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FOIA

M10-326/2

Box Number 11

PARRY

62

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
132383	MEMO	ANTHONY SALVIA TO CHARLES COURTNEY RE COMMENTS	4	1/17/1985	B1
132384	MEMO	JACK MATLOCK TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE AGREEMENT <i>R 6/8/2018 M326/2</i>	1	3/7/1985	B1
132385	MEMO	ROBERT KIMMITT TO NICHOLAS PLATT RE AGREEMENT	1	ND	B1
132386	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE INSTRUCTIONS	5	3/6/1985	B1
132387	PAPER	RE TAB A: THE GENERAL AGREEMENT	3	ND	B1
132388	PAPER	RE TAB B: ARTICLE I	3	ND	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]

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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]

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MEMORANDUM

0452

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INFORMATION

January 16, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: Wick Letter to Zamyatin



Raymond

F - Sec. 1.2.1.2

Jack Matlock, Steve Steiner and I have gone over a series of drafts from Charlie Wick to Zamyatin. We are comfortable with the attached text. We have concurred subject to Department of State concurrence.

Charlie had brought this letter forward late in December and we had requested that its submission be delayed until after Geneva. It will be sent to Moscow to be delivered by Ambassador Hartman. We can anticipate subsequent USIA exploitation.

Jack Matlock and Steve Steiner concur. *Steve*

Attachment

Tab I Charles Wick memorandum to Mr. Zamyatin

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547



January 10, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Walter Raymond, Jr.
Senior Director
for International Communications and Information
National Security Council

FROM: Charles E. Courtney *Sam C.*
Associate Director-designate
for Programs

SUBJECT: Letter to Leonid Zamyatin

I am enclosing the latest draft of a letter from Director Charles Wick to CPSU International Information Department Chief, Leonid Zamyatin. This draft includes a new idea for an exchange of televised messages by the respective heads of government.

I would appreciate your clearance or comments at your earliest convenience. We hope to release the letter and fact sheet between January 13 and 20.

4

Dear Mr. Zamyatin:

In recent months Soviet media have levied a number of attacks on U.S. public diplomacy and the U.S. Information Agency, especially on the Voice of America and our new WORLDNET satellite television service. Among the many examples I could cite are Ye. Kaminskiy's November 30 Komsomolskaya Pravda article on VOA, Vadim Biryukov's December 13 TASS item on USIA, General Monin's December 15 Krasnaya Zvezda article on VOA, Aleksandr Lyutyy's TASS article and Kim Gerasimov's radio Moscow commentaries on VOA on December 28.

Your article in Literaturnaya Gazeta and on Radio Moscow ["Impasses of Confrontations and Horizons of Cooperation," November 28, 1984] summarizes most of the charges and typifies the underlying mindset. I am prompted to respond at this time to the continuing stream of attacks because at a time when our two governments are engaged in serious exploration of vital issues, such attacks are a disservice to more positive relations. Since the inaccuracies and errors of fact of recent weeks seem to derive from your article, my response will refer to the article.

My hope is to generate a constructive dialogue. To initiate that dialogue I extend two concrete offers. First, I would hope that you would offer your good offices to facilitate using broadcast media to further mutual understanding. In this regard, I suggest that you arrange for Soviet television to carry an address by President Reagan while we will urge private U.S. networks to carry a similar talk by your chief of state, Mr. Chernenko. There is a precedent for this: Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Nixon made such speeches several years ago with considerable positive effect.

Second, I extend an invitation to you and other Soviet officials and journalists to take part in the WORLDNET program of which you are so critical. Let us jointly plan a one- to two-hour satellite television dialogue on WORLDNET in which Soviet journalists interview senior U.S. officials on issues of mutual concern. Conversely, you should plan with U.S. and other Western media a similar program in which Western press can also freely and spontaneously question senior Soviet officials. Coming at this important time in our relations, such ventures could help make communication more reasoned and reciprocal.

I am not surprised by your criticisms of WORLDNET and of our Agency, nor by your angry tone. To me, your unwarranted and vituperative attacks — sadly characteristic of Soviet public diplomacy — are a demonstration of the inherent weakness of your argument.

Our country does not claim, as you do, that opposing ideas "subvert" our system — we recognize instead that the diversity of public opinion is one of the great strengths of America. Thus, our society freely permits Soviet spokesmen to state their views on American television and in print.

If the United States can confidently tolerate opposing views without fears of "loosening" the system, why then should the Soviet government act so restrictively, even to the point of jamming our broadcasts in direct violation of several international agreements--Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Basket 3, Article 2, of the Helsinki Final Act; Article 35 of the International Telecommunication Convention--to which the USSR is a signatory? Why not allow greater independent public inquiry about your government's decisions and policies? Why should American officials, in turn, not be permitted to state their views on Soviet television and in the Soviet media? Our society has never walked away from a fair challenge, and we look forward to engaging in a peaceful contest of ideas with the USSR.

Your article is evidence of the need for this reasoned and open dialogue. Charges of "piracy of the air," "radio warfare," subversive purpose," "television propaganda aggression" only exacerbate the "impasses" and "confrontations" to which you allude and delay our search for "Horizons of Cooperation." Surely, everyone concerned about U.S.-Soviet relations has a right to expect greater restraint and accuracy.

Although I will not attempt in this letter to deal with the many errors and distortions in your article, I would like to clarify the role and purpose of the U.S. Information Agency, particularly the Voice of America and WORLDNET. (I am attaching a fact sheet to set the record straight.)

- USIA is not in the business of misrepresenting Soviet foreign policy as you allege. Its primary purpose is to present America to the rest of the world and to explain U.S. foreign and domestic policies to people around the world. In so doing, we present the news, good and bad.
- The Voice of America is a distinguished source of news and information about the United States -- our policies, society, culture and values. The VOA, by U.S. law, is required to present "accurate, objective, and comprehensive" information, to be truthful and "seen as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news." Over 100 million people throughout the world listen to VOA each week, all voluntarily, many of them at risk to their safety.
- In modernizing and improving our communication technique and seeking a wider audience, our purpose is to allow a greater proportion of the world's population to know what is going on in the world and be better able to reach independent judgments on these events.
- WORLDNET is a modern television system linking Washington via satellite with our U.S. embassies and information centers and a number of TV studios throughout the world. WORLDNET is not forced on receiving nations. Journalists in the participating nations freely choose the programming that they wish to broadcast or write about or not use at all.

- WORLDNET enables foreign journalists to ask probing, unrehearsed questions instantaneously, via satellite, directly to high-level American officials. Your representatives from TASS, Pravda and other Soviet publications are welcomed at official U.S. press conferences. They are welcomed, too, in our WORLDNET studio.

Permitting a free flow of information certainly goes against the grain of Soviet policy. Yet the revolution in communications, increasingly able to disseminate news promptly and comprehensively, will make it increasingly harder to limit peoples' access to information.

All nations should ultimately welcome this: misunderstanding and ignorance only serve to exacerbate tensions in the conduct of international relations. Our nations need to know more about each other; we Americans are firmly committed to providing the peoples of the Soviet Union — and the world community — with an accurate picture of the United States. Similarly, we hope to broaden our nation's understanding of the USSR.

I hope that you will enable Soviet journalists and television commentators to participate actively, and very soon, in WORLDNET interviews to be broadcast in the USSR. In turn, Western journalists should have equal access to your leaders. This direct dialogue would broaden the "horizon of cooperation" that you did not discuss in your article, but that you, too, must want to see attained.

I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick
Director

1/9/85
document number 5528G
draft: JFischman/JMcGregor

6

FACT SHEET ON THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
IN RESPONSE TO LEONID ZAMYATIN ARTICLE

"IMPASSES OF CONFRONTATION AND HORIZONS OF COOPERATION"

The November 28 Literaturnaya Gazeta article by Leonid Zamyatin, Chief of the International Information Department of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, includes many inaccuracies about USIA, its mission and operations. A clarification in response to selected statements in that article follows:

1. Mr. Zamyatin says: "American imperialism, having suffered a series of major defeats in the world arena, is undertaking attacks on an increasingly massive, unprecedented scale against the Soviet Union's social system and Marxist-Leninist ideology and is striving to misrepresent Soviet foreign policy objectives and block the growing influence of real socialism."

The facts are: USIA is responsible for explaining U.S. policies to the world and sharing the underlying values of our own democratic society with the world. Both the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 and the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (the Fulbright-Hays Act) have as their purpose to "increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries."

USIA provides factual reporting on U.S.-Soviet relations and on Soviet activities around the world. Necessarily, these have included Soviet actions such as the invasion of Afghanistan and human rights abuses, and U.S. reaction.

2. Mr. Zamyatin says: [U.S. "ruling circles"] "use the U.S. President's speeches, Congress, the State Department, ... and various Zionist and emigre organizations and committees ... [to] whip up the campaign about so-called 'human rights violations' in the USSR and their other socialist countries."

The facts are: One of USIA's most important goals is to communicate the fundamental American commitment to individual freedom and human rights. For example, the U.S. has just completed its national elections, a free and open experience in democracy that serves as inspiration for the rest of the world. These elections were witnessed around the world through the WORLDNET televised satellite transmissions referred to in Mr. Zamyatin's article.

This type of accusation by Soviet media services is a daily occurrence. If the U.S. makes reference to actual Soviet human rights abuses, such as the forced exile of the Sakharovs, or of psychiatric abuse, or the crackdown on the Helsinki monitoring group, the USSR attacks us for interfering in its internal affairs. Yet the free press in nations around the world report the same abuses. These are not imaginary.

USIA does indeed quote President Reagan and other ranking Administration officials when they speak out on human rights abuses around the world, including the Soviet Union.

In his Human Rights Day remarks, Dec 10, 1984, the President said: "...we do a serious disservice to the cause of human rights if we forget that, however mistaken and wrong, however stumbling the actions of democracies in seeking to achieve the ideals of freedom and brotherhood, our philosophy of government permits us to acknowledge, debate, and then correct mistakes, injustices, and violations of human rights. Let us always remember the critical moral distinction of our time -- the clear difference between a philosophy of government that acknowledges wrong-doing and injustice and one that refuses to admit to such injustices, and even justifies its own assaults on individual liberty in the name of a chimeric utopian vision. Such brutal affronts to the human conscience as the systematic suppression of individual liberty in the Soviet Union, and the denial of religious expression by Christians, Jews, and Muslims in that country, are tragic examples."

3. Mr. Zamyatin says: "Real ideological warfare is being waged against us. Bourgeois information organs have become an instrument of interference in states' internal affairs. We are dealing with attempts to turn radio and television channels into an instrument of interference in states' internal affairs and of the execution of subversive acts."

The facts are: U.S. foreign broadcasting activities are conducted in full accord with international agreements to which the Soviets themselves are party. The guarantees of free flow of information across borders contained in Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act is one example of such an agreement. As for charges that these broadcasts are interference in the internal affairs of other countries or "ideological warfare," Mr. Zamyatin offers no evidence, apparently believing that a point of view different from that of his own government is sufficient to constitute interference or ideological warfare.

4. Mr. Zamyatin says: "Priority is given to radio warfare. The volume of radio broadcasts from capitalist countries to the Soviet Union has increased to 240 hours a day."

The facts are: As of January 1984, Radio Moscow was broadcasting 1,675 program hours a week in more than 60 languages. VOA during the same period was broadcasting 967 hours in 42 languages, although that figure has now increased slightly to 986 hours per week. This averages out to approximately 140 program hours a day. The Soviet daily average—for all stations—is almost 311 program hours.

Soviet ally states broadcast a total of 2,334 radio program hours a week break down as follows:

Warsaw Pact states: 1,615
Cuba: 420
Vietnam: 189
Laos: 53
Cambodia 18
Mongolia 39

Thus the Soviets and their allies' weekly radio broadcasts total 4,509 program hours a week, or a daily average of over 644 hours.

Western radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe total 2,100 program hours a week, or an average of 300 hours daily. This figure includes the broadcasts of VOA, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, Deutsche Welle, DLF, BBC, France-Inter, Radio Monte Carlo, Vatican Radio, and the external radio services of South Korea, Canada, Israel, Italy and Sweden. These services may be government owned, but those governments are all free and open democracies. Their broadcasts report on each other, often critically, as readily as the Soviet Union.

5. Mr. Zamyatin says: "This year the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) received some \$800 million for its subversive purpose. R. Reagan's administration is stepping up the implementation of a large-scale program of measures for the use of radio broadcasting abroad as a means of subversive propaganda against the USSR and the other socialist countries, as well as the developing states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Within the framework of the program announced last year for the modernization and technical reequipping of the VOA and its replenishment with cadres (\$1 billion is allocated for these purposes for the current 5-year period), new, high-power short- and medium-wave transmitters are being built in countries of the Near East, the Persian Gulf, and the Far East. Special attention is devoted to the modernization of the VOA's technical potential for broadcasting to Central American countries. Washington is engaged in active diplomatic work on the leaders of states in those regions with the aim of enlisting their consent to the siting of radio transmitters."

The facts are: USIA's FY-1985 appropriated budget totaled \$796.4 million. Soviet expenditures on information, cultural and radio activities comparable to those of USIA for 1982, the latest estimate available to us, were approximately \$2.125 billion, not including cultural exchange programs. The Soviets outspend the U.S. more than fourfold. USIA employs about 8,700 people. Approximately 70,000 are engaged in similar work in the Soviet Union.

The Voice of America is required by law (Public Law 94-350, July 12, 1976, commonly referred to as the Charter of the Voice of America) to "serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news.

VOA news will be accurate objective and comprehensive." VOA must also "present a balanced and comprehensive projection of American thought and institutions" and "present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively as well as responsible discussion and opinion on those policies."

USIA is projecting a budget of over \$1 billion for the completion of VOA technical and program modernization over the next five or six years. This includes the construction of new overseas relay stations and the upgrading of existing transmitting facilities in the U.S. and overseas. Agreements for new construction have been signed with the governments of Sri Lanka, Morocco, Thailand, and Belize and a private association in Costa Rica.

VOA currently has six 500 KW superpower transmitters (actually combinations of aged 250 KW's) compared to 37 modern 500 KW units used by the USSR.

Over 110 million people throughout the world listen to VOA each week. They do so voluntarily, many at risk to their safety; no one forces them to turn their dials to VOA.

6. Mr. Zamyatin says: "New VOA bureaus have been opened this year in Geneva, Rome, Islamabad, and other cities."

The facts are: VOA now has a total of 19 overseas bureaus; Radio Moscow has 26 official foreign bureaus.

7. Mr. Zamyatin says: "The VOA seeks to break up the unity of Soviet society and turn the country's population against the CPSU's policy. The materials concerning questions of the Soviet economy are also of a subversive, diversionary nature."

The facts are: This statement refers to the fact that, in addition to Russian, VOA broadcasts in seven other languages which are spoken in the Soviet Union: Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian. VOA's reporting is factual. VOA programming does include news about events and developments in ethnic communities in the U.S. which the various language services believe would be of interest to their specific audiences.

8. Mr. Zamyatin says: Daily, the bourgeois propaganda thesis of "socialism's economic bankruptcy" is pushed persistently. They also take good care to keep quiet about the concrete facts of the dynamic development of the Soviet economy, which today accounts for one-fifth of world industrial production and is ahead of the United States in a number of the most important indicators. The radio station, filling its broadcasts with assertions about the "defects" of the Soviet national economy, claims that the centralized economic management system adopted in the USSR must be renounced and a "market system" introduced.

The facts are: VOA includes factual coverage of newsworthy developments in the Soviet Union in its programming. All items are based on Western agency news reports. Economic reporting includes such items as Soviet harvest information and U.S. grain sales to the USSR, which reveal weaknesses in the Soviet economy. It also includes reportage more favorable to the Soviet economy, for example Soviet oil exports to the West.

9. Mr. Zamyatin says: "The Voice of America [VOA] regularly comes out in support of the activity of clericalist sects and groups that violate Soviet laws. The measures adopted by Soviet organs against the organizers and leaders of such groups are represented in VOA broadcasts as "the USSR's persecutions of believers for their religious convictions."

The facts are: The U.S. is firmly committed to the principle and practice of religious freedom. There is no law in the U.S. requiring state sanction of a religious group or sect. Such a law would not be tolerated in the U.S. The Soviet law referred to is just such a law. Any religious group attempting to practice its belief without state sanction is therefore violating that law.

10. Mr. Zamyatin says: These broadcasts continue to be permeated with the spirit of a "crusade" against communism. The radio station makes great efforts to instill a stereotype into the listener's consciousness: "The USSR is an undemocratic State." The same old myth about the "USSR's failure to observe the basic rights and freedoms of the individual" is constantly harped on.

The facts are: VOA's reports of human rights abuses and violations of fundamental democratic norms in the Soviet Union are based on incontrovertible evidence and affirmed by independent observers. Journalists, diplomats, international organizations, and independent Soviet organizations such as the much-persecuted Helsinki Watch Group attest to the accuracy of VOA's reports.

11. Mr. Zamyatin says: It is characteristic that attacks on the USSR's foreign and domestic policy are contained in many of the "commentaries" on the VOA, which is an official organ of the U.S. Government.

The facts are: VOA does have the responsibility to present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively. This it does in daily editorials, clearly identified as such. These editorials do deal with differences we have with the Soviet Union, particularly on human rights. A few recent examples follow.

October 1, 1984: "'The United States will continue to view human rights as the moral center of our foreign policy.' With those words, spoken at the United Nations this past week, President Reagan reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to seek liberty and justice for all the world's people. To Soviet Jews, it is support sorely needed...To prevent Jewish emigration, the Soviet regime resorts to more than

harassment. The Kremlin regularly denied visas required to leave the country. In 1979, before the clamp-down on emigration, some 51,000 Jews left the Soviet Union. By last year the stream had become a mere trickle: only 1,300 managed to emigrate in 1983...Many Jewish human rights activists are incarcerated in Soviet prisons and labor camps. All Jews face repression if they choose to practice their faith. The Kremlin refuses to let Jews study Hebrew or have religious schools...Among other propaganda, one especially ugly book, published and acclaimed by the government-controlled press, castigates what they call Zionists and -- incredibly -- charges them with aiding the Nazis in their extermination campaigns during World War II...Justice is indivisible. Jews -- like Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and all other peoples of the Soviet Union -- possess inalienable rights. These rights should be respected -- not violated -- by the Soviet government."

June 26, 1984: "On May 2, the human rights advocate and Nobel Peace Prize Winner (Andrei Sakharov) began a hunger strike to protest the Kremlin's refusal to allow his wife, Yelena Bonner, to receive the medical treatment abroad that she urgently needs. Two weeks later, Dr. Sakharov disappeared from his Moscow apartment in Gork'i'y, where he had been placed under virtual house arrest in 1980. Soviet authorities claim that Dr. Sakharov was taken to a hospital and that, presumably as a result of force-feeding, he is alive...From his first public appeals against Soviet human rights abuses, Dr. Sakharov has suffered the effects of that repression: denied work, stripped of his awards, detained, questioned, banished. Now, Soviet authorities have taken Dr. Sakharov and his wife away. Apparently, having isolated the couple completely, Soviet rulers hope that the world will forget both their cause and their plight. But the world isn't forgetting."

April 30, 1984: "If anyone still wonders why the Soviet Union is so anxious to censor the news its people receive, recent events provide a convincing answer. Last week, Enn Tarto, an Estonian human rights advocate, was sentenced by a Soviet court to 10 years at hard labor and another five years of internal exile, far from his native home...The Soviet rulers have arrested more than 10 of the signers of the Baltic Appeal -- a 1979 document which called for respect for the rights of the people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. But, like the case of Tarto last week, none of the trials have gone public. And what limited information is provided to the Soviet people does not reveal that those arrested and jailed are human rights advocates...When news of human rights activities in the Soviet Union leaks out, it is reported by the free press in democratic countries. And, when the facts are confirmed by reliable sources, international radio stations in the West broadcast it. Thus, the Soviet people can hear the facts that the Soviet rulers prefer to conceal...In its report on the recent sentencing of the Estonian human rights activist Enn Tarto, the Soviets' official information agency, Tass, sourly described him as a 'stooge of Western radio stations.' What it is

really complaining about is that Tarto, and all the other human rights advocates in the Soviet Union, are trying to tell the truth."

12. Mr. Zamyatin says: "A system of direct television broadcasting through communications satellites is being developed rapidly and is already being put into outright piracy of the air. We are dealing with attempts to turn radio and television channels into an instrument of interference in states' internal affairs and of the execution of subversive acts."

"Washington experts in planning "psychological warfare" operations place particular emphasis on the use of television combined with satellite technology. E. Fyulner (sic), Chairman of the 'U.S. Consultation Commission on Questions of Public Diplomacy (sic),' asserted: 'Out of all the means of contact with a foreign audience at the USIA's disposal, the most powerful is television.'

"An organizational restructuring of the services of the main U.S. propaganda department (USIA) was undertaken in 1983. A new subunit was set up within its framework — the Department of Television Propaganda Abroad (sic). The Department's brief is to prepare daily television newscasts for dissemination on the American 'WORLDNET' system ('WORLDNET' is a worldwide television network set in 1983-1984 on the basis of an improvement of the satellite communications network servicing the USIA). The WORLDNET system has now been brought into operation in the main salients, ensuring two-way communications between USIA headquarters in Washington and its 205 missions in 126 countries. The television channel makes it possible to receive pictures at U.S. missions from USIA studios and to hold direct intercontinental 'television linkups,' television meetings, and press conferences by prominent officials in the U.S. Administration."

The facts are: USIA's radio and television broadcasting complies with all international laws. The suggestion of "piracy" of the air is ridiculous, implying that the "air" is somehow the property of certain states when in fact — as with freedom of the seas — the atmosphere is open to all nations.

WORLDNET is a satellite television delivery system which allows foreign journalists, academics, government officials and other prominent national representatives to interact directly with leading Americans on important issues of current and common concern. The sessions take place without any form of censorship by USIA.

USIA's Film Service was established in 1953. The Television Service began in 1956. They have since been merged into the Television and Film Service. The Agency's first satellite broadcast was made in October 1964. WORLDNET, the first interactive, state-of-the-art television network, was inaugurated on November 3, 1983. The network is designed to link Washington via satellite with 40 U.S. embassies and posts overseas for live press conferences and other video exchanges between government officials, prominent experts and

practitioners, and journalists. WORLDNET does project the views of the Administration, but it also increasingly present a broad spectrum of opinion on a wide variety of subjects, political and non-political.

13. Mr. Zamyatin says: According to the calculations of the system's creators, it is supposed to increase the chances of USIA television propaganda programs reaching a wide audience abroad.

The facts are: USIA does seek to reach a wide audience through television programming. This is only possible when an overseas television network or station makes the decision to accept a USIA-produced program or satellite transmission for telecast to its own viewers. That only happens if the program contains reliable material of appeal and interest to those particular audiences.

14. Mr. Zamyatin says: The danger inherent in the plans nurtured by the U.S. Administration for carrying out television propaganda aggression from space by means of direct television broadcasting is well understood, especially by the vast majority of the developing countries, which call for a New Information Order and the elimination of "information imperialism." The newspaper LE SOLEIL, published in Senegal, wrote, reflecting the view of a number of African states: "Direct television broadcasting opens the way for broad ideological penetration of the liberated countries by the former colonial powers."

The facts are: USIA television programs offer information wanted by the viewers. We would otherwise not have an audience. No one is forced to watch.

WORLDNET programs are presented in an open format that allows foreign journalists and other participants to ask probing, unrehearsed questions of their choice directly to prominent Americans. They are interactive, offering a two-way exchange.

Information imbalance is a genuine concern for much of the developing world and the U.S. is certainly sympathetic with that concern. However, the interests of developing nations are served not by limiting their access to information and differing viewpoints, but by expanding it and by their developing their capability to participate more fully in the exchange of global information.

The right of unimpeded access to information is clearly recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states (Article 19): "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." The news media of both developing and developed countries have spoken out in favor of freedom of information on numerous occasions; in May, 1981, representatives of the private media of 21 nations, meeting in France, issued the

Talloires Declaration which among other things decries censorship and press restrictions as a violation of every individual's right to be informed.

15. Mr. Zamyatin says: This technology, the newspaper notes, makes it possible to "inundate the developing countries with a torrent of information that suits imperialism, undermines the emerging national telecommunications systems, and will have a negative effect on the development of national culture."

The facts are: Rather than harming the telecommunication systems of developing nations, the U.S. and other developed countries have launched programs to assist Third World nations to develop up-to-date communications technology. U.S. contributions of \$1.4 million have helped support UNESCO's International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC) which is now administering 64 training projects. The United States Technical Training Institute (USTTI) trained 205 students from 55 developing countries in its first year of operation. General advances in communications technology have benefited all nations through lower telephone rates and increasing availability of low-cost transistor radios and televisions, for example. This has aided economic growth in the countries that most need it and by extension contributed to, rather than detract from, the enrichment of their cultures.

16. Mr. Zamyatin says: "In a covering letter from the USSR Foreign Minister to the UN Secretary-General, the main elements of the Soviet position on direct television broadcasting were formulated as follows: "Broadcasts to other states conducted without the clearly expressed consent of those states and broadcasts detrimental to the cause of maintaining international peace and security, constituting interference in states' internal affairs, encroaching on basic human rights, containing propaganda of violence and terror, undermining the foundations of the local civilization and culture, or misinforming the population are deemed to be unlawful and culpable under international law."

The facts are: The U.S. believes that societies prosper when open to the free circulation of ideas and information, with access to the give and take of myriad points of view. The underlying supposition of the Soviet position suggests that societies flourish best when their members are ignorant of the worldwide flow of facts and ideas.

Presumably, Foreign Minister Gromyko's concern would also apply to Radio Moscow. The U.S. has never attempted to stifle the broadcasts of Radio Moscow.

17. Mr. Zamyatin says: American representatives on various UN organs have done everything possible, under the pretext of the "free flow of information," to thwart the elaboration of legal principles for the use of direct broadcasting satellites, and also to block the preparation of an appropriate convention.

The facts are: The U.S. stands ready to work with the United Nations in the consideration of international conventions dealing with the question of direct broadcasting satellites. Our longstanding policy, based on shared values with other open societies, stresses flexibility in planning international communications relations, openness and the free flow of information.

REVISION VII - Completed January 9, 1985

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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62

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132383	MEMO ANTHONY SALVIA TO CHARLES COURTNEY RE COMMENTS	4	1/17/1985	B1

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

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**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

F-SECRET
Office of the Director

P. 92



January 25, 1985

Mr. Leonid M. Zamyatin
Chief, International Information Department
Central Committee, Communist Party of The Soviet Union
Staraya Ploshchad' 4
Moscow, USSR

Dear Mr. Zamyatin:

In recent months Soviet media have levied a number of attacks on U.S. public diplomacy and the U.S. Information Agency, especially on the Voice of America and our new WORLDNET satellite television service. Your article in Literaturnaya Gazeta ["Impasses of Confrontations and Horizons of Cooperation," November 28, 1984] summarizes most of the charges and typifies the underlying mindset. I am prompted to respond at this time to the continuing stream of attacks because in a period when our two governments are engaged in serious exploration of vital issues, such attacks are a disservice to more positive relations.

My hope is to generate a constructive dialogue. To initiate that dialogue I extend two concrete offers. First, I ask that you offer your good offices to facilitate using broadcast media to further mutual understanding. In this regard, I suggest that you arrange for Soviet television to carry an address by one of our top leaders which would be reciprocated on American television by one of your top leaders. There is a precedent for this: Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Nixon made such speeches several years ago with considerable positive effect.

Second, I propose that we carry further the dialogue by having you and other Soviet officials and journalists take part in the WORLDNET program of which you are so critical. Let us jointly plan a one- to two-hour satellite television dialogue on WORLDNET in which Soviet journalists interview senior U.S. officials on issues of mutual concern. At the same time, you should plan with U.S. media a similar program in which American journalists freely and spontaneously question senior Soviet officials. Coming at this important time in our relations, such ventures could help make communication more reasoned and reciprocal.

Incidentally, I am not surprised by your unwarranted criticisms of WORLDNET and of our Agency. I have come to expect it. However, you should understand that our country does not claim, as you do, that opposing ideas "subvert" our system. We recognize instead that diversity of public opinion is one of the great strengths of America. Thus, our society freely permits Soviet spokesmen

to state their views on American television and in print. In this regard, I might note that Soviet journalists and Soviet officials are interviewed on American television literally dozens of times per year. Surely the time has come for greater equality of treatment.

If the United States can confidently tolerate opposing views without fears of "loosening" the system, why then should the Soviet government act so restrictively, even to the point of jamming our broadcasts in direct violation of several international agreements to which the USSR is a signatory? Why not allow greater independent public inquiry about your government's decisions and policies? Why should American officials, in turn, not be permitted to state their views on Soviet television and in the Soviet media? Our society has never walked away from a fair challenge, and we look forward to engaging in a peaceful contest of ideas with the USSR.

Your article is evidence of the need for this reasoned and open dialogue. Charges of "piracy of the air," "radio warfare," "subversive purpose," and "television propaganda aggression" only exacerbate the "impasses" and "confrontations" to which you allude and delay our search for "horizons of cooperation." Coming at this time, when the leaders of our two countries are seeking new means for considering meaningful arms reduction efforts and ways to stabilize relations, your attacks are most unfortunate. Surely, everyone concerned about U.S.-Soviet relations has a right to expect greater restraint and accuracy.

Although I will not attempt in this letter to deal with the many errors and distortions in your article, I would like to clarify the role and purpose of the U.S. Information Agency, particularly the Voice of America and WORLDNET.

- USIA is not in the business of misrepresenting Soviet foreign policy, as you allege. Its primary purpose is to present America to the rest of the world and to explain U.S. foreign and domestic policies to people around the world. In so doing, we present the news, good and bad.
- The Voice of America is a distinguished source of news and information about the United States -- our policies, society, culture, and values. By U.S. law, VOA is required to present "accurate, objective, and comprehensive" information, to be truthful, and to be "seen as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news." Over 100 million people throughout the world listen to VOA each week, all voluntarily, many of them at risk to their safety.
- In modernizing and improving our communication facilities and seeking a wider audience, our purpose is to allow a greater proportion of the world's population to know what is going on in the world and be better able to reach independent judgments on these events.
- WORLDNET is a modern television system linking Washington via satellite with U.S. embassies, information centers, and a number of TV studios throughout the world. WORLDNET is not forced on receiving nations.

Journalists in the participating nations freely choose the programming that they wish to broadcast or write about or not use at all.

- WORLDNET enables foreign journalists to ask probing, unrehearsed questions instantaneously, via satellite, directly to high-level American officials. Your representatives from TASS, Pravda and other Soviet publications are welcome at official U.S. press conferences. They are welcome, too, as observers in our WORLDNET studio.

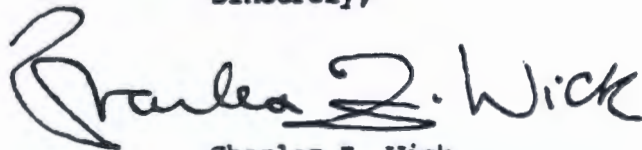
Permitting a free flow of information is in the best interests of both our societies and a necessary response to the times. The irreversible revolution in communications, enabling prompt and comprehensive dissemination of news, will make it increasingly harder to limit peoples' access to information.

All nations should ultimately welcome this: misunderstanding and ignorance only serve to exacerbate tensions in the conduct of international relations. Our nations need to know more about each other; we Americans are firmly committed to providing the peoples of the Soviet Union -- and the world community -- with an accurate picture of the United States. Similarly, we hope to broaden our nation's understanding of the USSR.

I hope that you will enable Soviet journalists and television commentators to participate actively, and very soon, in WORLDNET interviews of U.S. leaders to be broadcast in the USSR. In turn, American journalists should have an equal opportunity to interview your leaders for broadcast in the USA. This direct dialogue would broaden the "horizons of cooperation" that you did not discuss in your article, but that you, too, must want to see attained.

I look forward to your response to my offers that we exchange televised interviews by top U.S. and Soviet leaders and that Soviet journalists and officials participate in a WORLDNET dialogue with senior U.S. officials on issues of mutual concern.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Charles Z. Wick". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Charles" and last name "Wick" clearly legible, and "Z." as a middle initial.

Charles Z. Wick
Director

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 7, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK

SUBJECT: U.S.-USSR Exchanges Agreement: Second Round
Instructions

State has submitted a detailed memorandum outlining recommended negotiating instructions for the second round of negotiations on a U.S.-USSR Exchanges Agreement in Cultural, Educational, Scientific, Technical and Other Fields (TAB A).

The State memorandum lists twelve areas in which there is still disagreement. Most of these, in my judgment, can be resolved to our satisfaction when and if the Soviets decide that they want to conclude the agreement. We are already close to agreement on the "safety" issue, since the Soviets appear willing to accept language which does not imply that we will return defectors.

Two issues are likely to remain particularly difficult, however: (1) The provision for a guaranteed number of television appearances; and (2) The provision for cultural information centers in both countries. The former is very important to us, and we should consider a reasonable form of guaranteed access to Soviet television a sine qua non for an agreement. The provision for cultural centers, however, is almost certainly not acceptable to the Soviets -- which we have known all along, but are keeping in our draft as potential trading material in the end game. If the other issues can be resolved, we would hope to reach a compromise which would involve acceptable assurances regarding access to television in return for dropping the proposal for cultural centers. Accordingly, State recommends continuing to push for cultural centers during the second round.

I believe that the suggested negotiating approach is sound and therefore recommend that it be approved.

Walter Raymond and Donald Fortier concur.

Recommendation:

That you approve transmittal of the Kimmitt-Platt Memorandum at Tab I.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Attachments:

Tab I Kimmitt-Platt Memorandum

Tab A US-USSR Exchanges Agreement

~~SECRET~~

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NLRR M326/2 #132384

BY RW NARA DATE 6/8/18

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132385	MEMO ROBERT KIMMITT TO NICHOLAS PLATT RE AGREEMENT	1	ND	B1

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TO MCFARLANE FROM PLATT, N

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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

24 2/28/12

KEYWORDS: USSR

SUBJECT: INSTRUCTIONS FOR 2ND ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS ON US - USSR EXCHANGES
AGREEMENT IN CULTURAL / EDUCATIONAL / SCIENTIFIC / TECHNICAL & OTHER
FIELDS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 09 MAR 85 STATUS S FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MATLOCK

COMMENTS

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132386	MEMO NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE INSTRUCTIONS	5	3/6/1985	B1

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132387 PAPER		3	ND	B1
	RE TAB A: THE GENERAL AGREEMENT			

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132388 PAPER		3	ND	B1
	RE TAB B: ARTICLE I			

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