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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 JANUARY 1983-JUNE 1983]

**FOIA**

M430

**Box Number** 7

LAMB,  
CHRISTOPHER

68

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of	Doc Date	Restrictions
115160	SPECIAL ANALYSIS	PAGE 9 OF PUBLICATION  <i>P 7/3/2000 F95-041/2 #65; PAR M430/1 #115160 3/31/2015</i>	1	1/20/1983	B1 B3
115161	MEMO	RAYMOND TO CLARK RE ALLOCATION OF SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS FOR PROJECT DEMOCRACY  <i>R 5/10/2013 M430/2</i>	1	1/6/1983	B1 P5
115162	MEMO	SAME AS ITEM #2 (DIFFERENT MARKINGS)  <i>R 5/10/2013 M430/2</i>	1	1/6/1983	B1 P5
115163	MEMO	RAYMOND TO CLARK RE WEEKLY REPORT (PARTIAL)  <i>R 8/27/1999 NLSF95-041/2 #66</i>	1	1/21/1983	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 1/83-6/83] OA 91162

Date: January 27, 1998

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. special analysis	page 9 of publication (1) <i>P 7/3/00 NLSF 95-041/2 #65</i>	1/20/83	P1, F3
2. memo [0148]	Raymond to William Clark, re Allocation of supplemental funds for Project Democracy (1)	1/6/83	P1, P5
3. memo [0148]	Same as item #2 (different markings) (1)	1/6/83	P1, P5
<del>4. memo</del>	<del>Raymond to Clark, re weekly report (partial) (1)</del> <i>R 2/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #66</i>	<del>1/21/83</del>	<del>P1</del>

### 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].



Walt Raymond

Memo to  
Clark

1/13/82

Re the \$2 million which suddenly dropped in DOL's (ILABs) lap (see attached 12/18/82 and 12/20/82 Congressional Records):

1. Mike Boggs (Irving Brown's Deputy) and I are designated to QUICKLY arrange a contract to make the money available for obligation
2. We are moving on a fast track - I have the full cooperation of DOL's Admin (Al Zuck) people.
3. Attached is the statement of what AFL-CIO intends to do with the money (seven projects) and the amount of money for each project (totals \$2 million). There will be no overhead costs or other skin offs by either DOL or AFL-CIO or the AFL-CIO Institutes -

Before DOL signs this, Robert and I (and I am sure Seig Donovan too) would like to have reassurance (clearance) that what is intended to be done is OK with you-all and the intelligence people. As far as AFL-CIO is concerned, they think the attached write-up ~~is~~ need not be classified. The write-up (per Hatch/Pillsbury guidance) is directly consistent with what Hatch said on the Senate floor 12/18/82.

Please call me and give us the benefit of your advice. The time-table laid down for us by Pillsbury/Hatch gives us a c.o.b. tomorrow (Friday) deadline for preparing the contract.

Many thanks for your help!

Jim Taylor

523-6061



January 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: Dr. W. Scott Thompson  
Associate Director (Programs)

FROM: Daniel C. Arnold

SUBJECT: Private Sector Participation in the Democracy and Public  
Diplomacy Program

Recommendation for early implementation of the proposals for private sector participation in the Democracy and Public Diplomacy Program.

Assuming that private sector participation in this program includes private sector funding, it will be necessary to constitute a legal administrative vehicle as a basis for such solicitation. To ensure that the planning for private sector participation is coordinated with the plans for government funding and program implementation, it will be necessary to take early action to develop an entity or organization that can be legally incorporated. This provides the basis to petition the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for a determination that funds contributed to said organization will not be subject to federal income tax. Without a tax free ruling from the IRS, it is not realistic to expect any significant contributions from Foundations, Corporations, and/or individuals. Such a ruling or determination normally takes at least six months (most often longer) to obtain.

Ambassador G.B. Helman recommended in his 22 November 1982 memorandum that a core group of prominent industrialists, philanthropists be formed to establish a "Fund for Democracy." He additionally proposed that the core group develop a prospectus which would describe the purpose of the Fund and describe the type of projects that would be undertaken by the private sector in support of the broader program.

Before going outside or attempting to constitute a core group of prominent citizens I suggest that certain planning actions be taken in-house.

Specifically, I recommend that several officers he asked to prepare a package or a series of proposals on private sector participation that can be reviewed and approved for implementation. I would envisage that this planning team would, as a minimum, prepare:

(a) a proposed list of prominent citizens who could be asked to constitute a core group or advisory body to the proposed Fund for Democracy.

(b) a proposed statement of principles and objectives for the Fund for Democracy. The latter would presumably be used as the basis for subsequent incorporation of the Fund as a legal entity.

The recently prepared Congressional Research Service compilation of Fortune 500 CEOs with their addresses and phone numbers is a useful place to begin general solicitation. I have left a copy of this document in your office.

The in-house planning team should develop a package proposal which, when approved, could be readily implemented and effectively involve the private sector in a realistic and achievable program. If such planning is left to a core group of prominent citizens I am doubtful that anything can be accomplished during the present Administration. Furthermore, I believe that it would be premature to suggest a White House conference or Presidential address without additional serious in-house planning.

Project Funds (Private Source)

1. Labedz-lasky (European Political Foundation)
2. Barnett and Company
3. Solidarity
4. Free Press sinking fund
5. US-based public international organizations (Freedom House, others)
6. Latin American Institute (1/3)
7. Institute of USSR
8. Magazine: Democracy
9. Support to Commission for the Rule of Law
10. Funding of APF/Project Democracy activity
11. Election Institute

AGENDA  
CONFERENCE ON  
"NEW DIRECTIONS IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY"

Thursday, February 10, 1983

8:30 a.m. Registration

9:00 Welcoming Remarks: David M. Abshire, CSIS  
Charles Z. Wick, USIA

9:15 Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger

10:00 PANEL I The Democratic Revolution: The Growth  
of Democracy and the Need for  
Political Action

Chair: Allen Weinstein  
CSIS

Paper: Ada Bozeman  
Sarah Lawrence College

Panel: Michael Novak  
AEI

Alejandro Vegh-Villegas  
Ambassador of Uruguay

Henri Simonet  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brussels

12:00 p.m. LUNCHEON

Introduction by Gilbert A. Robinson  
Monroe Room of the Crystal Ballroom

Internal Dynamics of the Soviet Union:  
Implications for New Directions in  
U.S. Foreign Policy

David M. Abshire



2:00	PANEL II	<u>Building Global Security</u>
	Chair:	Lawrence Martin
	Panel:	Pierre Morel
		R. James Woolsey Shea and Gardner
		Seizaburo Sato University of Tokyo
4:00	PANEL III:	<u>The Future of Arms Control</u>
	Chair:	Michael Moodie CSIS
	Paper:	Robert Pfaltzgraff Fletcher School
		Johan Holst
		Kenichi Ito Aoyama Gakiun University
		Barry Blechman CSIS
6:30	Cocktails	International Ballroom East
7:00	Dinner	Introduction by Charles Z. Wick
		<u>"Politics and Foreign Policy"</u> Horace Busby

Friday, February 11, 1983

9:15 a.m. PANEL IV: Global Economic Security

Chair: Nathaniel Samuels  
Lehman Bros. Kuhn Loeb Inc.

Paper: Donne Olvey  
U.S. Military Academy

Panel: Han Bin Lee  
Woodrow Wilson Center

Maj. Alphonse Kongolo  
Ministry of Economics and Finance  
Central African Republic

11:15 PANEL V: Technological Change and the  
Telecommunications Revolution

Chair: Leonard Marks  
Cohn and Marks

Paper: Harry Freedman  
American Express

Panel: Pierre Aigrain  
Thompson-Brandt, Paris

HRH Abdullah Bin Faisal  
Saudi Arabia

1:00 p.m. LUNCHEON International Ballroom West

Introduction by David Abshire

Presentation by Norman Bailey

2:30 p.m. PANEL VI: Public Opinion, Perceptions, and  
International Affairs

Chair: Edwin Fuelner  
Heritage Foundation

Paper: Gerald Hursh-Cesar  
USIA

Panel: Hector Wynter  
The Gleamer  
  
Brian Talboys  
New Zealand  
  
Yasuo Takeyama

4:00 p.m. SUMMARY SESSION

Commentators: Robert West  
The Fletcher School  
  
Amos A. Jordan  
CSIS

5:00 p.m. RECEPTION Department of State, 8th Floor

All conference sessions will be held in the Crystal Ballroom of the Washington Hilton.



**International  
Communication  
Agency**

United States of America

Washington, D. C. 20547



February 14, 1983

*Walt*  
Dear Mr. ~~Raymond~~:

You will recall from our meeting on January 28th with Director Charles Wick and Frank Barnett that we agreed before adjourning to meet again to continue the discussion. At that time it was decided that our next meeting would take place at 9:15 a.m. on February 23rd at the same location (Room 600, 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW). The date has now been changed to February 24th at the same time and place.

It would be appreciated if you could confirm your participation by calling my office (485-7348).

We look forward to seeing you on February 24.

Best regards,

Robert R. Reilly  
Director  
Office of Private  
Sector Programs

Mr. Walt Raymond  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

CC - to W

~~Top Secret~~

13526  
E.O. 12958  
As Amended  
Sec. 3.5c

WESTERN EUROPE - US: Visit of EDU Delegation

The European Democratic Union delegation that arrives in Washington on Monday represents a group of conservative West European political parties that is trying to establish itself as a counterweight to the Socialist International.

Comment: The EDU, which was organized in 1977, provides an international forum for the French Gaullists, British Tories, West German Christian Democrats, and other conservative parties. Most affiliated parties believe membership gives them publicity and prestige that will improve their political prospects. The Italian and Benelux Christian Democrats participate only as observers, however, because they apparently fear formal association with the more rightist members would make them vulnerable to political attack.

The EDU supports the maintenance of NATO, individualism, and free market economies. At its annual conference last year, the union called for a restoration of the military balance in Europe, endorsed the INF and strategic arms negotiations in Geneva, and favored international sanctions against states that abet terrorism. Partly because the members are reluctant to coordinate policies within the organization, however, the Union so far has failed to exert noticeable influence on the policies of West European governments.

Union President Mock, who also is Chairman of the Austrian People's Party, probably will discuss the group's plans for this summer to organize an international democratic union. The new group would link the EDU with the newly formed Pacific Democratic Union--comprising right-of-center parties from Japan, Australia, and New Zealand--and a prospective North American democratic union.

The European group hopes the proposed worldwide body would become a counterweight to the Socialist International on global and North-South issues. An international democratic union probably would be less influential than the Socialist International, however, because it would have far fewer Third World affiliates.

[Redacted]

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLRR M430/1 #11516D

~~Top Secret~~

[Redacted]

20 January 1983

BY RW NARA DATE 3/31/15



Leopold Labedz  
Melvin J. Lasky

Outline for a "Vigorous Information Program"  
(to be launched immediately on the basis of  
transatlantic private-sector funding for the  
"European Committees" for the free world)

I -- Why?

1. The new administration of President Reagan has recognized that the United States and its West-European NATO allies needs new strength to cope with the present dangers of an increasingly powerful Soviet Empire. Major steps are already being taken in the field of military armaments, although these are being haltingly delayed on the transatlantic front. Serious movements of "peace-fighters", embracing an alarming amalgam of pacifists, neutralists, and anti-Americanism, have suddenly mushroomed. Their demonstrations, meetings, and general propaganda have already thrown a shadow over the public will and determination of many of America's European partners.

2. This has led to a second recognition of what kind of new strength will be needed to keep the free world free and to deter any wilful and adventurous Kremlin leadership from obvious temptations. Military strength is important -- but it is clearly not enough, especially when psychological and political factors in the whole NATO arc from Oslo to Athens prevent that strength from getting into place. Ideas are important too, especially if those ideas are laced with misunderstandings, misperceptions, and (last but not least) malicious manipulations on the part of shrewd, experienced, and very resourceful propagandists in the far Left camp. The effective campaign against the so-called "neutron bomb" has proved to be an alarm signal. If the struggle for Western public opinion, now being waged so one-sidedly (from the other side), doesn't get a vigorous infusion of libertarian and anti-Communist ideas -- in order to clarify, especially now after the Polish tragedy, the real meaning of totalitarian Soviet rule -- then, as serious observers come more and more to believe, all kinds of dire and unprecedented consequences can follow, from the breaking of morale to the breaking of alliances. American can be isolated from its traditional European friends and allies; free Europe can fall under the influence of a weak-minded and weak-spirited desperation to "accomodate" itself to the Soviet Union.

3. U.S. national security, therefore, depends in the next years not merely on what the American government does for its own cause in the way of armaments and propaganda. It also depends in good measure on what its still loyal friends in Europe can do in their own cause (and, ultimately, to our mutual transatlantic benefit) to counter-attack the well-financed, well-organized, and cunningly conceived campaign to undermine the forces of the free world. The battle -- on the relatively peaceful, if agitated,



front of ideas -- must be joined, if the present strength of the West is to survive.

4. In my own view (and as an American in Europe I have observed this scene for 35 years), the intellectual disorientation has never been deeper and more widespread in the whole of the post-War period. Secretary of State Haig sensed this most poignantly in his recent visit to West-Berlin (and this "outpost of freedom" was only in the recent past, the most pro-American and anti-Communist of European capitals!). But anti-Communism has been given a "bad reputation", has been made into a "dirty word". The cause of freedom is either cynically pooh-pooed or held to be endangered by . . . the United States!

5. Can this pernicious and dangerous state of affairs -- primarily, a "state of mind" which is having its debilitating effect on policies and institutions -- be checked and reversed? It can, and must. In part, the new directions and initiatives taken by the U.S. and at least a few responsive West European governments can play a significant role. I know that in Britain a group around Lord Thomas (the historian Hugh Thomas) is reviewing, on behalf of Prime Minister Thatcher's government, the rather lackadaisical information programs coming out of London. In my opinion President Reagan's reaction was quite right on being told of the new "Project Truth": namely, that this kind of armoury of ideas, counter-argument, and debate could be (as he put it) "the most powerful weapon of them all...."

6. But Governments, at home and abroad, can have only a limited impact and role. It is only relevant to point out what non-Governmental forces in the free world can do in order to contribute to winning this war of ideas. It is my serious and most considered judgment -- to put the point at its bluntest -- that with a quickly-raised fund of a million dollars an immediate beginning can be made in Europe towards a "Vigorous Information Program". I am persuaded that within the year of 1982 significant steps forward can be made to check the Soviet campaign, upset the neutralist forces, hold up the tide of pacifism and defeatism, and indeed to restore the moral dignity and the libertarian urgency of democratic anti-communist ideas.

## II -- How?

1. There already is, in London, an American-European nucleus in being. Encouraged by the inauguration of President Reagan, and the return of the idea of a "powerful America" dedicated to leadership of the free world against Soviet expansionism, a whole host of West European personalities -- writers and editors, novelists and poets, professor and TV-media broadcasters -- banded together in a European Committee. The distinguished French philosopher and journalist, Raymond Aron, is the chairman. Professor Leo Labedz, the vigorous editor of Survey magazine (the world's best journal of critical Soviet studies), is the director. Such well-known figures as Enzo Bettiza of the Italian newspaper Il



Giornale, Joachim Fest (a publisher of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung), the leading Polish dissident, Professor Leszek Kolakowski (of Oxford and Chicago Universities), the Russian dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, the Yugoslav Milovan Djilas, the British writer Arthur Koestler -- all rallied. Although there is no fixed legal form or organizational entity as yet, the opening activities were supported by the existing staff of Survey and Encounter magazines. Both of these journals are non-profit organizations, mainly supported by tax-free grants from US foundations. Both of these are backed up by UK-registered "educational trusts," and thus in a position to receive grants, subventions, and other tax-free contributions from the USA directly, or, if necessary through Mr. Leo Cherne's Freedom House in New York (which does the usual IRS formalities). Both of these have prominent Americans among their boards of trustees as policy (and financial) overseers. The funding of the Vigorous Information Program can easily, in its first stage be administered through these bodies in place.

2. The first major and urgent task would be the establishment in London of a "Communications Centre." In the beginning it would be necessarily modest -- an office or two, a few editors, a secretary and an assistant to handle the Xerox machine, the word-processor, and the addressograph. It would begin immediately with the following activities:

(1) The "European Exchange" Service. This would be an information and feature-article service going out to a thousand editors, broadcasters, parliamentarians, and other "elite" members of the Western public-opinion-forming group. Needless to say, the pieces which are to go out will be sharp, hard-hitting, polemical as well as important documents of information which are often seen in one country but not in another, and so linking a Continent-wide network of idea-carriers. Thus, several manifestoes of Solidarity smuggled out from the Polish underground, were seen in London but not in Paris, Bonn or Copenhagen. These would be immediately dispatched (and doubtless widely reprinted, especially if translations into a half-a-dozen European languages were prepared in advance.) This service would be free-of-charge. Its costs would be -- until its further "imaginative" expansion in 1983 -- essentially that of the small staff, the machines, the postage. Extra costs would come when special EurEx articles are written exclusively for the European Exchange service on themes which the press are neglecting. Some of the best by-lines in Europe and America would be printed (and reprinted) here. Given the experience of the past (we once established such a "forum service" in the general public-opinion atmosphere of the Western communities.



(2) Magazines. In the past (especially in the 1950s) a network of magazines, run by like-minded editors and publishers -- anti-Communist, pro-European, pro-American -- played a very significant role in the shaping of cultural, intellectual, and ideological tendencies in Western Europe. A few of these still exist and can provide a new nucleus. I refer to Encounter and Survey in London, Raymond Aron's Commentaire, the recently revived Der Monat in Western Germany and Tempo Presente in Italy. Exchanges and contacts among them need to be encouraged by travel and visits. Translations of important and powerful articles need to be arranged. New journals have to be assisted, advised, and given small grants to help them establish themselves. Up till now it has been quite a hopeless uphill struggle. I know of such valuable and potentially influential magazines in half-a-dozen countries: in Scandinavia, in the Mediterranean area. Whether in Stockholm and Oslo, or Athens and Madrid, these centres of ideas, attitudes, opinions have to be brought into a general sense of European-American solidarity. They are all private publishing enterprises, and thus especially credible forces in the great debate ahead. In the beginnings the small grants would, alas, only amount to life-rafts; in the years to come they must be more substantially helped; and some may even become self-sustaining.

(3). Pamphlets. A steady flow of analytical and background material must emanate from the Communications Centre in London. Some of this will be originated from the above-mentioned reviews and magazines. Others can be picked up from such hard-hitting periodicals as Norman Podhoretz's Commentary and William Buckley's National Review. Very often a French manifesto is more effective in Germany than an Anglo-American one; good translations are important here as an inter-cultural means of impact. RFE and RL in Munich used to initiate, under the guidance of George Urban, indispensable broadcast texts which in their fully printed length had a long and persuasive life as Encounter pamphlets (especially John Strachey, Raymond Aron, Richard Lowenthal, Ignazio Silone). Cooperation should be sought here.

(4) Conferences and Seminars. So many of these international gatherings go on that it may seem superfluous to add those of our own. We will not -- unless they are necessary. Most of the existing conferences are so rich "blah-blah"; they are mostly self-serving; little comes out of them. They neither rally spirits and give a new personal sense of confidence; or launch texts of analysis which can be printed and reprinted. A number of sharply focused conferences and seminars should be launched in 1983 under Committee auspices and organized by the Communications Centre.

(5) Special Assignments. So often in the course of the year there are events, even great "stories", which are only partially covered by the world press: e.g. Afghanistan, the Soviet submarine on the Swedish shore, etc. We know the news



details, the "what-happened" aspect. But the deeper meanings which would have deeper impact is often ignored. We know the sensational outlines of the "whisky-class" Red Navy U-boat -- but how did it effect the intellectual opinion in Scandinavia? How lasting was the effect on the "new realists" of Swedish neutrality? Did the true meaning of Soviet military and naval power in the Baltic, their so-called "Sea of Peace" come home in meaningfully long terms to Scandinavian public-opinion makers? To get the answer to these questions, and to publish and broadcast the conclusions throughout Europe and the West, one would need to send a special correspondent to get this more significant story than we usually get. The same goes for Afghanistan, widely considered in European, neutralistic press circles, as not a really ideologically "chic" subject. Other issues which inflame European public opinion and form a focus for anti-American propaganda would also come in for treatment here -- El Salvador, Nicaragua, Angola, the Cuban boat-people, the Viet Nam refugees, Cambodia, etc. In the beginning we must reckon with a dozen special assignments, involving an editorial fee and full expenses for a senior correspondent or authoritative journalist to bring back the important results of a serious investigation. "Investigative reporting", yes; but responsibly done, and for once done on behalf of freedom causes.

### III — Conclusion

I. This will, I think (and I hope), be enough to be getting on with. We are talking here about "pump-priming" money, funds to seed a program which over the next three years should expand in order to fulfill the promise I have suggested: a sea-change in the ideological weather, a West wind to counter the hard-blowing East wind in European and transatlantic affairs. Ultimately (by which I mean 1983) there ought to be an important Institute and/or Foundation in place to guarantee that private-sector funds are not solicited by emergency telephone calls to public-spirited Americans who see the looming agonies of the present danger. The "Fund for Freedom Foundation" needs to be solidly established. But for now, those half-dozen long-distance telephone calls to obtain a quick emergency subvention for the Vigorous Information Program must be on the agenda for tomorrow morning. It will, I am sure, in the long run justify President Reagan's hope that our devotion to truth, the open society, and rational debate on behalf of liberty -- that the energetic and enthusiastic defense of these ideals against their enemies -- will, indeed, prove to be "the most powerful weapon of them all!..."

2. The "Communications Centre" in London awaits to be established and made operational. To echo the words of another transatlantic call from one pressed ally to another, namely Churchill's famous cry: "Give us the tools and we will do the job..."

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Here -

OK set up file

FOUNDATIONS

- 1) Put all in .
- 2) Put cc of letters in [unclear]  
(NA)
- 3) Put cc of letter in [unclear] /  
[unclear]

WZ

1. Foundation looking leftward -
2. Need to get them committed -
3. Care to Fund of Democracy
4. Worthy organizations to fund.

5.

O'Donnell

Pugh

Kenner Bizer

Oliver

Seaside

JR

Grace





**Battelle**

Seminars and Studies Program

4000 N.E. 41st Street

P.O. Box C-5395

Seattle, Washington 98105

W. Raymond

---

JAMES R. HUNTLEY

2/4/83

Walt,

Here is the list of recipients of the  
March 22 meeting invitations and the  
enclosures.

Also, another report of the June memo  
on the President's Democracy Project,  
for information and as promised.

*JRH*



1/27/83

27 January 1983



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

The Battelle Memorial Institute has undertaken a Survey of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) concerned with the study or improvement of relations between the peoples and governments of the developed democracies. (In shorthand terms, we define these as the OECD and NATO countries--Western Europe, Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.)

The purpose of the Survey is to inventory private, voluntary, non-governmental bodies which serve these broad purposes; to analyze their work overall; to evaluate the future need for activity in this field; and to make recommendations to the NGOs (private voluntary associations) themselves, to foundations in the OECD countries, to governments and intergovernmental organizations, and to other interested bodies which could help insure the continuity and effectiveness of this kind of work.

The Survey has been funded 75% by Battelle, as a public service; the remainder of the costs were paid by U.S.I.A. and NATO. Battelle's Chairman, Dr. Sherwood L. Fawcett, is particularly concerned that the findings be made available to other foundations with international concerns.

Sir George Haynes, once chairman of the International Conference of Social Work, observed that "voluntary activity is the capillary system of a healthy society." Battelle believes this to be profoundly true. We believe, also, that Western societies today form an interdependent community of purpose and action in virtually every sphere of life. If voluntarism and independent initiative do not grow and thrive at the level of this vital community--strung from Japan and Canberra across North America to Copenhagen, Vienna, and Athens--then our collective and individual futures could be correspondingly bleaker. That, at least, is a premise of our survey.

We have surveyed around 200 private bodies, by means of questionnaires and personal interviews. A Directory of NGOs is nearing completion, as is an analytical study based on the Survey. Eventually copies of the Directory will be made available to interested parties in the western world.

The full analytical report is destined primarily for foundations, governments, and major corporations with international interests. It is with respect to this latter document that we would especially appreciate your help.

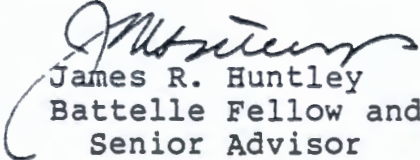
Could you join me on Tuesday, 22 March 1983, to discuss a Draft of the Survey? The Twentieth Century Fund has kindly offered to host a gathering at its New York city offices (41 East 70th Street) from 9:30 AM through lunch. About two weeks in advance of that meeting we propose to send you a draft of the Survey Report; your comments and criticisms will be elicited at the meeting.

The names of others who have been invited are enclosed, together with a full description of the Survey. Your participation will greatly help to insure that the final Report will be of maximum value to foundations, governments, and the non-governmental bodies themselves.

If you cannot attend personally, we would be most pleased to have your representative with us.

With thanks in advance.

Yours sincerely,

  
James R. Huntley  
Battelle Fellow and  
Senior Advisor

cc: Murray Rossant, Twentieth Century Fund

Enclosures: List of Invitees to Meeting  
"A Survey of Non-Governmental Organizations  
concerned with the Common Affairs of the  
Developed Democracies"  
Biographical Note, J. R. Huntley

JRH/mc



Twentieth Century Fund Meeting 3/22/83  
to discuss NGOs and The Democracies

Invitees

Richard Bradley  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
Room 5600  
New York, NY 10112

Dr. John Corbally, President  
The John D. and Catherine T.  
MacArthur Foundation  
140 South Dearborn Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60603

Mr. George Franklin  
1220 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10028

John C. Keaveney, Manager  
Corporate Responsibility  
The Xerox Foundation  
Xerox Corporation  
Stamford, CT 06904

Mr. Frank E. Loy, President  
German Marshall Fund of the  
United States  
11 Dupont Circle NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Margaret E. Mahoney, President  
The Commonwealth Fund  
One East 75th Street  
New York, NY 10021

David Mathews, President  
Charles F.  
Kettering Foundation  
5335 Far Hills Avenue  
Suite 300  
Dayton, OH 45429

Ms. Sheila McLean  
c/o The Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
1290 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10104

R. Daniel McMichael  
Scaife Foundation, Inc.  
PO Box 268  
Pittsburgh, PA 15230

Murray Rossant, Director  
Twentieth Century Fund  
New York, NY 10021

William S. Moody  
Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
1290 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10104

Ms. Martha Muse  
The Tinker Foundation Incorporated  
645 Madison Avenue  
New York, NY 10022

Richard Petree  
US-Japan Foundation  
One Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10020

Albert Rees, President  
The Alfred P.  
Sloan Foundation  
630 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10111

Donald S. Rickerd, President  
The William H. Donner  
Foundation, Inc.  
630 Fifth Avenue  
Room 2452  
New York, NY 10111

Mr. Marshall A. Robinson, President  
Russell Sage Foundation  
~~633 Third Avenue 112 East 64th~~  
New York, NY ~~10017~~ 10021

Dr. Enid Schoettle  
International Affairs  
The Ford Foundation  
320 East 43rd Street  
New York, NY 10017

Stephen Stamas  
Vice President  
Exxon Corporation  
46th Floor  
1251 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10020

Mr. John Webster  
IBM Public Affairs  
Suite 1200  
1801 K Street NW  
Washington, DC 20006

6/82

From Who's Who in America  
1982-83

HUNTLEY, JAMES ROBERT, internat. affairs scholar and cons.: b. Tacoma, Wash., July 27, 1923; s. Wells and Laura H.; B.A. magna cum laude in Econ., Sociology, U. Wash., 1948, postgrad. sociology and internat. relations (Carnegie fellow), 1948, 51; M.A. in Internat. Relations, Harvard U., 1956; m. Colleen Grounds Smith, May 27, 1967; children by previous marriage—Mark, David, Virginia, Jean. Cons., Wash. Parks Recreation Commn., Olympia, 1949-51; exchange of persons officer U.S. Fgn. Service, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Germany, 1952-54, dir. cultural center USIA, Hof/Saale, Germany, 1954-55, USIA postgrad. scholar Harvard U., 1955-56, asst. to Pres.'s coordinator for Hungarian relief, Washington, 1956, European regional affairs officer USIA, Washington, 1956-58, dep. pub. affairs officer U.S. Mission to European Communities, Brussels, 1958-60; mem. U.S. Delegation to Atlantic Congress, London, 1959; sec. organizing com. Atlantic Inst., Brussels and Milan, Italy, 1960, exec. sec. and co-founder Atlantic Inst., Paris, 1960-63, dir. N. Am. Office, Washington, 1963-65; founder, sec. Com. Atlantic Studies, 1963-65; sec. edn. com. NATO Parliamentarians Conf., Brussels, 1960-64; program asso. internat. affairs div. Ford Found., N.Y.C., 1965-67; sec. gen. Council Atlantic Colls., London, 1967-68; ind. writer, cons. lectr., internat. affairs, Guildford, Eng., 1968-74; founder, sec. Assn. Mid-Atlantic Clubs, 1970-74; founder, sec. gen. Standing Conf. Atlantic Orgns., 1972-74; research fellow internat. affairs-Battelle Meml. Inst., Seattle, 1974—; European corr., environ. affairs Saturday Rev./World, 1972-74, Corrs. World Wide, London, 1970-74; European corr. Non-Profit Report, 1970-74, Bd. dirs. Internat. Standing Conf. Philanthropy, 1969-74, Fed. Union, Inc., Seattle Com. Fgn. Relations, 1975-78, World Affairs Council of Seattle; founder, co-chmn. Coms. for a Community of Democracies, 1979—, Clubs Rainier (Seattle); DACOR (Washington). Author: (with W.R. Burgess) Europe and America—The Next Ten Years, 1970; The NATO Story, 1965; Man's Environment and the Atlantic Alliance, 1972; Uniting the Democracies, 1980. Contrb. articles to prof. journs. Home: Waterwood Route 1 Box 505-A Port Ludlow WA 98365 Office: Battelle Seminars and Studies Program 4000 NE 41st St Seattle WA 98105.



PROJECT DEMOCRACY  
PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Situation and Challenge

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

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

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

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

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

#### Breakdown of Tasks to Implement the Program

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

#### Themes

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



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

#### Target Groups and Areas

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

#### Instruments - NGOs

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

- First Priority:
- American Political Foundation (political action)
  - Atlantic Institute (world role: study and practice of democracy)
  - New regional "Institutes for the Study of Democracy) cf. Secretary Haig's December 1981 speech to OAS); research and training

New groups (such as CAPA) for young leader seminars

Standing Conference of Atlantic Organizations (coordination)

Atlantic Treaty Association (expanded to OECD nations, revitalized)

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

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

Second Priority:

Trilateral Commission (elite cooperation, consensus on democracy)

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

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

ConWest (education of young leaders)

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

New coalition of institutes of foreign affairs (pool research)

New coalition of university institutes specializing in development and democratic institutions

Instruments - Funding

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

U.S. defense contractors (two organizations exist)

European and Japanese foundations (some informal coordination exists)



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

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

### Management

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

### Scenario - NEXT STEPS

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

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



TASKS

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

APPENDIX B

Suggestions for White House Meeting:

Chairmen and Presidents  
of:

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

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



ABROAD AT HOME

The Giftie Gie Us

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, Jan. 2—Every once in a while Americans are lucky enough to have a social commentator with the gift Robert Burns wished for: the ability to make us see ourselves as others see us. Humor is what breaks down our resistance. Will Rogers mixed critical barbs at the inanities of the 1920's and 1930's with his cowboy jokes. We have "Doonesbury."

Or did have. Garry Trudeau, who draws the comic strip, has just closed down for what he says will be a 20-month breather. It has had a huge audience in some 700 newspapers, and a lot of us are going to have withdrawal symptoms. For Mr. Trudeau has supplied some of the sharpest insights into the follies of contemporary America.

It is a surprising notion: a comic strip that gets underneath the skin of a culture. But that is what "Doonesbury" has been doing for the last dozen years. It has been showing us ourselves, caught up in our peculiarities—the causes, the class attitudes, the dedication, the self-deception.

The women's movement, for example. Ironic Caucus, years on in life, was determined to get into law school. We cheered when the University of California at Berkeley admitted her. But feminism has also had some gentle irony directed at it. There was the time when a teacher at Jodie's nursery school went off to have a baby. One day a little girl in the school took a telephone call from the hospital, turned to the other children and said "It's a woman! A baby woman!"

Ms. Caucus had a baby herself just before the strip was suspended, and there again was Garry Trudeau's affectionate rallery. She and her husband go to a class in contemporary childbirth techniques, and she has the baby prematurely right there. After talking about the wonderful birthing experience, the baby thinks: "I sure hope I'm not related to all these people."

Felicitas distinguishes "Doonesbury" from other comic strips. Mr. Trudeau does not conceal his views. The very last strip this week shows the White House, with words evidently from President Reagan and Counselor Ed Meese: "F.H. Ed, what's up?"

"Record unemployment, staggering deficits and the renewal of an insane arms race, sir."

"Great! Stay the course!"

It is, until now, in a way to take the words out of their settings. They are less funny, funnier in the context.

Mr. Trudeau's drawings. But "Doonesbury" is as much words as cartoons.

A Sunday strip in 1980 showed two students in Henry Kissinger's class at Georgetown University. Weinburger and Perkins, asking him whether he might go to work for Ronald Reagan. Could he really work for a man so shallow and uninformal?

Kissinger: "Yes I could, precisely because such a man needs me. Besides, Mr. Weinburger, barring the reincarnation of Thomas Jefferson, I will always work for Presidents less brilliant than I. I am resigned to it."

Perkins: "But Professor Kissinger, if you were appointed to a new post, it would be right in the middle of the semester. You'd really be leaving us in the lurch!"

Kissinger: "Don't worry, Mr. Perkins. I can handle both responsibilities."

Weinburger: "Are you sure, sir? I mean, say it's the day before grades are due, and you were suddenly handed a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to bomb a major population cluster back to the stone age."

Kissinger: "Well, it would depend on the city, of course."

Perkins: "Los Angeles, say?"

Weinburger: "Right. Somewhere where life's cheap."

Trudeau targets have included not only politicians but political and social phenomena. He did a merciless parody last summer of corporate takeovers. In his self-important television correspondent, Roland Burton Hedley Jr., he has spoofed the press.

In a series on the war in Lebanon, he yanked Menachem Begin's practice of referring to Palestinians as "terrorists." An Israeli newspaper, reporting on the evacuation, referred to "Arabian wives" and "baby terrorists."

But Mr. Trudeau can mock liberal folly, too. When one of his characters went to a Jane Fonda exercise class, she moved to chant a "Bran! Nut! Tebml! Seed!" We don't want your corporate greed. When a woman wondered what good it was to the poor, Miss Fonda said she was planning "an outreach program."

Why the break? Mr. Trudeau says he needs time to reflect—and to let his characters grow up from perpetual studenthood. One of them, Zonker Harris, got into a panic this fall when he learned that a course he was taking was enough to make him graduate—and, it was to be desired, that he had never finished.

Only six weeks since I became General Secretary, and so much has happened. When the Americans, Bush and Shultz, came to Moscow for the funeral of that corrupt old man, Brezhnev, I told them that two things disturbed me: the increased broadcasting of Voice of America seeking to stir up trouble in Socialist countries and that "democracy project" announced by Reagan in London; to engage us ideologically around the world.

When I told them I would not put up with such provocation, the Americans were curiously meek. I would have expected them at least to point to our breaches of the Helsinki anti-laming agreement or charge that we were outsteering them 10 to one on our foreign political action.

Perhaps they had been instructed not to get into substantive discussions. Reminds me of the time Nixon was here in 1959, as Vice President—Khrushchev denounced him in a television studio, and it was lucky for the surprised Nixon that he had a chance to come back in debate later in a kitchen. I gave Vice President Bush no such second chance.

I did tell the West Germans after-

ward that I had discussed Intermediate Nuclear Forces with Bush and Shultz, which made Chancellor Kohl uneasy about his silly Bonn immediately demanded that Washington share news of any negotiations, and the Americans had to show them the minutes of our meeting to prove to the Germans that no back channel had been opened. (I had to laugh at those American minutes—somebody with an eye on the next Presidential campaign had added to them to make Vice President Bush look tougher than he had been.)

My next move—by publicly proposing a modest reduction of our missiles in return for no deployment of the American missiles in Europe—was especially adroit. Credit Gromyko and Ustinov, my main allies in the Kremlin, for thinking of that, and for focusing on the force *à la trappe* to exploit France's independence from NATO.

I think we will wear the Americans down—on armaments just as the Europeans were them down on the gas pipeline. We hear that Paul Nitze, who used to be the essence of the hardliner on SALT II, is as depressed about the will of the Euro-

ESSAY Inside Andropov's Mind (3)

By William Safire

plans to resist that he is prepared to cave in to our demands.

On top of that, some right-wing Senate bureaucrats, after carrying on a personal grudge fight against Richard Burt, the city hardliner knowledgeable about arms control in the State Department. That plays right into my hands. Reminds me of the way I used Brezhnev's fear of Shelepin to remove the head of the K.G.B. and made room for myself; personal rivalries are always more important than policy differences. This means

that General Rowsey is the main obstacle to our strategic superiority, and without Nitze or Burt he is effectively isolated. Not all the news is good, of course. I did not anticipate the delayed world reaction to the confessions of the man we had the Bulgarians hire to shoot the Polish Pope. Probably the Italian Socialists want to use this to separate themselves from the Communists to whip up Catholic sentiment and take over the governing coalition.

But the suspicion of my own complicity—and there can never be final proof, Fedorchuk says to that—is not without its benefits. I have answered the whispers from the Vatican by telling my man Arbatov to accuse the Church of giving birth to the notorious Solidarity, and I have answered the charges of poison gas in Afghanistan by stepping up the yellow rain there. Our enemies must know that we are capable of utter ruthlessness on matters affecting the states on our border.

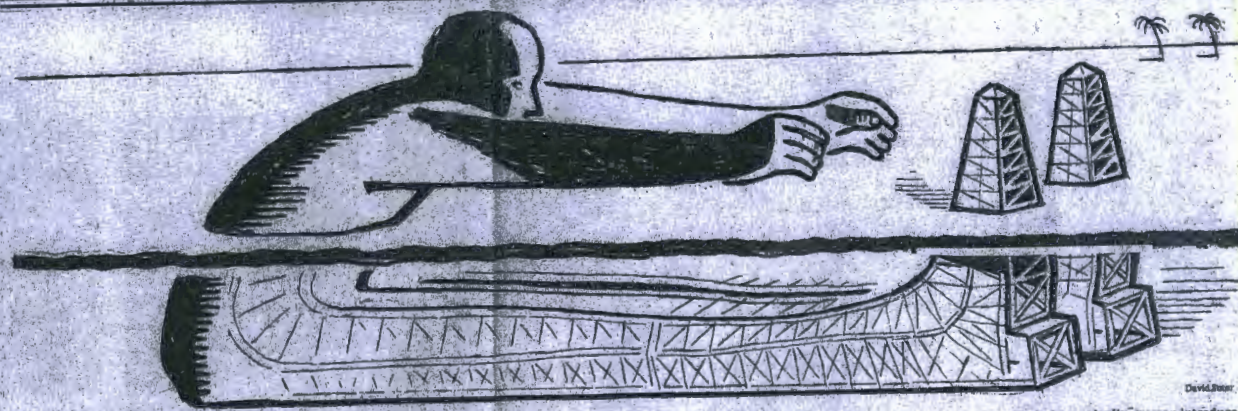
A continuing annoyance, however, is that "democracy project"; in the long run, well-financed political action and propaganda could cause us a great deal of trouble. When Reagan

announced in London that he intended to take the ideological initiative, the press in the West shrugged it off. I didn't shrug it off; announcing it overtly was a brilliant way of keeping it covert.

Now he has planned to spend 20 million this year, three times that next year, to put money into foreign parties and unions and conferences and universities where money makes a difference. Because the campaign is being waged openly, with bipartisan support, that makes it hard to label a secret right-wing plot. Could make a difference in Africa, Latin America, Europe, where we have been helping our friends for decades without competition.

On the whole, the year 1982 ended well for me. So, I will feel secure enough to leave the Moscow winter to go hiking in the hills around Kislovodsk and let the doctors at the sanatorium near my birthplace listen to my heart. Maybe I'll take Rusakov along.

On second thought, I'd better leave Rusakov here to keep an eye on Gribshin and Charnikov. As a matter of fact, I'd better stay in Moscow myself; that Bulgarian connection could get out of hand.



OPEC Without Tears

By Michael Kinley

is that if its members ever met in America, instead of at American hotels in foreign countries, they would be arrested on the spot and sent to jail. Conspiring with competitors to raise prices is a criminal act in this country, and for good reason. OPEC transacts several thousand dollars every year from the average American family to the owners of energy resources—several thousand dollars more than if energy prices had merely kept up with inflation. And OPEC, more than any other single cause, helped bring on inflation and the other economic ills that have plagued us since 1973, such as slow growth, unemployment and the trade deficit.

Every day poor Americans physically suffer because of the high cost of heating oil and other energy sources. The effect on the third world (those parts without oil) has been devastating. But you don't have to be a bleed-

ing-heart liberal to despise OPEC. Conservative supply-siders should think of extortionate energy prices as a huge tax on productive activity, destroying prosperity in the textbook manner. Cut the tax and unchain the economy.

So why are the graybeards shaking their heads and urging caution? Two reasons.

First, those banks. If the Mexicans can't pay back what they've borrowed, and if the Saudis need to withdraw what they've got on deposit, there's trouble. But surely it would be cheaper to break OPEC and save hundreds of billions, even if some of those billions had to be used to rescue the banks from their own foolishness.

Second, it's argued, lower prices may lead to greater dependency and the possibility of a new squeeze in a few years. In light of what we've been through for the past decade, I would put this concern in a file labeled "Cross That Bridge." If prices really

drop dramatically, we can introduce a modest energy tax to encourage conservation, use the money if necessary to bail out the banks, and we'd still be better off.

What I think is not what one television reporter described as "the best thinking in oil and banking circles." John Liebrman, a leading oil economist, has publicly advocated a modest and gradual decline in real oil prices after inflation, which "requires, of course, a unified OPEC pricing policy." God forbid, in other words, that oil should fall to a price lower than the world had ever seen until four years ago.

When Eljail blows his horn to announce the kingdom of heaven on earth, there will probably be "analysts" urging "a more cautious approach" incorporating "gradual improvements" in cooperation with the technical powers. In order to avoid chaos, what's wrong with chaos? An orderly reduction of oil prices achieved through a unified OPEC pricing policy that avoids disruption and instability is not what we need. We need a rout.

Michael Kinley is editor of Harper's.

Nothing in years has made me want to throw a rock through a window as much as all the public fretting about the prospect that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries might collapse. It's astonishing that a regime as young as the nine-year-old oil-price conspiracy, and one as obviously detrimental to the health of the world, should have become so respectable.

The chairman of British Petroleum, Peter Walters, warns that, far from helping the world economy, a drop in oil prices would be "disastrous." Walter J. Levy, an oil consultant, says that \$20-a-barrel oil "would be an out-and-out catastrophe." But even apart from such obviously self-interested statements, the language used in press coverage of oil developments conveys an odd sense of menace about the possibility of cheaper oil. ("Tensions Grow in Oil Market," "Tensions in Oil Market," "Oil Market Tensions," "Oil Market Tensions.")

Maybe it's not so astonishing. Plenty of people with no official connection to OPEC have a vested interest in the continuing success of the OPEC conspiracy. OPEC supplies only 20 million of the 46 million barrels

of oil the non-Communist world consumes every day, but it sets the price for all of them. Throughout the last decade, more than half the oil consumed by Americans has been sold to them by other Americans, including the major oil companies, which also, unfortunately, deal for us with the cartel. These groups have no desire to see the cartel broken. Nor do the owners of alternative energy resources, such as coal and natural gas, the prices of which depend on the price OPEC charges for oil.

American banks have done very nicely financing OPEC's money back to OPEC's victims so the suckers can dance it back to OPEC once again, and so on over faster. The banks know they're going to be in trouble if the music ever stops. Other undicted co-conspirators include the lawyers, consultants, advisers, jewelers and miscellaneous experts who attach themselves like barnacles wherever large sums of money are about.

The point to remember about OPEC

Reagan's Faithful Allies

By Bob Dole

social history of political resourcefulness and a gift for compromise familiar to anyone who has examined Ronald Reagan's Governorship in California.

So, before Republicans start believing the fashionable theory of a White House-Capitol Hill split, we ought to remind ourselves that we are led by a persuasive chief executive, that we enjoy strong, experienced leadership in both houses of Congress, and that the issues confronting us present as much opportunity as peril.

Social Security is a basic point. With 115 million workers supporting it and 36 million beneficiaries relying on it, Social Security overwhelms every other domestic priority. Through a combination of relatively modest steps, including some acceleration of already scheduled taxes and some reduction in the rate of future benefit increases, the system can be saved. When it is, total of the credit, rightly, will belong to this President and his party.

Similarly, the mashed-potato disquiet echoes to the plaintive cries of home-again protectionists who address the symptoms and not the illness plaguing our economy. Whether through local-content legislation or export subsidies, they would scuttle free trade and risk a global war, with tariffs and other trade barriers as lethal weapons. Wrong as they may be in their prescription, these new economic isolationists have struck a responsive chord in a nation deeply worried about present and future employment.

Again, the trade issues provide Republicans at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue with the potential to reach out to working people, to demonstrate not only verbal concern but practical solutions.

The nation's headline writers like to call President Reagan the Great Communicator. Historians, I'm convinced, will label him the Great Reformer. It is his willingness to question this city's conventional (and costly) wisdom that Republicans must emulate as we tackle priorities too pressing to put off. No one is more eager to extend the Reagan revolution and to avoid political trench warfare in the coming session than Congressional Republicans.

The atmosphere within which the new Congress convenes will be shaped by perceptions, both in politics, are sometimes the requirement of reality. And it is as a supporter of the President's objectives that I express concern about perceptions of his program. Clearly, they will not be improved as long as the Congress, public

and news media discern an imbalance between human needs and military hardware. When the Constitution mandated the Federal Government to provide for the general welfare, it said nothing about the general welfare.

The problem of perception might also be improved by a closer partnership between the White House and its natural allies on Capitol Hill. A modest but useful first step would be more frequent and more effective give-and-take sessions with G.O.P. leaders. For we, so long as their own department Secretaries and other personnel, belong to the President's official family. And we, no less than they, wish the next two years to be as successful as the last two.

Certainly, tackling Social Security and trade issues will engender controversy. But the alternative is permanent surrender and an anxious public disillusioned. This President has always insisted that purely political considerations will not affect his judgment. That is one more reason why he is free to propose and achieve reforms on a historic scale. By doing so, he assures that he will not have to wait for history to express its judgment.

Those who say that the bloom is off the rose for Ronald Reagan forget that the rose is perennial. With a little imaginative gardening now, it will blossom handsomely in 1984.

Bob Dole, Republican Vice Presidential candidate in 1976, is senior Senator from Kansas.

WASHINGTON—In this city, which makes history but prefers headlines, today's hottest story is President Reagan's problem with his allies in Capitol Hill. But those who believe that they see a divisive split between the President and Congressional Republicans ignore Ronald Reagan's many achievements, misunderstand the role of Congress, and exaggerate the tension between the Presidency and Congress that has naturally existed since the Founding Fathers' grand room for both in the Constitution.

It is important to understand that Presidents of both parties have always had differences with their friends on Capitol Hill. Thomas Jefferson had to endure a Speaker of the House who was not only a fellow Democrat but his own son-in-law and who had the irritating habit of publicly charging members of the Jefferson Administration with corrupt land speculation.

Abraham Lincoln found his military decisions criticized by his own party's select committee on the conduct of the war, and his nascent plans for Reconstruction roadblocked by the so-called radical Republicans.

Theodore Roosevelt's pioneering efforts to regulate commerce and preserve the natural splendors of the West ran counter to the property-loving instincts of Republican legislators.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt saw the "wave of his personal popularity crest in 1937, when disgruntled Democrats shot down his plan to pack

the United States Supreme Court. Lyndon B. Johnson failed to unite Democrats behind the Vietnam war and, in the end, abdicated.

So did Richard M. Nixon when many of his strongest supporters made clear their distaste for his handling of Watergate. Earlier still, John F. Kennedy watched as two Supreme Court nominees were torpedoed by Republican Senators.

Jimmy Carter's term was rendered all but irrelevant by Democrats of the Kennedy stripe.

Now, after two years of remarkable leadership, the equal of anything seen in this city since the heyday of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, it has become fashionable to claim that Ronald Reagan's mastery over Congress has become eroded and that his opinions for future guidance have narrowed to little more than graceful acquiescence.

Much of this is the product of journalistic boredom or, perhaps, Democratic wishful thinking. Those interested in the sounds of genuine partisan division ought to pitch their hearing to the tones of Mondale and Glenn and Hart and Hollings and Asker and Cranston.

What's more, those now debating responsibility for next year's agenda all too easily overlook Ronald Reagan's achievement in setting the decade's agenda. They forget that the President has already engineered a major shift in relations between the individual and his Government. And, in their own preoccupation with current headlines, they obscure a per-

'More Than Just a Part of Israel'

By Alexander M. Schindler

excuse to cut themselves off from Israel. And if we make too much of the second, we will never know who we are, for we have slipped into the sloppy equation that says that Judaism equals Zionism equals Israel.

In our deep love for Israel and our concern for its security, we have become a largely one-issue community.

I am not arguing that we should diminish our involvement with Israel. Quite the contrary. I want us to make Israel more truly Jewish, with a quality of life that reflects the most profound Jewish vision. I argue merely for balance. We will not survive if all we are about is Israel. And Israel will not survive if the Jews of the world be-

lievers that includes the synagogue as center not only for worship and study but also for friendship and socialization.

Such a community will reject the counsel of those who say we should be concerned with the poor, the oppressed, the threat of nuclear war. The Jewish community I envision will refuse to withdraw into a spiritual ghetto. Rather, we will form new coalitions of decency with our fellow citizens, giving out hearts and hands to beat America as we strengthen and



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P/ Proj Democ

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

115161

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 6, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: <sup>W</sup>WALTER RAYMOND, JR.

SUBJECT: Allocation of Supplemental Funds for  
Project Democracy

At the meeting that Tom Reed and I attended of the Executive Committee of Project Democracy on December 17 it became quite evident that several of the senior members of this group believed they had a commitment from the Administration to underwrite the study. There followed some generalized talk about the virtues of private funding. This is fine in concept, but not time-relevant. After considerable back and forth discussion, the issue of a government commitment to the whole effort was rather directly challenged. At that juncture I felt it was necessary to indicate that the Administration would support the effort. Given the timing I believe we must find a way to ensure we can make available up to \$300,000 to underwrite the study.

An initial \$150,000 has been provided by AID from Economic Support Funds. I discussed with Al Keel and others in OMB what would be the best approach for a second installment. They recommended strongly that the "Unanticipated Needs" fund of the President be utilized. This could be done quickly and would provide sufficient authorization to get the job done now. The funds would be provided to AID. AID would in turn amend its existing contract to reflect this higher budgetary commitment. If Allan Weinstein or others raise private funds we may not need to use the total federal allotment. If, however, we want to get the job done and now--and we do--I truly believe we should make this commitment. We can then hold the feet of the Executive Committee of the Democracy Study to the fire to meet all production deadlines.

Recommendation:

That you forward Peter McPherson's letter to OMB with the attached endorsement.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M430/2 # 115161

Attachment

BY KML NARA DATE 5/10/13

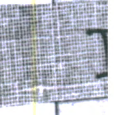
Tab I Your endorsement with McPherson's letter

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID STOCKMAN

SUBJECT: Endorsement of Peter McPherson's  
Request for \$150,000 for  
Democracy Study Funding

I strongly endorse the attached request from Peter McPherson. This initiative was specifically called for by the President in his June 1982 London speech. The American Political Foundation study is under the direction of a high-level bipartisan panel. The panel has underscored its need for a \$300,000 federal funding commitment to complete the study in time to meet budgetary deadlines for the FY 1984 submission. After interagency consultation AID was selected earlier as the channel for federal funding. The most satisfactory way to build on our original cash commitment of \$150,000 is to supplement this grant via AID, the original contracting agency. I appreciate the support your staff has provided in expediting this matter.

William P. Clark  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

Attachment



UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

January 5, 1983

THE ADMINISTRATOR

MEMORANDUM TO: William P. Clark  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

FROM : M. Peter McPherson *Jol R Bolton for*

SUBJECT : Unanticipated Needs: Allocation of \$150,000 for  
a Study by the Bipartisan American Political  
Foundation to Determine how the United States  
can best Contribute as a Nation to the Global  
Campaign for Democracy

Pursuant to the provisions provided for meeting the unanticipated needs of the President, I propose an allocation of \$150,000 from the appropriation "Unanticipated Needs" to the Agency for International Development to complete funding for the conduct of a study and the preparation of a report with recommendations by the American Political Foundation to determine how the United States can best contribute as a nation to the global campaign for democracy. An initial \$150,000 has already been obligated for part of this project from the Economic Support Fund.

As you know, President Reagan in his June 8, 1982, address to members of Parliament in London declared his support for this study and stated, "I look forward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world" (see attachment).

It is important that this study be completed and the President receive recommendations in the spring in time to lay matters before the Congress and have legislation and appropriations, as may be necessary, reported in time to meet deadlines in the Congressional Budget Act with respect to the fiscal year 1984 budget.

I propose that the funds be allocated to the Agency for International Development and that our Agency extend our existing arrangements with the bipartisan American Political Foundation for the necessary study and report work.

If you concur in the proposal, I recommend that you forward this memorandum to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget for action.

Attachment:

Address by Pres. Reagan,  
June 8, 1982

President Reagan

# Promoting Democracy and Peace

June 8, 1982



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
Washington, D.C.

*Following is an address by President Reagan before the British Parliament, London, June 8, 1982, during his trip to France, the Vatican, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Federal Republic of Germany, June 2-11, 1982.*

The journey of which this visit forms a part is a long one. Already it has taken me to two great cities of the West—Rome and Paris—and to the economic summit at Versailles. There, once again, our sister democracies have proved that, even in a time of severe economic strain, free peoples can work together freely and voluntarily to address problems as serious as inflation, unemployment, trade, and economic development in a spirit of cooperation and solidarity. Other milestones lie ahead. Later this week in Germany, we and our NATO allies will discuss measures for our joint defense and America's latest initiatives for a more peaceful, secure world through arms reductions.

Each stop of this trip is important, but, among them all, this moment occupies a special place in my heart and the hearts of my countrymen—a moment of kinship and homecoming in these hallowed halls. Speaking for all Americans, I want to say how very much at home we feel in your house. Every American would, because this is—as we have been so eloquently told—one of democracy's shrines. Here the rights of free people and the processes of representation have been debated and refined.

It has been said that an institution is the lengthening shadow of a man. This institution is the lengthening shadow of all the men and women who have sat here and all those who have voted to send representatives here.

This is my second visit to Great Britain as President of the United States. My first opportunity to stand on British soil occurred almost a year and a half ago when your Prime Minister graciously hosted a diplomatic dinner at the British Embassy in Washington. Mrs. Thatcher said then that she hoped that I was not distressed to find staring down at me from the grand staircase a portrait of His Royal Majesty King George III. She suggested it was best to let bygones be bygones and—in view of our two countries' remarkable friendship in succeeding years—she added that most Englishmen today would agree with Thomas Jefferson that “a little rebellion now and then is a very good thing.”

From here I will go on to Bonn and then Berlin, where there stands a grim symbol of power untamed. The Berlin Wall, that dreadful gray gash across the city, is in its third decade. It is the fitting signature of the regime that built it. And a few hundred kilometers behind the Berlin Wall there is another symbol. In the center of Warsaw there is a sign that notes the distances to two capitals. In one direction it points toward Moscow. In the other it points toward Brussels, headquarters of Western Europe's tangible unity. The marker says that the distances from Warsaw to Moscow and Warsaw to Brussels are



equal. The sign makes this point: Poland is not East or West. Poland is at the center of European civilization. It has contributed mightily to that civilization. It is doing so today by being magnificently unreconciled to oppression.

Poland's struggle to be Poland, and to secure the basic rights we often take for granted, demonstrates why we dare not take those rights for granted. Gladstone, defending the Reform Bill of 1866, declared: "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side." It was easier to believe in the march of democracy in Gladstone's day, in that high noon of Victorian optimism.

We are approaching the end of a bloody century plagued by a terrible political invention—totalitarianism. Optimism comes less easily today, not because democracy is less vigorous but because democracy's enemies have refined their instruments of repression. Yet optimism is in order because, day by day, democracy is proving itself to be a not-at-all fragile flower.

From Stettin on the Baltic to Varna on the Black Sea, the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than 30 years to establish their legitimacy. But none—not one regime—has yet been able to risk free elections. Regimes planted by bayonets do not take root.

The strength of the Solidarity movement in Poland demonstrates the truth told in an underground joke in the Soviet Union. It is that the Soviet Union would remain a one-party nation even if an opposition party were permitted, because everyone would join the opposition party.

America's time as a player on the stage of world history has been brief. I think understanding this fact has always made you patient with your younger cousins. Well, not always patient—I do recall that on one occasion Sir Winston Churchill said in exasperation about one of our most distinguished diplomats: "He is the only case I know of a bull who carries his china shop with him."

### Threats to Freedom

Witty as Sir Winston was, he also had that special attribute of great statesmen—the gift of vision, the willingness to see the future based on the experience of the past. It is this sense of history, this understanding of the past, that I want to talk with you about today, for it is in remembering what we share of the past that our two nations can make common cause for the future.

We have not inherited an easy world. If developments like the industrial revolution, which began here in England, and the gifts of science and technology have made life much easier for us, they have also made it more dangerous. There are threats now to our freedom, indeed, to our very existence, that other generations could never even have imagined.

There is, first, the threat of global war. No president, no congress, no prime minister, no parliament can spend a day entirely free of this threat. And I don't have to tell you that in today's world, the existence of nuclear weapons could mean, if not the extinction of mankind, then surely the end of civilization as we know it.

That is why negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces now underway in Europe and the START talks—Strategic Arms Reduction Talks—which will begin later this month, are not just critical to American or Western policy; they are critical to mankind. Our commitment to early success in these negotiations is firm and unshakable and our purpose is clear: reducing the risk of war by reducing the means of waging war on both sides.

At the same time, there is a threat posed to human freedom by the enormous power of the modern state. History teaches the dangers of government that overreaches: political control taking precedence over free economic growth, secret police, mindless bureaucracy—all combining to stifle individual excellence and personal freedom.

Now I am aware that among us here and throughout Europe, there is legitimate disagreement over the extent to which the public sector should play a role in a nation's economy and life. But on one point all of us are united: our abhorrence of dictatorship in all its forms, but most particularly totalitarianism and the terrible inhumanities it has caused in our time: the great purge, Auschwitz and Dachau, the Gulag and Cambodia.

Historians looking back at our time will note the consistent restraint and peaceful intentions of the West. They will note that it was the democracies who refused to use the threat of their nuclear monopoly in the 1940s and early 1950s for territorial or imperial gain. Had that nuclear monopoly been in the hands of the Communist world, the map of Europe—indeed, the world—would look very different today. And certainly they will note it was not the democracies that invaded Afghanistan or suppressed Polish solidarity or used chemical and toxin warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

If history teaches anything, it teaches that self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly. We see around us today the marks of our terrible dilemma—predictions of doomsday, anti-nuclear demonstrations, an arms race in which the West must for its own protection be an unwilling participant. At the same time, we see totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe to further their barbarous assault on the human spirit.

What, then, is our course? Must civilization perish in a hail of fiery atoms? Must freedom wither in a quiet, deadening accommodation with totalitarian evil? Sir Winston Churchill refused to accept the inevitability of war or even that it was imminent. He said:

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today, while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries.

### The Crisis of Totalitarianism

This is precisely our mission today: to preserve freedom as well as peace. It may not be easy to see, but I believe we live now at a turning point. In an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis—a crisis where the demands of the economic order are conflicting directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history by denying human freedom and human dignity to its citizens. It also is in deep economic difficulty. The rate of growth in the national product has been steadily declining since the 1950s and is less than half of what it was then. The dimensions of this failure are astounding; a country which employs one-fifth of its population in agriculture is unable to feed its own people. Were it not for the tiny private sector tolerated in Soviet agriculture, the country might be on the brink of famine. These private plots occupy a bare 3% of the arable land but account for nearly one-quarter of Soviet farm output and nearly one-third of meat products and vegetables.

Overcentralized, with little or no incentives, year after year the Soviet system pours its best resources into the making of instruments of destruction. The constant shrinkage of economic



growth combined with the growth of military production is putting a heavy strain on the Soviet people.

What we see here is a political structure that no longer corresponds to its economic base, a society where productive forces are hampered by political ones. The decay of the Soviet experiment should come as no surprise to us. Wherever the comparisons have been made between free and closed societies—West Germany and East Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Vietnam—it is the democratic countries that are prosperous and responsive to the needs of their people. And one of the simple but overwhelming facts of our time is this: of all the millions of refugees we've seen in the modern world, their flight is always away from, not toward, the Communist world. Today on the NATO line, our military forces face East to prevent a possible invasion. On the other side of the line, the Soviet forces also face East—to prevent their people from leaving.

The hard evidence of totalitarian rule has caused in mankind an uprising of the intellect and will. Whether it is the growth of the new schools of economics in America or England or the appearance of the so-called "new philosophers" in France, there is one unifying thread running through the intellectual work of these groups: rejection of the arbitrary power of the state, the refusal to subordinate the rights of the individual to the superstate, the realization that collectivism stifles all the best human impulses.

### Struggle Against Oppression

Since the exodus from Egypt, historians have written of those who sacrificed and struggled for freedom: the stand at Thermopylae, the revolt of Spartacus, the storming of the Bastille, the Warsaw uprising in World War II. More recently we have seen evidence of this same human impulse in one of the developing nations in Central America. For months and months the world news media covered the fighting in El Salvador. Day after day we were treated to stories and film slanted toward the brave freedom fighters battling oppressive government forces in behalf of the silent, suffering people of that tortured country.

Then one day those silent, suffering people were offered a chance to vote, to choose the kind of government they wanted. Suddenly the freedom fighters in the hills were exposed for what they really are: Cuban-backed guerrillas who

want power for themselves and their backers, not democracy for the people. They threatened death to any who voted and destroyed hundreds of busses and trucks to keep people from getting to the polling places. But on election day the people of El Salvador, an unprecedented 1.4 million of them, braved ambush and gunfire and trudged miles to vote for freedom.

They stood for hours in the hot sun waiting for their turn to vote. Members of our Congress who went there as observers told me of a woman who was wounded by rifle fire who refused to leave the line to have her wound treated until after she had voted. A grandmother, who had been told by the guerrillas she would be killed when she returned from the polls, told the guerrillas: "You can kill me, kill my family, kill my neighbors, but you can't kill us all." The real freedom fighters of El Salvador turned out to be the people of that country—the young, the old, and the in-between. Strange, but in my own country there has been little if any news coverage of that war since the election.

But beyond the troublespots lies a deeper, more positive pattern. Around the world today the democratic revolution is gathering new strength. In India, a critical test has been passed with the peaceful change of governing political parties. In Africa, Nigeria is moving in remarkable and unmistakable ways to build and strengthen its democratic institutions. In the Caribbean and Central America, 16 of 24 countries have freely elected governments. And in the United Nations, 8 of the 10 developing nations which have joined the body in the past 5 years are democracies.

In the Communist world as well, man's instinctive desire for freedom and self-determination surfaces again and again. To be sure, there are grim reminders of how brutally the police state attempts to snuff out this quest for self-rule: 1953 in East Germany, 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, 1981 in Poland. But the struggle continues in Poland, and we know that there are even those who strive and suffer for freedom within the confines of the Soviet Union itself. How we conduct

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

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Perhaps they'll say it's because there are newer struggles now—on distant islands in the South Atlantic young men are fighting for Britain. And, yes, voices have been raised protesting their sacrifices for lumps of rock and earth so far away. But those young men aren't fighting for mere real estate. They fight for a cause, for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed and that people must participate in the decisions of government under the rule of law. If there had been firmer support for that principle some 45 years ago, perhaps our generation wouldn't have suffered the bloodletting of World War II.

In the Middle East the guns sound once more, this time in Lebanon, a country that for too long has had to endure the tragedy of civil war, terrorism, and foreign intervention and occupation. The fighting in Lebanon on the part of all parties must stop, and Israel should bring its forces home. But this is not enough. We must all work to stamp out the scourge of terrorism that in the Middle East makes war an ever-present threat.

ourselves here in the Western democracies will determine whether this trend continues.

### Fostering Democracy

No, democracy is not a fragile flower; still, it needs cultivating. If the rest of this century is to witness the gradual growth of freedom and democratic ideals, we must take actions to assist the campaign for democracy. Some argue that we should encourage democratic change in rightwing dictatorships but not in Communist regimes. To accept this preposterous notion—as some well-meaning people have—is to invite the argument that, once countries achieve a nuclear capability, they should be allowed an undisturbed reign of terror over their own citizens. We reject this course.

As for the Soviet view, President Brezhnev repeatedly has stressed that the competition of ideas and systems must continue and that this is entirely consistent with relaxation of tensions



and peace. We ask only that these systems begin by living up to their own constitutions, abiding by their own laws, and complying with the international obligations they have undertaken. We ask only for a process, a direction, a basic code of decency—not for an instant transformation.

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

While we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change, we must not hesitate to declare our ultimate objectives and to take concrete actions to move toward them. We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings. So states the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, among other things, guarantees free elections.

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

This is not cultural imperialism; it is providing the means for genuine self-determination and protection for diversity. Democracy already flourishes in countries with very different cultures and historical experiences. It would be cultural condescension, or worse, to say that any people prefer dictatorship to democracy. Who would voluntarily choose not to have the right to vote, decide to purchase government propaganda handouts instead of independent newspapers, prefer government to worker-controlled unions, opt for land to be owned by the state instead of those who till it, want government repression of religious liberty, a single political party instead of a free choice, a rigid cultural orthodoxy instead of democratic tolerance and diversity?

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

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

### U.S. Proposals

We in America now intend to take additional steps, as many of our allies have already done, toward realizing this same goal. The chairmen and other leaders of the national Republican and Democratic party organizations are initiating a study with the bipartisan American Political Foundation to determine how the United States can best contribute—as a nation—to the global campaign for democracy now gathering force. They will have the cooperation of congressional leaders of both parties along with representatives of business, labor, and other major institutions in our society.

I look forward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world. It is time that we committed ourselves as a nation—in both the public and private sectors—to assisting democratic development.

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

This November in Washington there will take place an international meeting on free elections and next spring there will be a conference of world authorities on constitutionalism and self-government hosted by the Chief Justice of the United States. Authorities from a number of developing and developed countries—judges, philosophers, and politicians with practical experience—have agreed to explore how to turn principle into practice and further the rule of law.

At the same time, we invite the Soviet Union to consider with us how the competition of ideas and values—which it is committed to support—can be conducted on a peaceful and reciprocal basis. For example, I am prepared to offer President Brezhnev an opportunity to speak to the American people on our

television, if he will allow me the same opportunity with the Soviet people. We also suggest that panels of our newsmen periodically appear on each other's television to discuss major events.

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

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

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

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

### Dedication to Western Ideals

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

The British people know that, given strong leadership, time, and a little bit of hope, the forces of good ultimately rally and triumph over evil. Here among you is the cradle of self-government, the mother of parliaments. Here is the enduring greatness of the British contribution to mankind, the great civilized ideas: individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God.



I have often wondered about the shyness of some of us in the West about standing for these ideals that have done so much to ease the plight of man and the hardships of our imperfect world. This reluctance to use those vast resources at our command reminds me of the elderly lady whose home was bombed in the blitz. As the rescuers moved about they found a bottle of brandy she'd stored behind the staircase, which was all that was left standing. Since she was barely conscious, one of the workers pulled the cork to give her a taste of it. She came around immediately and said: "Here now, put it back, that's for emergencies."

Well, the emergency is upon us. Let us be shy no longer—let us go to our strength. Let us offer hope. Let us tell the world that a new age is not only possible but probable.

During the dark days of the Second World War when this island was incandescent with courage, Winston Churchill exclaimed about Britain's adversaries: "What kind of a people do they think we

are?" Britain's adversaries found out what extraordinary people the British are. But all the democracies paid a terrible price for allowing the dictators to underestimate us. We dare not make that mistake again. So let us ask ourselves: What kind of people do we think we are? And let us answer: free people, worthy of freedom, and determined not only to remain so but to help others gain their freedom as well.

Sir Winston led his people to great victory in war and then lost an election just as the fruits of victory were about to be enjoyed. But he left office honorably—and, as it turned out, temporarily—knowing that the liberty of his people was more important than the fate of any single leader. History recalls his greatness in ways no dictator will ever know. And he left us a message of hope for the future, as timely now as when he first uttered it, as opposition leader in the Commons nearly 27 years ago. He said: "When we look back on all the perils through which we have passed

and at the mighty foes we have laid low and all the dark and deadly designs we have frustrated, why should we fear for our future? We have," he said, "come safely through the worst."

The task I have set forth will long outlive our own generation. But together, we, too, have come through the worst. Let us now begin a major effort to secure the best—a crusade for freedom that will engage the faith and fortitude of the next generation. For the sake of peace and justice, let us move toward a world in which all people are at last free to determine their own destiny. ■

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Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • June 1982  
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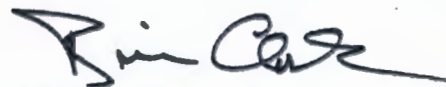
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID STOCKMAN

SUBJECT: Endorsement of Peter McPherson's  
Request for \$150,000 for  
Democracy Study Funding

I strongly endorse the attached request from Peter McPherson. This initiative was specifically called for by the President in his June 1982 London speech. The American Political Foundation study is under the direction of a high-level bipartisan panel. The panel has underscored its need for a \$300,000 federal funding commitment to complete the study in time to meet budgetary deadlines for the FY 1984 submission. After interagency consultation AID was selected earlier as the channel for federal funding. The most satisfactory way to build on our original cash commitment of \$150,000 is to supplement this grant via AID, the original contracting agency. I appreciate the support your staff has provided in expediting this matter.



William P. Clark  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

Attachment

**National Security Council  
The White House**

490

Package #

0148

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1430

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	A
Bud McFarlane	2	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Jacque Hill	3		
Judge Clark	4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	A
John Poindexter			
Staff Secretary	5		D
Sit Room			

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

**DISTRIBUTION**

cc: VP    Meese, Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

**COMMENTS**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0148

115162

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 6, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

SIGNED

FROM: <sup>WR</sup> WALTER RAYMOND, JR.

SUBJECT: Allocation of Supplemental Funds for Project Democracy

At the meeting that Tom Reed and I attended of the Executive Committee of Project Democracy on December 17 it became quite evident that several of the senior members of this group believed they had a commitment from the Administration to underwrite the study. There followed some generalized talk about the virtues of private funding. This is fine in concept, but not time-relevant. After considerable back and forth discussion, the issue of a government commitment to the whole effort was rather directly challenged. At that juncture I felt it was necessary to indicate that the Administration would support the effort. Given the timing I believe we must find a way to ensure we can make available up to \$300,000 to underwrite the study.

An initial \$150,000 has been provided by AID from Economic Support Funds. I discussed with Al Keel and others in OMB what would be the best approach for a second installment. They recommended strongly that the "Unanticipated Needs" fund of the President be utilized. This could be done quickly and would provide sufficient authorization to get the job done now. The funds would be provided to AID. AID would in turn amend its existing contract to reflect this higher budgetary commitment. If Allan Weinstein or others raise private funds we may not need to use the total federal allotment. If, however, we want to get the job done and now--and we do--I truly believe we should make this commitment. We can then hold the feet of the Executive Committee of the Democracy Study to the fire to meet all production deadlines.

Recommendation:

That you forward Peter McPherson's letter to OMB with the attached endorsement.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_  Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M430/2 \* 115162

BY KNL NARA DATE 5/10/13

Attachment

Tab I Your endorsement with McPherson's letter

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON D.C. 20523

January 5, 1983

THE ADMINISTRATOR

MEMORANDUM TO: William P. Clark  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

FROM : M. Peter McPherson *Jol R Bolter for*

SUBJECT : Unanticipated Needs: Allocation of \$150,000 for  
a Study by the Bipartisan American Political  
Foundation to Determine how the United States  
can best Contribute as a Nation to the Global  
Campaign for Democracy

Pursuant to the provisions provided for meeting the unanticipated needs of the President, I propose an allocation of \$150,000 from the appropriation "Unanticipated Needs" to the Agency for International Development to complete funding for the conduct of a study and the preparation of a report with recommendations by the American Political Foundation to determine how the United States can best contribute as a nation to the global campaign for democracy. An initial \$150,000 has already been obligated for part of this project from the Economic Support Fund.

As you know, President Reagan in his June 8, 1982, address to members of Parliament in London declared his support for this study and stated, "I look forward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world" (see attachment).

It is important that this study be completed and the President receive recommendations in the spring in time to lay matters before the Congress and have legislation and appropriations, as may be necessary, reported in time to meet deadlines in the Congressional Budget Act with respect to the fiscal year 1984 budget.

I propose that the funds be allocated to the Agency for International Development and that our Agency extend our existing arrangements with the bipartisan American Political Foundation for the necessary study and report work.

If you concur in the proposal, I recommend that you forward this memorandum to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget for action.

Attachment:

Address by Pres. Reagan,  
June 8, 1982

President Reagan

# Promoting Democracy and Peace

June 8, 1982



United States Department of State  
*Bureau of Public Affairs*  
Washington, D.C.

*Following is an address by President Reagan before the British Parliament, London, June 8, 1982, during his trip to France, the Vatican, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Federal Republic of Germany, June 2-11, 1982.*

The journey of which this visit forms a part is a long one. Already it has taken me to two great cities of the West—Rome and Paris—and to the economic summit at Versailles. There, once again, our sister democracies have proved that, even in a time of severe economic strain, free peoples can work together freely and voluntarily to address problems as serious as inflation, unemployment, trade, and economic development in a spirit of cooperation and solidarity. Other milestones lie ahead. Later this week in Germany, we and our NATO allies will discuss measures for our joint defense and America's latest initiatives for a more peaceful, secure world through arms reductions.

Each stop of this trip is important, but, among them all, this moment occupies a special place in my heart and the hearts of my countrymen—a moment of kinship and homecoming in these hallowed halls. Speaking for all Americans, I want to say how very much at home we feel in your house. Every American would, because this is—as we have been so eloquently told—one of democracy's shrines. Here the rights of free people and the processes of representation have been debated and refined.

It has been said that an institution is the lengthening shadow of a man. This institution is the lengthening shadow of all the men and women who have sat here and all those who have voted to send representatives here.

This is my second visit to Great Britain as President of the United States. My first opportunity to stand on British soil occurred almost a year and a half ago when your Prime Minister graciously hosted a diplomatic dinner at the British Embassy in Washington. Mrs. Thatcher said then that she hoped that I was not distressed to find staring down at me from the grand staircase a portrait of His Royal Majesty King George III. She suggested it was best to let bygones be bygones and—in view of our two countries' remarkable friendship in succeeding years—she added that most Englishmen today would agree with Thomas Jefferson that “a little rebellion now and then is a very good thing.”

From here I will go on to Bonn and then Berlin, where there stands a grim symbol of power untamed. The Berlin Wall, that dreadful gray gash across the city, is in its third decade. It is the fitting signature of the regime that built it. And a few hundred kilometers behind the Berlin Wall there is another symbol. In the center of Warsaw there is a sign that notes the distances to two capitals. In one direction it points toward Moscow. In the other it points toward Brussels, headquarters of Western Europe's tangible unity. The marker says that the distances from Warsaw to Moscow and Warsaw to Brussels are



equal. The sign makes this point: Poland is not East or West. Poland is at the center of European civilization. It has contributed mightily to that civilization. It is doing so today by being magnificently unreconciled to oppression.

Poland's struggle to be Poland, and to secure the basic rights we often take for granted, demonstrates why we dare not take those rights for granted. Gladstone, defending the Reform Bill of 1866, declared: "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side." It was easier to believe in the march of democracy in Gladstone's day, in that high noon of Victorian optimism.

We are approaching the end of a bloody century plagued by a terrible political invention—totalitarianism. Optimism comes less easily today, not because democracy is less vigorous but because democracy's enemies have refined their instruments of repression. Yet optimism is in order because, day by day, democracy is proving itself to be a not-at-all fragile flower.

From Stettin on the Baltic to Varna on the Black Sea, the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than 30 years to establish their legitimacy. But none—not one regime—has yet been able to risk free elections. Regimes planted by bayonets do not take root.

The strength of the Solidarity movement in Poland demonstrates the truth told in an underground joke in the Soviet Union. It is that the Soviet Union would remain a one-party nation even if an opposition party were permitted, because everyone would join the opposition party.

America's time as a player on the stage of world history has been brief. I think understanding this fact has always made you patient with your younger cousins. Well, not always patient—I do recall that on one occasion Sir Winston Churchill said in exasperation about one of our most distinguished diplomats: "He is the only case I know of a bull who carries his china shop with him."

### Threats to Freedom

Witty as Sir Winston was, he also had that special attribute of great statesmen—the gift of vision, the willingness to see the future based on the experience of the past. It is this sense of history, this understanding of the past, that I want to talk with you about today, for it is in remembering what we share of the past that our two nations can make common cause for the future.

We have not inherited an easy world. If developments like the industrial revolution, which began here in England, and the gifts of science and technology have made life much easier for us, they have also made it more dangerous. There are threats now to our freedom, indeed, to our very existence, that other generations could never even have imagined.

There is, first, the threat of global war. No president, no congress, no prime minister, no parliament can spend a day entirely free of this threat. And I don't have to tell you that in today's world, the existence of nuclear weapons could mean, if not the extinction of mankind, then surely the end of civilization as we know it.

That is why negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces now underway in Europe and the START talks—Strategic Arms Reduction Talks—which will begin later this month, are not just critical to American or Western policy; they are critical to mankind. Our commitment to early success in these negotiations is firm and unshakable and our purpose is clear: reducing the risk of war by reducing the means of waging war on both sides.

At the same time, there is a threat posed to human freedom by the enormous power of the modern state. History teaches the dangers of government that overreaches: political control taking precedence over free economic growth, secret police, mindless bureaucracy—all combining to stifle individual excellence and personal freedom.

Now I am aware that among us here and throughout Europe, there is legitimate disagreement over the extent to which the public sector should play a role in a nation's economy and life. But on one point all of us are united: our abhorrence of dictatorship in all its forms, but most particularly totalitarianism and the terrible inhumanities it has caused in our time: the great purge, Auschwitz and Dachau, the Gulag and Cambodia.

Historians looking back at our time will note the consistent restraint and peaceful intentions of the West. They will note that it was the democracies who refused to use the threat of their nuclear monopoly in the 1940s and early 1950s for territorial or imperial gain. Had that nuclear monopoly been in the hands of the Communist world, the map of Europe—indeed, the world—would look very different today. And certainly they will note it was not the democracies that invaded Afghanistan or suppressed Polish solidarity or used chemical and toxin warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

If history teaches anything, it teaches that self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly. We see around us today the marks of our terrible dilemma—predictions of doomsday, anti-nuclear demonstrations, an arms race in which the West must for its own protection be an unwilling participant. At the same time, we see totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe to further their barbarous assault on the human spirit.

What, then, is our course? Must civilization perish in a hail of fiery atoms? Must freedom wither in a quiet, deadening accommodation with totalitarian evil? Sir Winston Churchill refused to accept the inevitability of war or even that it was imminent. He said:

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today, while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries.

### The Crisis of Totalitarianism

This is precisely our mission today: to preserve freedom as well as peace. It may not be easy to see, but I believe we live now at a turning point. In an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis—a crisis where the demands of the economic order are conflicting directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history by denying human freedom and human dignity to its citizens. It also is in deep economic difficulty. The rate of growth in the national product has been steadily declining since the 1950s and is less than half of what it was then. The dimensions of this failure are astounding; a country which employs one-fifth of its population in agriculture is unable to feed its own people. Were it not for the tiny private sector tolerated in Soviet agriculture, the country might be on the brink of famine. These private plots occupy a bare 3% of the arable land but account for nearly one-quarter of Soviet farm output and nearly one-third of meat products and vegetables.

Overcentralized, with little or no incentives, year after year the Soviet system pours its best resources into the making of instruments of destruction. The constant shrinkage of economic



growth combined with the growth of military production is putting a heavy strain on the Soviet people.

What we see here is a political structure that no longer corresponds to its economic base, a society where productive forces are hampered by political ones. The decay of the Soviet experiment should come as no surprise to us. Wherever the comparisons have been made between free and closed societies—West Germany and East Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Vietnam—it is the democratic countries that are prosperous and responsive to the needs of their people. And one of the simple but overwhelming facts of our time is this: of all the millions of refugees we've seen in the modern world, their flight is always away from, not toward, the Communist world. Today on the NATO line, our military forces face East to prevent a possible invasion. On the other side of the line, the Soviet forces also face East—to prevent their people from leaving.

The hard evidence of totalitarian rule has caused in mankind an uprising of the intellect and will. Whether it is the growth of the new schools of economics in America or England or the appearance of the so-called "new philosophers" in France, there is one unifying thread running through the intellectual work of these groups: rejection of the arbitrary power of the state, the refusal to subordinate the rights of the individual to the superstate, the realization that collectivism stifles all the best human impulses.

### Struggle Against Oppression

Since the exodus from Egypt, historians have written of those who sacrificed and struggled for freedom: the stand at Thermopylae, the revolt of Spartacus, the storming of the Bastille, the Warsaw uprising in World War II. More recently we have seen evidence of this same human impulse in one of the developing nations in Central America. For months and months the world news media covered the fighting in El Salvador. Day after day we were treated to stories and film slanted toward the brave freedom fighters battling oppressive government forces in behalf of the silent, suffering people of that tortured country.

Then one day those silent, suffering people were offered a chance to vote, to choose the kind of government they wanted. Suddenly the freedom fighters in the hills were exposed for what they really are: Cuban-backed guerrillas who

want power for themselves and their backers, not democracy for the people. They threatened death to any who voted and destroyed hundreds of busses and trucks to keep people from getting to the polling places. But on election day the people of El Salvador, an unprecedented 1.4 million of them, braved ambush and gunfire and trudged miles to vote for freedom.

They stood for hours in the hot sun waiting for their turn to vote. Members of our Congress who went there as observers told me of a woman who was wounded by rifle fire who refused to leave the line to have her wound treated until after she had voted. A grandmother, who had been told by the guerrillas she would be killed when she returned from the polls, told the guerrillas: "You can kill me, kill my family, kill my neighbors, but you can't kill us all." The real freedom fighters of El Salvador turned out to be the people of that country—the young, the old, and the in-between. Strange, but in my own country there has been little if any news coverage of that war since the election.

But beyond the troublespots lies a deeper, more positive pattern. Around the world today the democratic revolution is gathering new strength. In India, a critical test has been passed with the peaceful change of governing political parties. In Africa, Nigeria is moving in remarkable and unmistakable ways to build and strengthen its democratic institutions. In the Caribbean and Central America, 16 of 24 countries have freely elected governments. And in the United Nations, 8 of the 10 developing nations which have joined the body in the past 5 years are democracies.

In the Communist world as well, man's instinctive desire for freedom and self-determination surfaces again and again. To be sure, there are grim reminders of how brutally the police state attempts to snuff out this quest for self-rule: 1953 in East Germany, 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, 1981 in Poland. But the struggle continues in Poland, and we know that there are even those who strive and suffer for freedom within the confines of the Soviet Union itself. How we conduct

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

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Perhaps they'll say it's because there are newer struggles now—on distant islands in the South Atlantic young men are fighting for Britain. And, yes, voices have been raised protesting their sacrifices for lumps of rock and earth so far away. But those young men aren't fighting for mere real estate. They fight for a cause, for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed and that people must participate in the decisions of government under the rule of law. If there had been firmer support for that principle some 45 years ago, perhaps our generation wouldn't have suffered the bloodletting of World War II.

In the Middle East the guns sound once more, this time in Lebanon, a country that for too long has had to endure the tragedy of civil war, terrorism, and foreign intervention and occupation. The fighting in Lebanon on the part of all parties must stop, and Israel should bring its forces home. But this is not enough. We must all work to stamp out the scourge of terrorism that in the Middle East makes war an ever-present threat.

ourselves here in the Western democracies will determine whether this trend continues.

### Fostering Democracy

No, democracy is not a fragile flower; still, it needs cultivating. If the rest of this century is to witness the gradual growth of freedom and democratic ideals, we must take actions to assist the campaign for democracy. Some argue that we should encourage democratic change in rightwing dictatorships but not in Communist regimes. To accept this preposterous notion—as some well-meaning people have—is to invite the argument that, once countries achieve a nuclear capability, they should be allowed an undisturbed reign of terror over their own citizens. We reject this course.

As for the Soviet view, President Brezhnev repeatedly has stressed that the competition of ideas and systems must continue and that this is entirely consistent with relaxation of tensions



and peace. We ask only that these systems begin by living up to their own constitutions, abiding by their own laws, and complying with the international obligations they have undertaken. We ask only for a process, a direction, a basic code of decency—not for an instant transformation.

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

While we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change, we must not hesitate to declare our ultimate objectives and to take concrete actions to move toward them. We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings. So states the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, among other things, guarantees free elections.

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

This is not cultural imperialism; it is providing the means for genuine self-determination and protection for diversity. Democracy already flourishes in countries with very different cultures and historical experiences. It would be cultural condescension, or worse, to say that any people prefer dictatorship to democracy. Who would voluntarily choose not to have the right to vote, decide to purchase government propaganda handouts instead of independent newspapers, prefer government to worker-controlled unions, opt for land to be owned by the state instead of those who till it, want government repression of religious liberty, a single political party instead of a free choice, a rigid cultural orthodoxy instead of democratic tolerance and diversity?

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

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

### U.S. Proposals

We in America now intend to take additional steps, as many of our allies have already done, toward realizing this same goal. The chairmen and other leaders of the national Republican and Democratic party organizations are initiating a study with the bipartisan American Political Foundation to determine how the United States can best contribute—as a nation—to the global campaign for democracy now gathering force. They will have the cooperation of congressional leaders of both parties along with representatives of business, labor, and other major institutions in our society.

I look forward to receiving their recommendations and to working with these institutions and the Congress in the common task of strengthening democracy throughout the world. It is time that we committed ourselves as a nation—in both the public and private sectors—to assisting democratic development.

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

This November in Washington there will take place an international meeting on free elections and next spring there will be a conference of world authorities on constitutionalism and self-government hosted by the Chief Justice of the United States. Authorities from a number of developing and developed countries—judges, philosophers, and politicians with practical experience—have agreed to explore how to turn principle into practice and further the rule of law.

At the same time, we invite the Soviet Union to consider with us how the competition of ideas and values—which it is committed to support—can be conducted on a peaceful and reciprocal basis. For example, I am prepared to offer President Brezhnev an opportunity to speak to the American people on our

television, if he will allow me the same opportunity with the Soviet people. We also suggest that panels of our newsmen periodically appear on each other's television to discuss major events.

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

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

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

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

### Dedication to Western Ideals

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

The British people know that, given strong leadership, time, and a little bit of hope, the forces of good ultimately rally and triumph over evil. Here among you is the cradle of self-government, the mother of parliaments. Here is the enduring greatness of the British contribution to mankind, the great civilized ideas: individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God.



I have often wondered about the shyness of some of us in the West about standing for these ideals that have done so much to ease the plight of man and the hardships of our imperfect world. This reluctance to use those vast resources at our command reminds me of the elderly lady whose home was bombed in the blitz. As the rescuers moved about they found a bottle of brandy she'd stored behind the staircase, which was all that was left standing. Since she was barely conscious, one of the workers pulled the cork to give her a taste of it. She came around immediately and said: "Here now, put it back, that's for emergencies."

Well, the emergency is upon us. Let us be shy no longer—let us go to our strength. Let us offer hope. Let us tell the world that a new age is not only possible but probable.

During the dark days of the Second World War when this island was incandescent with courage, Winston Churchill exclaimed about Britain's adversaries: "What kind of a people do they think we

are?" Britain's adversaries found out what extraordinary people the British are. But all the democracies paid a terrible price for allowing the dictators to underestimate us. We dare not make that mistake again. So let us ask ourselves: What kind of people do we think we are? And let us answer: free people, worthy of freedom, and determined not only to remain so but to help others gain their freedom as well.

Sir Winston led his people to great victory in war and then lost an election just as the fruits of victory were about to be enjoyed. But he left office honorably—and, as it turned out, temporarily—knowing that the liberty of his people was more important than the fate of any single leader. History recalls his greatness in ways no dictator will ever know. And he left us a message of hope for the future, as timely now as when he first uttered it, as opposition leader in the Commons nearly 27 years ago. He said: "When we look back on all the perils through which we have passed

and at the mighty foes we have laid low and all the dark and deadly designs we have frustrated, why should we fear for our future? We have," he said, "come safely through the worst."

The task I have set forth will long outlive our own generation. But together, we, too, have come through the worst. Let us now begin a major effort to secure the best—a crusade for freedom that will engage the faith and fortitude of the next generation. For the sake of peace and justice, let us move toward a world in which all people are at last free to determine their own destiny. ■

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Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs  
Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • June 1982  
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(Vending)

NON-LOG: Weekly Report

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~FLIPC~~

~~SECRET~~

January 21, 1983

F-101

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

DECLASSIFIED

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR.

NLS F-95-0412766

SUBJECT: Weekly Report

BY u, NARA, DATE 8/27/99

Meeting with Mike Samuels, International Vice President of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mike met with me, Jerry Helman and Scott Thompson to consider effective ways in which American private business can participate actively in our overall program to foster democratic principles overseas. Mike's views were very constructive and he will give us some project proposals to consider.

(U) *Public diplomacy plan?*

International Youth Year. I met with Dan Phillips who is the inter-agency coordinator for International Youth Year. He is a Department of State officer in the IO area. He is interested in developing a significantly enhanced capability to have effective American representation in meetings, conferences and other activities overseas. This is an important initiative as for the past 15 years we have more or less withdrawn from any effective organized and coordinated participation in international youth meetings. This does not mean to say that Americans have not been present but the international youth business is a target that the Soviets have had high on their list and, as a result, they have made considerable propaganda mileage out of these international gatherings. This and other initiatives within the broader "democracy program" are the kind of things we need to do. (C)

USSR/Eastern Europe. I had lunch with Mark Palmer. We discussed the fact that the signing of NSDD 75 on US Relations with the Soviet Union opens the way for discussion on political action vis-a-vis the USSR. I will take the necessary steps in this area which I anticipate will culminate in a SPG meeting later in February. (S)

Meeting with Foundation Executives. Larry Eagleburger has agreed to chair a lunch with approximately 12 foundation executives tentatively scheduled for the week of February 7. This is designed to develop a broader group of people who will support parallel initiatives consistent with Administration needs and desires. The idea grew from a meeting with Smith-Richardson (Les Lenkowsky), Mellon-Scaife (Dan McMichael) and Olin (Michael Joyce) Foundation executives. This is separate from the initiative we have discussed with the President which will be designed to enlist a much larger private financial commitment for our democracy programs. (C)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

## PRIVATE SECTOR

Scott & Henry re Mike Saunders:

- Why not reflected more directly  
w. line item in budget?

- timing
- disinterest

- Feedback to letter to Scott

- Strategy:

- Letter to Shultz
- Pressure on Hill

- Apprehension about D.P.

- Partner
- Other



Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America  
Washington

January 27, 1983

Dr. Scott Thompson  
Associate Director for Programs  
USIA  
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20547

Dear Scott:

Many thanks for giving me the opportunity to suggest ways by which the Administration might want to show explicitly its recognition that business (and free enterprise) are a vital part of Project Democracy. With that in mind, let me suggest that you create a "Program," with its own budgetary line item, entitled "Support for Free Enterprise Development."

I am attaching suggested language for a description of such a program. To give further meat to the program, I have also attached a suggested budget listing that could be part of a budgetary statement. The modest \$6 million figure could be reached by reprogramming monies from elsewhere in the project. (Let me say that action on some of these items could begin in FY-83, although I realize that the fall program would begin in FY-84.)

Let me say that my suggestions are meant to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. The business community is only now getting awakened to its possible role in this process, and the Administration deserves great credit for having been the needed catalyst.

Finally, Scott, I have taken the liberty to make a few additions to your Project Democracy Statement of Purpose, and am returning to you your version with my additions written in. You will see that my goal has been to assure that the Administration recognizes business explicitly as part of the Democracy effort.

Thank you very much for giving me a chance to provide this input. Do let me know if there is any further help I might provide.

Sincerely,

Michael A. Samuels

Enclosures

cc: W. Raymond  
Amb. Helman

Can we redraw the  
\$6M on a separate  
sheet? i.e. don't  
change Congressional  
submittal, if it has  
been finalized. How  
does this relate to USG  
vs APF needs??

Scrub  
down

OK

## The Role of American Business in Public Diplomacy

Business and the private enterprise system are one of the essential supports of a pluralist democracy. Both economic growth and economic opportunity must be perceived for the long term stability of the political system. Yet American business is a largely untapped source of expertise in the arena of public diplomacy. Hence it is proposed that a central (institute/organization/body) be created to mobilize business support and participation, both directly and through the major business associations, and other organizations for public diplomacy programs. Essentially, the new entity would act as a clearinghouse to develop and test programs; strengthen chambers of commerce and other associations abroad; enhance the effectiveness of such international movements as the International Chamber of Commerce; provide for exchanges between American business leaders and their counterparts abroad; conduct seminar, workshops, and conferences; and develop textbooks, audio-visuals, and other needed materials on the role of business in democratic systems. To ensure the broad and continuing support of the overall business community, the new entity should have on its governing board representatives of leading national associations, corporations with international interests, small business, and academic experts.



Support for Free Enterprise Development

Establishment of a Center for Democratic Capitalism	\$1,500,000	✓
Support for International Chamber of Commerce and Similar Organizations	1,500,000	750
Free Enterprise-oriented school textbook and audio-visual development	1,000,000	250
Expansion of leadership exchange programs among key business professionals	500,000	✓
Two conferences on business and politics	1,000,000	250
Support for training of foreign business association professionals at relevant institutes for career development in the United States	500,000	✓
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Subtotal:	\$6,000,000	3.750

## PROJECT DEMOCRACY

### An Inter-Agency Program to Foster the Growth of Democracy Worldwide

#### STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In his June 8, 1982 address to the British Parliament at Westminster, President Reagan declared the United States' intention to launch a major new political action initiative "... to foster the infrastructure of democracy, the system of a free press, unions, political parties and universities, which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

With these words the President sought to put America on the ideological offensive. Ironically, our nation's ability to nourish democratic forces abroad is at a low ebb just as the decline in Soviet political credibility gives our undertakings a sharp cutting edge. Moreover, as Moscow substitutes military power for peaceful means of exerting its influence, the argument in favor of targeted and effective political action in support of democracy becomes yet more compelling.

The Soviet Union is engaged in a well-funded campaign in Europe and the Third World, too often successful, to weaken the democratic institutions of our friends and allies and drive a wedge between them and the United States. Despite the shambles of their own system, Soviet leaders labor effectively to foster the myth of the U.S.S.R. as a true friend of the Third World and the political and ideological hope for the masses. We can no longer allow this challenge to go unanswered. Likewise, we need to confront with viable democratic alternatives those Third World regimes which have embarked on political and social experiments of state control and authoritarianism.

It is not a money problem alone which we face in accomplishing the task at hand, but also a conceptual one. American governments have long recognized and acted upon the need to offer economic and military assistance to allies as a sine qua non for furthering democracy. But, in the past, we have not given significant support to the political, intellectual, and social infrastructures that make democracies function.

Our action agenda then should have three basic directions. First, we must meet the educational challenge by demonstrating the nexus of democracy with modernization and of economic growth with the western development model. Conferences, institutes, and publications are some of the tools by which we hope to accomplish this goal. Second, we will seek direct recruitment of potential friends to the democratic cause through training programs and exchanges. Finally, we will provide support to political parties, unions ~~and~~ political groups whose survival is threatened or who are working along parallel democratic lines. Whether the job is to organize pressures against yellow rain in Asia or martial law in Poland or to develop popular support for elections in Nicaragua, the means must be found to mobilize the vast majority of the world's people whose sentiments and preferences lie with the causes we espouse and live by.

— and business organizations



To accomplish this objective, the United States should begin at once to undertake with likeminded groups a broad spectrum of critically important activities, including:

- Expanding the dialogue with Europe to clarify our mutual strategic and ideological interests and spotlight the common threat of Soviet expansion;
- Strengthening the forces of democracy in Latin America, especially in Central America and the Caribbean;
- Dramatically increasing personal contact with and training for leaders in foreign nations;
- Supporting or establishing regional research/training organizations, such as the Asia Foundation, to encourage the growth of democratic traditions in emerging countries;
- Expanding the communications infrastructure and programs available to the Project Truth working group in order to counter Soviet propaganda and promote democratic values.

*Supporting the business community to develop a coherent program to encourage with private business consumers to become more effective parts of their national fabric.*

The job we are describing is long-range and challenging. As the objectives transcend bureaucratic lines, interagency cooperation and coordination are an essential prerequisite to success. The individual programs which make up Project Democracy will involve the State Department, USIA, Department of Defense, AID and the Department of Labor, at a minimum, in a variety of targeted activities in support of such democratic institutions as unions, political parties, universities and media. Extensive collaboration with the private sector will be absolutely necessary every step of the way.

*see enterprise organization,*

America has been on the ideological defensive. The reason is that the Soviet Union has used political action shrewdly to develop networks of support and to identify the United States with "reactionary" causes. Today, the Soviets stand accused of an offensive military posture, of breaking solemn treaties restricting chemical warfare, even of attempting to murder the Pope. Still more pertinent is the growing loss of internal legitimacy and self-confidence within the ruling circles of the Soviet Union. We must not hesitate to seize this propitious moment in history to inaugurate a coherent world campaign in support of democratic development worldwide.

With the need identified, the urgency in responding to it apparent, and a comprehensive strategy laid out to begin to tackle the job, all that remains is to secure the relatively modest amount of funding required to get Project Democracy underway.

Priority List of FY-83 Project Democracy Programs By Area

Europe

- Enhanced Cooperation with the Atlantic Organizations of Europe
- Establishment of European Labor Information Office

Latin America

- Leadership Training for Latin American Student Leaders
- Support for English Teaching and Libraries in Latin America Binational Centers.
- Inter-American Community Leaders Exchange
- Support for the Free Press in Latin America
- Training in Democratic Principles for Hemisphere Military Leaders

East Asia

- Asia Foundation Proposal
- Support for the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations

Near East

- Establishment of Links with Non-Aligned Press Pool
- Education for Democracy: Teacher Training and Textbook Publication and Review/NEA Pilot Project

Africa

- African-American Issues Center
- Operations Cross Roads Africa
- African-U.S. Scholar Exchanges and University Linkages

Worldwide

- Assistance to Centers for the Study of the U.S. Abroad
- Foreign Journalist Tours
- Magazine on Communication Policy
- Training for business organization executives*
- Establishment of a Center for Democratic Capitalism*



## GROUPS TO CONSIDER FOR "ATLANTIC" PROJECTS

1. Name of Group, Location	2. Audiences Reached	3. Themes they could deal with	4. Program methods	5. Range of Grants they could handle
Atlantische Commissie, (The Hague)	Politicians, educators, Media in Neth., youth	NATO, Arms Control, Atlantic values	Publications, meetings, Joint work with educational institutions, study tours, media.	\$5,000 to 50,000
Atlantic Council of the U.S. (Washington D.C.)	Opinion leaders, government figures, U.S. & Europe	NATO, broad political & alliance issues, Values & education, ties-that-bind, economic interests.	Joint seminars & Conferences with analogues in Europe; prepare materials; policy studies.	\$10,000 - 100,000
Conwest-Europe (Brussels) & Conwest-USA (Washington D.C.)	Young influentials in business, politics, government, academia (Eur & US)	Broad issues of alliance & economics, common interests, "Atlantic future"	Joint meetings & conferences; publications; small group exchanges	\$2,000 to 50,000
Salzburg Seminar (Salzburg & Cambridge Mass.)	Young civil servants, academics, businessmen, journalists (European & US)	Broad issues of European-American relations; special attention to pinpoint, e.g.: The Nuclear Balance in Europe; Arms Control in Europe; NATO Policies etc.	Conferences & meetings; also of <u>groups</u> in key European cities	\$10,000 to 200,000



1	2	3	4	5
T.E.A.M. (U.K. - Exeter)	Teachers, educators in U.K. (maybe Europe), indirectly schools	Backgrounds to the Alliance; broad issues of war/peace	Conferences Publications for schools, incl. books Study tours	\$2,000 to 50,000
Former Members of Congress (Wash. D.C.) [Parallel groups in Ger., Fr., Italy, etc.]	Members & former mem- bers of Congress & Parliam- ents; in key Eur countries & US; some active politicians & academics. (Students, three lectures.)	Practically every- thing, except most esoteric weapons questions.	Lectures & speeches. Meetings & confer- ences, with reports of same. Study tours. Matis. for schools	\$5,000 - 200,000; maybe more.
Aspen Institute (Berlin)	Opinion leaders, Germany & other Europe, U.S.	Ditto <del>to</del> FMC, above. Values, democracy.	Publications, books Seminars Media events	\$10,000 and up
Atlantic Institute for Intl. Affairs (Paris)	Opinion leaders in virtually all fields, (Europe & U.S. & Canada; Japan, Aust. NZ.) Young <u>too</u>	Everything; all issues; all levels	Conferences; publica- tion; policy research (team efforts). Media events.	\$10,000 and up
Freedom House (N.Y.C.)	Opinion leaders, politicians, MPs, officials, academics, media - US & Europe (Note - I think Europe would be an effort, but they could do it)	Democracy around the world; USSR; values.	Seminars & conferences. Publications. Surveys	\$5,000
Centre International de Formation Euro- <del>peenne</del> péenne (C.I.F.E. - Nice & Paris)	Decision-makers, influentials, politicians, businessmen, union leaders, young leaders all over Europe.	Alliance cohesion; broad security issues; values; intl. coopera- tion.	Seminars, conferences, courses	\$5,000 to 200,000 (more?)



1  
CHICAGO Council on  
Foreign Relations  
(Chicago)

International Insti-  
tute of Strategic  
Studies (London)  
[can advise on nat'l.  
institutes]

European Cultural  
Foundation (The  
Hague)

Norwegian Atlantic  
Committee (Oslo)

American Council  
of Young Political  
Leaders (Wash. D.C.)  
[contact their Euro-  
pean coun. counter-  
parts]

2  
Influentials, pro-  
fessionals in for.  
affairs

Influentials, deci-  
sion-makers, secur-  
ity specialists,  
media

Influentials, aca-  
demics, educators

Political leaders, military,  
educators, union leaders,  
media, women, youth

Young politicians,  
future leaders

3  
Broad political and  
security issues.

All aspects of  
security + de-  
fense

Common heritage,  
values, democracy,  
future of the West.

All alliance issues.

Broad political issues,  
alliance politics,  
economic interests,  
NATO operations,  
arms control.

4  
Conferences - in Chi-  
cago, or in coop. with  
a European body.

(Very ticklish.) Host  
seminars, undertake  
research, publs. But  
hard to subsidize without  
appearance of compro-  
miting them. Provide  
travel grants? Build  
up library? Buy their  
publs.?

Conferences, seminars  
Publications  
Research reports

Practically all info.  
+ educational methods.

Study tours, con-  
ferences

5  
\$10,000 - 100,000

??

\$20,000 or more

\$5,000 - 50,000

\$20,000 - 100,000





## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

- How does SS fit in w. O/PO - ?
- Should not be split; if you see him on part of my team, OK - Then my candidate would be non-AC.
- If you plan to name SS on, I could bring Mankel in, but of-when AC needed - but would take it back into my office w. person. If not, then no need to bring Mankel.