing work assignments.

Coordinates unit meetings by notifying participants of meeting dates and places, preparing agendas; assembling and distributing agenda materials. Attends meetings to take notes, draft initiatives discussed and circulates for revision/approvals.

5 Executive Secretary

NOTE: As used here, only one or possibly two individuals, occupy this position

This position provides administrative and secretarial support to the executive officer, the Board of Directors and its officers. In some situations this assistance may extend to the deputy executive officer.

Coordinates the schedules of the Executive Officer and the organization's elected officials to optimize their time and to facilitate the exchange of information. Schedules appointments with staff and members wherever these individuals are expected, or when they travel around the country on organization business. Determines the nature of these appointments, and develops the necessary background material wherever possible. May be expected to review correspondence requiring the signatures of these officials, regardless of its origination, for general format and style, content and possible sensitivity.

Coordinates the physical and logistical arrangements for regular Board meetings. During the sessions takes minutes, may monitor parliamentary procedure, prepares initial minutes draft and serves as staff liaison to officials attending. Post meeting assignments include following through with staff directors to see that established projects are on schedule, keeping supervisor apprised of progress.

Replies directly to general inquiries, nontechnical topics and brief correspondence. Also drafts replies for officer signature on similar matters if this is deemed more appropriate. Monitors supervisor's immediate tickler file for upcoming deadlines, following through on the necessary details.

Monitors the master schedule leading up to the annual meeting by regularly apprising supervisor on the status of general conference arrangements. Prepares summary statements for supervisor's easy reference.

Prepares conference agenda and background materials for the Board. This includes collecting, compiling, reproducing assembling and distributing the agendas prior to the annual meeting.

Travels on-site to manage the executive's operations office. May attend Executive Committee and Board meetings to take official minutes. May assist in answering member inquiries and in resolving minor difficulties with hotel personnel.

Clerk Typist - A

Receives, opens, date stamps, reviews and distributes all incoming mail to the appropriate staff members in the unit. Reroutes mail and other items, when necessary, to insure accuracy of delivery.

Answers telephone inquiries based on familiarity with subject matter. Refers others to appropriate staff member or other department. Takes messages in someone's absence. Forwards distributive literature items upon request. May greet office visitors, determine their business and refer them to appropriate party.

Types from rough or handwritten draft routine letters, vouchers, memos, purchase orders, billing statements, forms, reports and other materials according to instructions. Proof reads for accuracy, making corrections for obvious errors. Proof reads materials prepared by others noting corrections to be made.

Receives and reviews various materials for filing designations. Files and retrieves materials as needed; repairs existing folders and makes new ones when indicated.

May keep a series of record logs by date indicating the volume and type of activities undertaken/completed by the unit.

Performs such tasks as reproducing copy materials, hand delivering correspondence and records to various units; keeping track of the units petty cash fund; requisitioning office supplies as requested; and filing suppliments of periodical reference services.

11 Clerk Typist - B

Performs all the assignments indicated for Clerk Typist A.

The primary difference entails the variety of typing assignments, the manner in which they are received, and the degree of correction expected.

Typing assignments are transcribed from notes, dictating equipment and handwritten drafts in both draft and final format. They include correspondence, memos, releases, reports, chart and table formats; and may include speeches, testimony and position papers. Edits for grammar, punctuation, spelling and general presentation including technical copy.

See

2 Secretary - A

May work for more than one managerial/professional staff member. Reports administratively to the senior staff member within the unit. Is expected to establish general priorities in completing assignments, and in following the instructions outlined by the assignment originator. Turns to supervisor to resolve assignment conflicts.

Scans and sorts incoming mail and interoffice correspondence into priority categories; notes items of interest based on current projects; may retrieve and attach background material before forwarding.

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NOTE: As used here, only one or possibly two individuals, occupy this position

This position provides administrative and secretarial support to the executive officer, the Board of Directors and its officers. In some situations this assistance may extend to the deputy executive officer.

Coordinates the schedules of the Executive Officer and the organization's elected officials to optimize their time and to facilitate the exchange of information. Schedules appointments with staff and members wherever these individuals are expected, or when they travel around the country on organization business. Determines the nature of these appointments, and develops the necessary background material wherever possible. May be expected to review correspondence requiring the signatures of these officials, regardless of its origination, for general format and style, content and possible sensitivity.

Coordinates the physical and logistical arrangements for regular Board meetings. During the sessions takes minutes, may monitor parliamentary procedure, prepares initial minutes draft and serves as staff liaison to officials attending. Post meeting assignments include following through with staff directors to see that established projects are on schedule, keeping supervisor apprised of progress.

Replies directly to general inquiries, nontechnical topics and brief correspondence. Also drafts replies for officer signature on similar matters if this is deemed more appropriate. Monitors supervisor's immediate tickler file for upcoming deadlines, following through on the necessary details.

Monitors the master schedule leading up to the annual meeting by regularly apprising supervisor on the status of general conference arrangements. Prepares summary statements for supervisor's easy reference.

Prepares conference agenda and background materials for the Board. This includes collecting, compiling, reproducing assembling and distributing the agendas prior to the annual meeting.

Travels on-site to manage the executive's operations office. May attend Executive Committee and Board meetings to take official minutes. May assist in answering member inquiries and in resolving minor difficulties with hotel personnel.

Clerk Typist - A

Receives, opens, date stamps, reviews and distributes all incoming mail to the appropriate staff members in the unit. Reroutes mail and other items, when necessary, to insure accuracy of delivery.

Answers telephone inquiries based on familiarity with subject matter. Refers others to appropriate staff member or other department. Takes messages in someone's absence. Forwards distributive literature items upon request. May greet office visitors, determine their business and refer them to appropriate party.

Types from rough or handwritten draft routine letters, vouchers, memos, purchase orders, billing statements, forms, reports and other materials according to instructions. Proof reads for accuracy, making corrections for obvious errors. Proof reads materials prepared by others noting corrections to be made.

Receives and reviews various materials for filing designations. Files and retrieves materials as needed; repairs existing folders and makes new ones when indicated.

May keep a series of record logs by date indicating the volume and type of activities undertaken/completed by the unit.

Performs such tasks as reproducing copy materials, hand delivering correspondence and records to various units; keeping track of the units petty cash fund; requisitioning office supplies as requested; and filing supplements of periodical reference services.

Clerk Typist - B

Performs all the assignments indicated for Clerk Typist A.

The primary difference entails the variety of typing assignments, the manner in which they are received, and the degree of correction expected.

Typing assignments are transcribed from notes, dictating equipment and handwritten drafts in both draft and final format. They include correspondence, memos, ~~releases~~, reports, chart and table formats; and may include speeches, ~~testimony~~ and position papers. Edits for grammar, punctuation, spelling and general presentation including technical copy.

F-101

09/11/85 12:41:03

NOTE FROM: Walter Raymond

Subject: Management

*** Forwarding note from NSSES --CPUA 09/11/85 10:44

*** To: NSW --CPUA

*** Reply to note of 09/11/85 09:29

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

NOTE FROM: Steven Steiner

Subject: Management

Understand your point about my desk location. I considered that point, but it still turned out that this was the only location which could be done and still take care of other needs -- eg, a working/drafting table which I have long needed and can now accomodate. Also, I don't mind traffic to an office as long as people keep moving. It is the stopping, chatting and doing things that becomes a distraction, and that is what coffee corners always breed.

Martin answered me on secretaries already. Seems he clearly doesn't want to chat as I "offered" to do. He wants to hold off and see what happens after Judyt leaves, which is not imminent in any event. I told him I think it will really be important to keep her here, as she is invaluable in so many ways. That's probably the end for now of this exchange between Bill and me.

Talked to Mary Dix too about secretaries. She privately agrees with us and acknowledges that Menges will cause a lot of work. But she is without power on this, given the view of her bosses.

Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

11/06/85 15:41:42

NOTE FROM: Walter Raymond Subject: Constantine Menges Pls print
but put in my ICI (Intl Info and Comm file) in an envelope,
marked "Eyes Only WR" *** Forwarding note from NSWRP --CPUA
11/05/85 19:26 *** To: NSJMP --CPUA JOHN M. POINDEXTER

NOTE FROM: BOB PEARSON
Subject: Constantine Menges
From Walt Raymond. *** Forwarding note from NSWR --CPUA
11/05/85 18:56 *** To: NSWFM --CPUA JOHN M. POINDEXTER
NSWRP --CPUA JOHN M. POINDEXTER NOTE FROM: Walter Raymond

SUBJECT: Constantine Menges

I had a chance to review the bidding with Constantine Menges Friday. He, as you know, believes that Bud has mandated him to "undertake a wide variety of activities to communicate with and seek to persuade the U.S. public and leaders as well as foreign leaders on key controversial foreign policy issues." Bud also said "work with and for Walt." I am anxious to get more than just Central American Public Diplomacy work from Constantine. He is anxious to keep on the briefing circuit, attends a raft of meetings, conferences etc, and wants to start writing OpEds and other types of things. All of the above is of some relevance but it also is marginal in some ways, particularly as he is still viewed as somewhat of a pariah in the Central American policy field.

My solution was to have him help me and be the public diplomacy coordination point in the NSC for the South African Public Diplomacy program. The inter-agency team is located in State and I (aided by Phil Ringdahl and Helen Soos) work with them. It would help if we had some extra muscle on the Public Diplomacy front and Constantine might provide it. He would still work closely with me on this issue. (NB: He was in the civil rights movement in the Deep South in the early 60s and relates to the issue). The downside is he does not fancy himself as a staff man -- I am staff; he is more of a grand strategist and speechmaker. But, in this case it would not hurt for him to get his hands dirty. He would continue to do Centam work, but he can do more. He said he would be willing to also work on South Africa but he wanted me to raise this with Bud.

Your thoughts?