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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder [PROJECT TRUTH, PROJECT DEMOCRACY, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, AND NED SEPTEMBER 1986-OCTOBER 1986]

FOIA

M430

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LAMB,
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ID	Date	Document Description	No. of	Date	Restrictions
115262 CABLE	210805Z OCT 86		2	10/21/1986	B1
	P 8/27/1999	NLSF95-041/2 #102; R			11/2/2012 M430/2
115264 CABLE	101438Z SEP 86		2	9/10/1986	B1 P5
	R 11/2/2012	M430/2			
115267 CABLE	091126Z SEP 86		2	9/9/1986	B1
	R 3/31/2015	M430/2			
115269 NOTES	HANDWRITTEN NOTES ON SMALL PAPER RE POLITICAL POWER		3	ND	B1
	R 8/27/1999	NLSF95-041/2 # 105			
115270 SPECIAL ANALYSIS	PAGE 6 OF PUBLICATION RE USSR- INTERNATIONAL: NEW SOVIET CAMPAIGN AGAINST SDI		1	9/27/1986	B1 B3
	P 7/3/2000	F95-041/2 # 106; PAR M430/2			#115270
115271 CABLE	202235Z OCT 86		1	10/20/1986	B1
	R 8/27/1999	NLSF95-041/2 # 107			

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

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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1. cable	210805Z OCT 86 (2) ^P 8/27/99 NLSF 95-041/2 #102	10/21/86	P1
2. cable	1014382 SEP 86 (2)	9/10/86	P1 P5
3. cable	091126Z SEP 86 (2)	9/9/86	P1
4. cable	171615Z SEP 86 (4) ^{R 8/27/99} NLSF 95-041/2 #104	9/17/86	P1
5. notes	handwritten notes on small paper, re political power ^{R 8/27/99} (3) ^{R 8/27/99} NLSF 95-041/2 #105	nd	P1
6. special analysis	page 6 of publication, re USSR-International: New Soviet Campaign Against SDI (1) ^P 7/3/86 NLSF 95-041/2 #102	9/27/86	P1/F3
7. cable	202235Z OCT 86 (1) ^{R 8/27/99} NLSF 95-041/2 #107	10/20/86	P1

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
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- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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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].

USIA ACTIVITY SUPPORTING MAJOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS INITIATIVES

Week of September 23

USIA, working closely with the White House and State Department Bureaus, concentrated its media production and facilitation capability into an intense effort toward supporting and amplifying the significant Administration initiatives of the week beginning September 23. Most of the activity evolved around the President's UNGA and IMF/IBRD speeches, the meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, and the other bilateral meetings with prominent international figures.

The highlights break down as follows:

President Reagan's September 24 United Nations speech:

- transmitted as advance text with embargo to all posts evening of September 23 for pre-positioning and posts' translations
- carried via satellite live to participating Euronet posts (followed by interactive discussion with Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost) and worldwide on the Voice of America English net
- carried live on VOA's Russian Language Service using the simultaneous translation of the official U.N. interpreter with delayed broadcast on the Far East/Siberia and Ukrainian programming blocs and summary broadcast on the other language services
- sent in videocassette format via rapid delivery to all posts
- broadcast in full via delayed satellite transmission to ARNET and AFNET posts followed by interactive discussions with UN Deputy Permrep Sorzano and UN Permrep Kirkpatrick respectively
- covered in numerous follow-on program opportunities (including a VOA editorial) on all 42 VOA language services and in 13 wireless file items

President Reagan's September 25 IMF/IBRD address:

- telecast live via satellite to EURONET and ARNET posts followed by an interactive discussion with Treasury Undersecretary (for Monetary Affairs) Beryl Sprinkel
- extensive VOA coverage featuring live worldwide English broadcast and interviews with 10 Latin American finance ministers (including three from the Caribbean), five African ministers, and five from the Arab speaking world
- extensive coverage on VOA and the Wireless File (29 items) of the IMF/IBRD proceedings, including live/full text coverage of Treasury Secretary Regan's address, a VOA editorial and a VOA scoop on Argentinian agreement for a major IMF loan

-a telepress conference featuring Undersecretary Sprinkel conducted simultaneously for leading economic journalists in Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo

Reagan and Shultz Gromyko Talks:

- a total of 42 printed items transmitted to posts either on Wireless File or directly (USINFO channel) including full text of White House Backgrounder and other backgrounders on U.S./Soviet relations and arms control
- five videotapes from network telecasts acquired for all posts
- Washington Foreign Press Center briefing by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mark Palmer following the President's meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister
- extensive VOA coverage highlighted by editorial
- photo coverage of all meetings

Other Presidential Bilaterals (including meeting with UN Secretary-General)

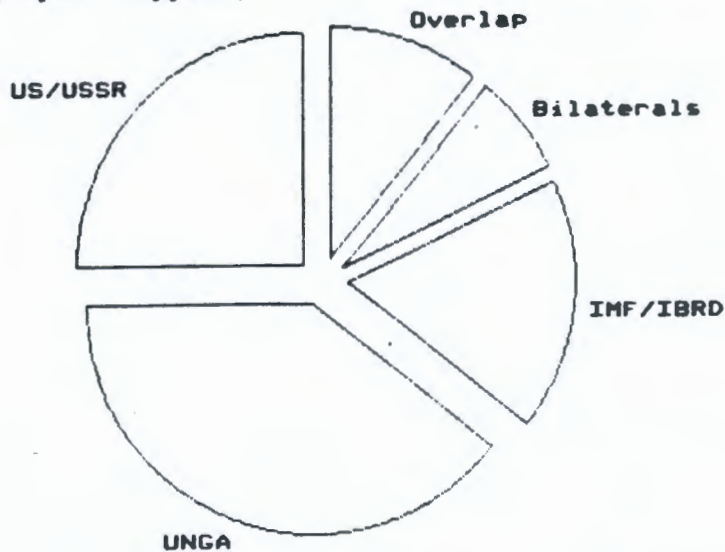
- Wireless File and VOA coverage of each session in appropriate languages (continuing this week)
- photo coverage for posts' immediate use and possible follow-on use in Agency publications
- emphasis on Reagan/Mulroney lunch for follow-on use during upcoming Challenger mission

A number of additional Agency activities supported the full effort of the busy week, among which were:

- assistance in the credentialing, at White House request, of over 300 correspondents, many of them media representatives accompanying visiting foreign leaders
- videotape coverage of all major events for follow-on use

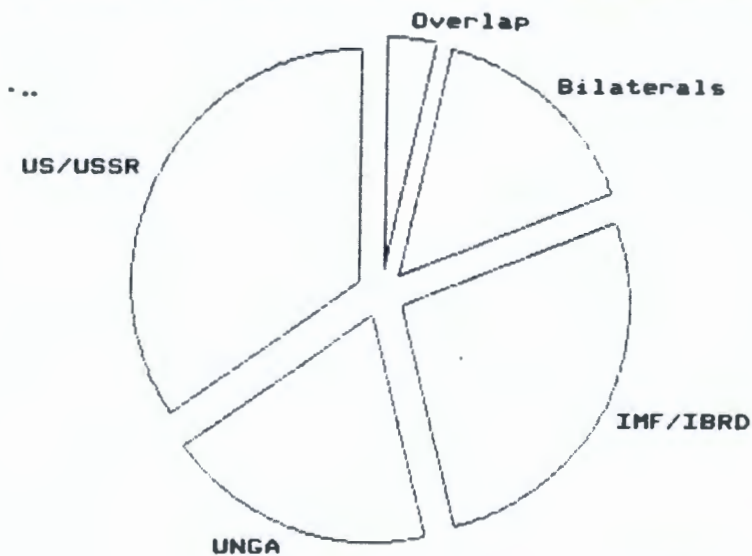
A categorization of all USIA media support as of October 2 is depicted in Chart One with the exception of press and photos which are summarized in Chart Two. Not included is the Foreign Press Center facilitative activity or the extensive VOA coverage which cannot be quantified in a comparable manner.

Chart 1. USIA Media Support for Foreign Policy Week (Excluding Press and Photographic Support)



	<u>US-USSR Talks</u>	<u>UNGA</u>	<u>IMF- IBRD</u>	<u>Bila- terals</u>	<u>Overlapping Topics</u>
Correspondent Briefings	1	1	--	2	--
Policy Guidances	--	1	--	--	1
Acquired VTR's	5	--	--	--	--
Agency Produced VTR's	--	4	2	--	1
Worldnet	--	3	2	--	1
Telepress Conferences	--	--	1	--	--
VOA Editorials	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>
Non-press Total	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>

Chart 2. USIA Press and Photographic Support for Foreign Policy Week



	<u>US-USSR Talks</u>	<u>UNGA</u>	<u>IMF- IBRD</u>	<u>Bila- terals</u>	<u>Overlapping Topics</u>
Wireless File	12	13	28	6	1
USINFOS	27	8	3	7	3
Photographs	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>--</u>
Press/Photo Total	<u>40</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>4</u>

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, SA, UR, AF
SUBJECT: MML SEGGEN NASEEF VISITS USSR, RAISES
AFGHANISTAN ISSUE

1. ~~ENTIRE~~ ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: AT THE URGING OF SEVERAL MUSLIM LEADERS ENCOUNTERED DURING HIS RECENT TRAVELS, DR. ABDULLAH OMAR NASEEF, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE (MWL), ATTENDED THE JUST CONCLUDED RELIGIOUS LEADERS CONFERENCE IN BAKU, USSR. NASEEF (AND OTHER LEADERS) USED THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY AGAINST THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN. FOLLOWING HIS STATEMENT, NASEEF REPORTEDLY CHASTISED A SOVIET "MINISTER" FOR NOT ALLOWING MORE SOVIET MUSLIMS TO PERFORM THE PILGRIMAGE TO MAKKAH. THE SOVIET OFFICIAL UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY NASEEF'S VIEWS TO GORBACHEV. NASEEF AND AN ACCOMPANYING MWL OFFICIAL EXPRESSED TO US THEIR DISTRESS AT THE DIFFICULTIES MUSLIMS ENCOUNTER IN PRACTICING THEIR FAITH IN THE SOVIET UNION.
END SUMMARY

3. MWL SECRETARY GENERAL NASEEF RETURNED OCTOBER 10 FROM THE SOVIET UNION WHERE HE HAD ATTENDED THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS CONFERENCE RECENTLY HELD IN BAKU, ACCORDING TO AN MWL OFFICIAL, MUHAMMAD SATTAR WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED NASEEF TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND WHO BRIEFED CONGENOFF AND A VISITING EMBOFF ON OCTOBER 18. (NASEEF HAD TOLD US EARLIER THAT HE WOULD NEVER VISIT THE USSR AS LONG AS ITS MILITARY OCCUPIED AFGHANISTAN.) DURING HIS RECENT TRAVELS, HOWEVER, SEVERAL RELIGIOUS FIGURES, INCLUDING A LEADING SYRIAN AND A PALESTINIAN, HAD URGED HIM TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AND HE HAD AGREED, SATTAR SAID. ACCORDING TO THE LATTER, NASEEF WAS THE ONLY ONE OF THE CONFEREES TO SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY AGAINST THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN. (N.B. ON OCTOBER 19, AN ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE--OIC--OFFICIAL MENTIONED TO US THAT DELEGATES FROM OTHER MUSLIM COUNTRIES, NOTABLY KUWAIT, HAD ALSO SPOKEN OUT AGAINST THE CONTINUED SOVIET

OCCUPATION. THE OIC OFFICIAL ADDED THAT HIS ORGANIZATION HAD SENT TO THE BAKU CONFERENCE A PAPER OUTLINING THE OIC'S POSITION ON AFGHANISTAN, WHICH WAS NOT, HOWEVER, READ TO THE DELEGATES.)

4. ACCORDING TO SATTAR, A SOVIET OFFICIAL (WHOM NASEEF IDENTIFIED AS A "MINISTER") REBUTTED NASEEF'S CRITICISM BY CLAIMING THAT THE SOVIET MILITARY WAS IN AFGHANISTAN AT THE REQUEST OF ITS LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, AND THAT TO LEAVE WOULD CAUSE THE U.S. TO OCCUPY THE COUNTRY. NASEEF DID NOT BUY THIS AND SAID SO.

5. NASEEF ALSO CHASTISED THE SOVIETS, SATTAR SAID, BECAUSE ONLY 15 SOVIET MUSLIMS OUT OF A MUSLIM POPULATION IN EXCESS OF 50 MILLION HAD BEEN PERMITTED TO PERFORM THE PILGRIMAGE TO MAKKAH THIS YEAR. THE SOVIET "MINISTER" REPLIED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT COULD NOT ALLOW MORE MUSLIMS TO MAKE HAJJ BECAUSE TOO MUCH WORKING TIME WOULD BE LOST. NASEEF ARGUED THAT PILGRIMS WOULD RETURN TO THEIR JOBS SPIRITUALLY REFRESHED AND WORK HARDER THAN EVER, SATTAR TOLD US. NASEEF CONFIRMED THE THRUST OF THE ABOVE REPORT OF HIS STATEMENTS AT BAKU WHEN THE CG PAID AN INITIAL CALL ON HIM ON OCTOBER 18. NASEEF ADDED THAT HIS SOVIET "MINISTER" INTERLOCUTOR HAD UNDERTAKEN TO CONVEY NASEEF'S VIEWS TO CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV.)

6. ACCORDING TO SATTAR, THE VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION WAS AN EYE OPENER FOR BOTH HIM AND NASEEF. BOTH WERE SOMEWHAT DISCONCERTED WHEN THEIR GUIDE IN BAKU, A PROFESSED MUSLIM, SHOWED ABNORMAL INTEREST IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS AND ON ONE OCCASION TWISTED HIMSELF

AROUND IN THE CAR SEAT TO SEE WHAT SATTAR WAS HANDING TO NASEEF. SATTAR ALSO TOLD OF MUSLIMS VISITING HIS HOTEL ROOM LATE AT NIGHT TO PICK UP COPIES OF THE KORAN WHICH SATTAR HAD BROUGHT INTO THE COUNTRY. SATTAR SAID THAT, AS HE HANDED THE HOLY BOOK TO HIS VISITORS, SEVERAL OF THEM CLASPED IT TO THEIR CHEST AND WEPT. (NASEEF, TOO, TOLD THE CG THAT HE HAD BEEN APPALLED BY THE SOVIETS' OPPRESSION OF ISLAM.)

7. ASKED WHETHER NASEEF HAD SOUGHT SAG PERMISSION TO MAKE HIS TRIP, SATTAR WAS EVASIVE. (COMMENT: IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT NASEEF WOULD RISK HIS POSITION AS HEAD OF THE LEAGUE OR HIS RUMORED INFLUENCE WITH THE KING ON RELIGIOUS MATTERS BY GOING WITHOUT HIGH SAG BT

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, SA, UR, AF

SUBJECT: MWL SECGEN NASEEF VISITS USSR, RAISES

AUTHORIZATION.)

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POLAND

Polish American Congress

18. Assistance To Political Prisoners
19. Committees On Independent Education, Culture and Science
20. Polish Helsinki Watch Committee

Aurora Foundation

21. Polish Legal Defense Fund
22. Literary Notebooks, a Polish-language literary quarterly

Freedom House

23. Independent Polish Agency
24. Uncensored Poland News Bulletin
25. Aneks
26. Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, Inc.,
Books on Polish Democracy
27. Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

The Polish American Congress has submitted three projects for funding by NED, all designed to support the democratic movement in Poland:

18. Assistance To Political Prisoners	\$ 90,000
19. Committees On Independent Education, Culture and Science	100,000
20. Polish Helsinki Watch Committee	5,000
Administrative costs of the Polish American Congress	<u>10,000</u>
TOTAL	\$205,000

Details of these three projects are attached.

The Polish American Congress is an umbrella organization, founded in 1944, which unites all major Polish American organizations in the United States, including the three leading fraternal organizations which have been active for more than 100 years. The Congress is the recognized spokesman for more than ten million Americans of Polish descent.

Since the introduction of martial law in Poland in 1981, the Congress has been active in raising funds and collecting food, medicine and clothing for distribution in Poland. It has also been serving as a channel for funds received from other charitable organizations. The Congress has an administrative and accounting staff at its national headquarters in Chicago, in addition to a Washington office, and thus has the capacity to monitor the grant and to report on the use of NED funds it receives. It also has the necessary channels and reliable contacts for assisting various activities in Poland connected with the democratic movement.

ASSISTANCE TO POLITICAL PRISONERS

SUMMARY

Material assistance, in the form of food, medicine, clothing or cash, as appropriate, is recommended for political prisoners in Poland and their families. This assistance will help to ensure the continued work of activists in the democratic movement whose continued willingness to risk arrest and to defy coercion by the regime are vital to the long-term success of the movement.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Assistance to politically persecuted persons should be seen, not as charitable work, but as an activity based purely on political considerations -- a means of providing assurance to activists of the independent movement that there will be support for themselves and their families in the event of their arrest, imprisonment or job loss.

The form of assistance will be food, medicine, clothing or cash, as appropriate, purchased in the West and shipped to Poland.

There are three categories of recipients:

- political prisoners who are permitted by the authorities to receive two parcels per month;
- families of persons either imprisoned or fired from their jobs for political reasons;
- persons punished by fines for participating in demonstrations, strikes or other violations of totalitarian rules; those unable to pay fines within 48 hours of sentencing must serve jail terms and thus lose their employment.

Receipt of the funds will be acknowledged and periodic reports on their expenditure will be submitted.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

Material assistance to political prisoners and their families will help ensure that the activists of the democratic movement in Poland will continue their work and that these brave people -- whose continued activity is vital to the movement -- are not cowed into submission by an increasingly repressive regime.

The Board, at its September 1985 meeting, approved new language for NED's Statement of Principles and Objectives which endorsed "carefully targeted humanitarian aid..." in certain cases where a state "seeks to crush peaceful dissent or coerce nonviolent opposition through the denial of basic material needs. Under these circumstances, the Endowment may provide, through appropriate grantee organizations, assistance that will enable individuals or movements peacefully working for democratic ends to maintain themselves and their activities."

In FY 1984 NED made a similar grant for assistance to political prisoners (at that time to the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences). The assistance rendered through that grant was timely and very helpful in sustaining the recipients of the material aid provided. Our sources in Poland report the continued need for such assistance.

ORGANIZATION

The assistance will be transmitted to the intended recipients through reliable channels which have been successfully tested and used by the Polish American Congress over the past two years.

RECOMMENDED LEVEL OF FUNDING

The NED staff recommends \$90,000 for this activity.

COMMITTEES ON EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE (OKN), POLAND

SUMMARY

OKN are the Polish initials for three committees -- on education, culture and science (social as well as physical and technical) -- which coordinate a broad range of activities in Poland that are independent of control and censorship by the government and communist party. Their broad objective is to encourage and support independent activities which began during the Solidarity period, reflect the true national culture and interests of the Polish people and are independent of foreign constraints and ideology.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The activities of the three committees include the following, among others.

Education - organizing lectures, publishing textbooks and audio-visual aids, maintaining lending libraries, and coordinating the so-called "flying universities" which cover areas which are omitted or distorted in regime controlled educational institutions;

Culture - organizing art exhibits, literary competitions, theatrical performances and film showings, film production; these activities take place on Church premises and in private studios and apartments, and are conducted on a large scale in all major Polish cities;

Science - independent research and studies in such fields as history, literature, philosophy and economics -- disciplines where university research and study is under heavy political pressure.

All three committees also help to provide a means of living for artists, writers and scholars who are deprived of income by the authorities for refusing to cooperate with the regime.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

Support for the three committees will help to achieve one of NED's main objectives in closed societies -- to encourage and sustain independent public opinion. In the case of Poland, where independent cultural activities reflect the true spirit of the Polish nation, this could serve as a model for other closed societies where cultural activities are tightly controlled by governments and ruling political parties.

ORGANIZATION

The three committees on education, culture and science were established in 1982 and 1983 in response to measures taken by the Polish military regime to reassert control over independent activities which had developed during the Solidarity period. Polish teachers, artists, scholars and scientists were almost unanimous in their decision not to support regime-sponsored violence and untruths, but rather to sustain creative activities independent of state supervision and control. This decision by Polish intellectuals and workers has been a key element in the national resistance to military rule. The names of members of the three committees cannot be disclosed for obvious reasons, but branches of the committees have been established in all major Polish cities where they conduct a broad range of independent activities.

Receipt of funds will be acknowledged by the recipients who will also submit periodic reports of their expenditures and current activities.

The representative of the three committees in the West is Professor Leszek Kolakowski of Oxford University, a world renowned scholar and former professor of philosophy at Warsaw University.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

Education	\$ 40,000
Culture	40,000
Science	<u>20,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$100,000</u>

In September the Board approved a grant of \$10,000 to Freedom House for the Committee on Independent Culture with the expectation that additional funds would be requested for this work in FY 1986. The NED staff now recommends that the scope of the grant be broadened to include all three committees, and that the grant be awarded to the Polish American Congress.

POLISH HELSINKI WATCH COMMITTEE

SUMMARY

The Polish Helsinki Watch Committee is an independent group in Poland which monitors violations of the Helsinki Accords and issues reports on human rights violations in Poland. Its work serves as a brake on repressive actions by the Polish regime and thereby provides a measure of support to the democratic movement in Poland.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The Polish Helsinki Watch Committee is one of the few remaining independent committees in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that monitor compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords which were signed by their governments in 1975, and have been continually violated in recent years.

The Polish Committee monitors violations of human rights in Poland, collects information and documentation, and issues an annual report which is distributed not only within Poland but also to appropriate agencies in the West, including the media, governments and non-governmental organizations concerned with the defense of human rights.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

The continued existence of the Polish Helsinki Watch Committee will help to ensure that the Polish Government -- which in general has been a supporter of the Helsinki process -- is aware that its human rights violations will be monitored and given wide publicity both within Poland and in the West. The Committee will thus serve as a brake on repressive actions by the regime, and will thereby provide support for the democratic movement in Poland.

ORGANIZATION

The Polish Helsinki Watch Committee is an organization which is independent of regime control and censorship and is thus free to issue accurate and objective reports on human rights violations in Poland. While the identity of its members cannot be disclosed, they include many leading activists of the Polish democratic movement.

RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

The NED staff recommends \$5,000.00 to be used by the Committee for collection of information and publication of its reports.

AURORA FOUNDATION

Two projects relating to Poland are proposed by the Aurora Foundation of Atherton, California:

21. Polish Legal Defense Fund	\$60,000
22. <u>Literary Notebooks</u> , a Polish-language literary quarterly	24,000
Administrative costs of the Aurora Foundation	<u>8,400</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$92,400</u>

Details of these two projects are attached.

The Aurora Foundation is an organization whose fundamental objective is improvement in the observance of human rights throughout the world. A second objective is to provide relief to those persons who are or have been victims of human rights violations.

Founder, chairperson and executive director is Ginetta Sagan, herself a victim of human rights violations as a member of the Italian underground during World War II. A driving force behind the growth of Amnesty International in the United States, Ms. Sagan formed her own human rights organization in 1982 to render assistance to victims of human rights violations.

The Aurora Foundation received two NED grants in FY 1985, \$50,000 for the Polish Legal Defense Fund and \$6,000 for Literary Notebooks. Renewal grants are recommended because of the continuing and urgent needs of the recipient organizations, the importance of Poland in the NED program, and the outstanding performance by the Aurora Foundation in administering the FY 1985 grants.

POLISH LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

SUMMARY

The Polish Legal Defense Fund (PLDF) is an organization in Poland whose purpose is to provide legal assistance to Prisoners of Conscience -- persons arrested and charged by the Polish authorities because of their political beliefs and the use of their rights of freedom of expression and association. Funds are requested to provide legal assistance for the defense of those unjustly charged, for those already sentenced and for material assistance to prisoners and their families.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The Polish Legal Defense Fund (the Fund) is an umbrella organization for those providing legal and other assistance to persons who have been persecuted by the Polish authorities because of their beliefs, their associates and their work for democracy. The Fund actively seeks out victims of political repression and provides them with legal services by highly qualified Polish lawyers; money to pay fines, bonds and other legal costs; and material aid to their families. The Fund also funds rehabilitation for former prisoners and the accused for the mental and physical injuries sustained during their interrogation and incarceration.

Estimates of political prisoners in Poland today are close to 500, with more being arrested on a continuing basis. They are charged with illegal activities which the Polish government claims are against the interests of the state. These activities, however, usually constitute the exercise of their rights of freedom of expression and association, rights which are guaranteed under United Nation declarations and covenants to which the Polish Government is a signatory. Many of those arrested and charged are former leaders or activists of the Solidarity movement, which was brutally suppressed by the imposition of martial law in 1981.

Other persons assisted by the Fund include university professors and other scholars and scientists who have been dismissed from their positions because they have refused to subordinate the objectivity and independence of their professional activities to the demands of the state.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

Freedom of expression and association are basic to democracies. By providing legal and other assistance to persons whose "crimes" consist of exercising these rights the Polish Legal Defense Fund is helping to sustain those individuals who have been in the forefront of the struggle for democracy in Poland.

The Polish Government is attempting to intimidate, demoralize and terrorize democratic forces in Poland through threats, beatings, arrests, imprisonment and even killings. To the extent that victims of these state actions have recourse to legal and other assistance, including material aid to their families in the event of arrest, they will be able to continue their struggle for the rights guaranteed them by Polish law and international covenants and their work on behalf of democracy in Poland.

The Board, at its September 1985 meeting, approved new language for NED's Statement of Principles and Objectives which endorsed "carefully targeted humanitarian aid..." in certain cases where a state "seeks to crush peaceful dissent or coerce nonviolent opposition through the denial of basic material needs. Under these circumstances, the Endowment may provide, through appropriate grantee organizations, assistance that will enable individuals or movements peacefully working for democratic ends to maintain themselves and their activities."

At the end of FY 1985 NED made a grant of \$50,000 to the Aurora Foundation for the Polish Legal Defense Fund which met only a part of their needs. The new grant will more adequately fund their needs in 1986. Aurora has met with the directors of the Polish Legal Defense Fund, established a good working relationship with them and personally assessed the needs in Poland. The NED staff is most pleased with Aurora's administration of this grant.

ORGANIZATION

The Polish Legal Defense Fund is an umbrella organization for various groups and organizations in Poland whose common goal is to render assistance to Polish citizens who, because of their work for democratic values, are being persecuted by the Polish authorities. While the identities of the Fund's directors cannot be divulged, they are known to the Aurora Foundation, which will administer the grant. The Fund also has an accountant who is responsible for the disbursement and accountability of the moneys it receives. The lawyers it pays are among the best in Poland.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

1.	Legal assistance to prisoners including necessary research and information activities on their behalf	\$25,000
2.	Material assistance to families of prisoners	30,000
3.	Travel and per diem in Poland in connection with the above	<u>5,000</u>
	TOTAL	<u>\$60,000</u>

LITERARY NOTEBOOKS

A Polish-language literary quarterly

SUMMARY

Literary Notebooks a highly respected Polish-language literary quarterly published in Paris, is seeking additional funds to continue publication. The periodical, copies of which are reprinted and distributed in Poland in miniature form, provides a forum where writers in Poland can exchange views with other writers in Poland, other East European countries and the West. The magazine received a NED grant of \$6,000 in FY 1984 and another \$6,000 in September 1985 using end-of-year FY 1985 funds. A larger amount would have been recommended to the Board in September had funds been available.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Literary Notebooks is generally considered to be the best of the many Polish literary periodicals published in the West. It was founded in 1982 shortly after the Polish military regime banned the official Polish Writers Union and the PEN Club, an action which closed the two most effective forums for communication between Polish writers and their colleagues abroad.

Literary Notebooks was established to bridge this gap by providing a forum where Polish writers and critics can publish and exchange views among themselves as well as with writers in other East European countries and the West. The magazine thus serves as an outlet where writers in Poland can have their works published and distributed within Poland. Since most of these independent writers are without employment, they also are aided financially by the modest honoraria they receive from Literary Notebooks for works that are published. Although published in Paris, the magazine's main impact is within Poland, where 4,000 copies are reprinted and distributed by the underground press, in addition to the 2,600 copies distributed in the West.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

A grant to Literary Notebooks would be consistent with several of NED's objectives. It would help to sustain independent public opinion in a closed society and to provide an outlet for the dissemination of works by independent writers and critics. It would provide a channel of communication between writers in Poland and those in other communist countries as well as in the West. Finally, it would help to support some of the better known independent writers in Poland by providing funds with which they can be paid for the articles published by Literary Notebooks.

ORGANIZATION

Literary Notebooks is published in Paris by an editorial board comprised of representatives of the younger generation of Polish writers and critics who have come to the West in recent years. The magazine is highly regarded and strongly endorsed by major Polish writers and critics who have been in the West for a longer time, including Nobel Literature Laureate Czeslaw Milosz, literary critic Jan Kott, philosopher Leszek Kolakowski and New York publisher Boleslaw Wierzbianski.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

Literary Notebooks has submitted the following budget for 1986:

1. Overhead (office rent, staff salaries, telephone, furniture, supplies, authors' fees, etc.)	\$57,186
2. Printing of four issues	27,636
3. Accounting	<u>2,400</u>
TOTAL REQUEST	<u>\$87,222</u>

The Board in September approved a grant of \$6,000 to the Aurora Foundation for Literary Notebooks on an emergency basis, using FY 1985 end-of-year funds, to assist in the publication of the next issue of the magazine.

The magazine's financial needs are critical. In FY 1984/85 it was sustained largely by a NED (FY 1984) grant of \$6,000 and a Ford Foundation grant of \$20,000.

The NED Staff now recommends a grant of \$24,000 to meet the production costs of four issues in 1986.

FREEDOM HOUSE (Polish grants)

Freedom House has agreed to administer three projects relating to Poland:

23. Independent Polish Agency	\$30,000
24. Uncensored Poland News Bulletin	30,000
25. Aneks	25,000
Administrative costs of Freedom House	<u>11,400*</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$96,400</u>

Details of these three projects are attached.

Freedom House is a national organization dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions. It was founded 44 years ago and is headquartered in New York City. Among its highly respected publications is Freedom in the World, an annual comparative survey of freedom and human rights in the world.

Max M. Kampelman is the Chairman of the Board (currently on leave). Leonard R. Sussman, the Executive Director, will oversee the execution of activities under the grant.

* Includes \$1,200 for administrative costs (@ 12%) for a grant of \$10,000 for the Committee for Independent Culture in Poland which the Board approved in September 1985. At that time, NED and Freedom House agreed to defer the administrative costs in order to have more funds available for program costs.

INDEPENDENT POLISH AGENCY

SUMMARY

The Independent Polish Agency (IPA) of Lund, Sweden, is seeking funds to expand its use of new technologies to disseminate information among the democratic forces within Poland. Through microfiches and audio cassettes, the Agency reproduces material received from Poland, as well as the West, and sends it back to Poland for distribution there to democratic forces.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The use of new technologies distinguishes this organization from others engaged in reproducing information material for distribution within Poland. Microfiches and audio cassettes are cheaper to produce than books, and their light weight and compact size facilitate their shipment to and distribution within Poland. Moreover, IPA proposes to provide equipment to democratic forces in Poland to enable them to produce microfiche readers and multiple copies of audio cassettes.

IPA has good working relations with a broad range of individuals and organizations in Poland active in the democratic movement. These include underground newspapers, periodicals and publishing houses, as well as individual journalists, film makers and photographers. IPA also has close working relations with Polish emigre publications and organizations in the West, including Kultura in Paris, Aneks in London and the Solidarity office in Brussels. For the latter it reproduces its publications and ships them to Poland. IPA's location in South Sweden, 150 miles by sea from Poland, facilitates its work.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

IPA, through its production and distribution of information materials, helps to sustain a broad range of independent organizations and publishing efforts within Poland and thereby contributes to democratic pluralism in that country.

Its information activities and its use of new technologies complement the work of other Polish organizations in the West -- some of which NED is already assisting -- in distributing information materials within Poland.

ORGANIZATION

IPA was established in 1983 to offer a comprehensive information service on Poland to the Western media and to academic

institutions, as well as to independent Poland-watchers. Working closely with underground Solidarity and its representatives in Brussels and with independent publishing houses in Poland, it has served as a Western clearinghouse for information, photographs, film material, manuscripts and graphics from unofficial sources in Poland. It maintains an archive of more than 30,000 photos from the Solidarity period and a large number of films and documents which it makes available to requesting organizations in the West. It has published two highly praised photo albums on the Solidarity period and its suppression.

Since 1984, IPA has also prepared materials on microfiches for use by democratic forces in Poland. Under agreement with Kultura, the leading Polish emigre publication in the West, it is sending to Poland the complete works of Kultura on microfiches. In the planning stage are microfiches of Polish underground newspapers connected with the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR), as well as the production of parts for inexpensive microfiche readers and for machinery to reproduce audio cassettes which can be assembled in Poland.

IPA's work is conducted by about a dozen persons living in South Sweden. It is headed by Jozef Lebenbaum, a former Polish journalist living in Sweden since 1971. Other activists include former Polish journalists, students and a photographer who runs a photo business in Sweden and who makes its facilities available to IPA.

All of IPA's personnel have until now volunteered their time for this effort.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED LEVEL OF FUNDING

1.	Purchase of materials for microfiche readers and reproduction of audio cassettes	\$12,500
2.	Purchase of equipment for publishing activities	4,000
3.	Travel and shipping	3,500
4.	Office rental in Lund, Sweden (one year)	3,600
5.	Salaries	4,900
6.	Telephone & postage	<u>1,500</u>
	TOTAL	<u>\$30,000</u>

UNCENSORED POLAND NEWS BULLETIN

SUMMARY

Uncensored Poland News Bulletin is a London biweekly which publishes documents and first-hand reports on events in Poland for use by the Western media. Published heretofore on a voluntary basis, the editors are now seeking funds to upgrade the quality of the publication, pay salaries and office expenses and increase distribution in Eastern Europe as well as in the West.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Uncensored Poland News Bulletin is a biweekly published in London by the Information Centre for Polish Affairs. The Centre was established in 1980 to provide prompt and accurate information on developments in Poland, in particular on matters not reflected in official Polish statements and the censored press. The Centre also provides, on a day-to-day basis, information on Polish affairs to the media and to scholars and researchers throughout the world. The Centre has earned a reputation for accuracy and objectivity by distinguishing between fact and opinion and letting readers form their own opinion.

The Bulletin publishes first-hand reports on events in Poland, statements, articles and interviews by leaders and members of Solidarity, documentation from the democratic opposition, articles from the uncensored press and analyses of Polish developments. In 1984, 230 copies of each issue were distributed. Subscribers include newspapers and radio/tv stations in the West, universities and scholarly libraries, government offices, Western embassies in Warsaw and human rights organizations.

The Bulletin is edited on a voluntary basis in the homes of its editors. Funds are now sought to:

- pay for translations of documents received from Poland;
- pay salaries of a part-time editor and full-time secretary;
- purchase a personal computer with word processing software and printer which would enable requested documents on Poland to be transmitted electronically to recipients anywhere in the world;
- double the distribution by providing free subscriptions to fill requests from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

A grant to assist the Bulletin would help meet several Endowment objectives in the closed societies of Eastern Europe. By providing accurate and objective information about Poland to the Western media

the Bulletin helps focus Western attention on the democratic movement in Poland. It thereby helps to moderate Polish government repressive measures and to build Western support for the democratic forces. The Bulletin also acts as a channel for communication between democratic forces within Poland and their supporters abroad, thus helping to overcome the isolation imposed by the Polish regime and raising the morale of the democratic forces.

This proposal was reviewed and recommended by a panel of Soviet and East European specialists convened by the NED staff.

ORGANIZATION

Established in February 1980, the Information Center for Polish Affairs brings together journalists, writers and human rights activists in Great Britain who have direct access to official and unofficial sources in Poland and an intimate knowledge of that country's affairs.

Its Editorial Board, which also functions as the Management Committee, consists of British subjects, most of whom have been resident in the United Kingdom since World War II. Three are retired officials of the BBC's Polish service. The Board Chairman is Jan Radomyski, a journalist and retired deputy chief of the BBC's Polish Section.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

The Centre is requesting funds to cover the costs of publishing the Bulletin for one year (27 issues):

1.	printing and copying		£ 9,100
2.	translations from Polish to English		11,250
3.	postage		7,000
4.	telephone		1,600
5.	office rent		3,500
6.	office supplies, insurance, etc.		2,000
7.	salary for secretary (full-time)		6,000
8.	salary for editor (part-time)		4,000
9.	purchase of IBM Computer	3,400	
	letter-quality printer	450	
	and software	600	
			<u>4,450</u>
	TOTAL COSTS		48,900
	INCOME FROM SUBSCRIPTIONS		<u>12,200</u>
	REQUESTED FROM NED		£36,700

US \$52,848

(@\$1.44 = £1)

The NED staff recommends a grant of \$30,000 to be apportioned among the above listed line items.

ANEKS

A Polish-language Quarterly Journal

SUMMARY

ANEKS (Annex) is an organization in London which publishes a Polish language political quarterly, Aneks, and books and documents on Poland and Eastern Europe. The highly regarded quarterly is written primarily for intellectuals and students in Poland, where it is widely distributed. Funds are requested to increase distribution of the quarterly, pay authors' fees, expand the publication of books, and hire a full-time staffer.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

ANEKS (Annex in Polish) is a London-based Polish-language house which publishes political publications dealing with Poland and Eastern Europe. Its main product, Aneks, is a political quarterly written primarily for intellectuals and students in Poland.

Aneks represents a broad range of democratic views and is not linked with any organization or ideology. As the editors say in their Statement of Aims:

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

Most of the authors published by Aneks are Polish, some living within Poland and others abroad, as well as writers from other East European countries, the Soviet Union and the West. Polish dissident writers who have been published include Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, Jan Jozef Lipski and Edward Lipinski. Polish writers in the West include Leszek Kolakowski, Czeslaw Milosz and Stanislaw Baranczak. Others who have been published include Hannah Arendt, Raymond Aron, Friedrich Hayek, Irving Howe, Robert Heilbroner, Samuel Huntington, Alain Besancon and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The objective in publishing such writers is to help end the isolation which political censorship has imposed on the Polish intelligentsia in an attempt to cut it off from intellectual and political developments in neighboring communist states, Western Europe and the United States. This gap Aneks attempts to fill by providing a forum for a wide-ranging debate on political, social, economic and philosophical issues of interest to its readers in Poland.

The quarterly is edited in London and Paris, and type-set and printed in London. Two thousand copies of each issue are printed, of which half go to paid subscribers in the West and the other half are distributed free-of-charge within Poland and Eastern Europe. In Poland, the independent press has reprinted entire issues as well as individual articles and sections of issues devoted to a particular subject.

Book publishing is another ANEKS activity. Works include political documents from the Polish underground, political and social essays, fiction and poetry, all by authors who are unable to publish officially in Poland and other Eastern European countries.

Since its inception in 1973, ANEKS has existed thanks to the efforts of unpaid editors, contributors, translators and other collaborators. Its editors are now seeking funds to increase by one thousand the number of copies of the quarterly sent free-of-charge to Poland and Eastern Europe, increase the number of books published, pay authors' fees and hire, for the first time, a full-time administrator so that the editors can devote more time to editorial work.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

Support for ANEKS would help meet several of the Endowment's objectives in closed societies. It would provide a forum for an exchange of views among a broad range of democrats both within Poland and abroad. Through this exchange it would encourage democratic pluralism within Poland. And by facilitating an exchange between Poland and the West it would help to end the isolation from Western thought which the Polish regime has sought to impose.

ANEKS is highly recommended by many Western experts on Poland including, among others, Jan Nowak, former director of RFE's Polish Service; Leo Labedz, Editor of Survey; and Professor Adam B. Ulam, Harvard University.

ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND

Aneks is mainly the work of two brothers, Aleksander and Eugeniusz Smolar who, as students, were close associates of Polish dissidents Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik. After participating in the 1968 Warsaw student protests, the two brothers were expelled from the university, imprisoned and denied further scholarly work, which caused their eventual emigration. Alexander Smolar, the Chief Editor, is an economist in Paris where he works at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and is an advisor on Polish affairs to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Eugeniusz Smolar, co-editor and publisher, is a sociologist in London, where he works full-time for the BBC.

Other editorial board members are Dr. Nina Smolar, a biochemist in London; Irena Grosfeld, an economist in Paris; Dr. Jan Gross, a sociologist at Emory University, Georgia; and Dr. Krzysztof Dorosz, a linguist and literary critic, London.

All editors and board members are employed full-time in other positions, and work on ANEKS in their free time from their homes.

Aneks quarterly currently has 1,400 paying subscribers, including 220 institutional subscribers, at the annual subscription rate of \$10 or \$20 each. Official subscribers in Poland include several national and university libraries. Copies are also sent by request to more than 30 research institutes in Poland.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

The editors have submitted the following one-year request:

1. salary for full-time assistant, including benefits	\$10,000
2. rent of editorial office	4,000
3. authors' fees	2,000
4. increased print run for <u>Aneks</u> distribution in Eastern Europe	10,000
5. publication of 8 additional books	<u>24,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$50,000</u>

A grant of \$25,000 is recommended to be apportioned among the above listed line items.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF ARTS & SCIENCES OF AMERICA, INC.
BOOKS ON POLISH DEMOCRACY

SUMMARY

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, Inc. (PIASA) is seeking funds to publish three books in Polish on the development of democracy in Poland during the period 1939-1969. The three books, collections of writings of Polish political leaders and intellectuals both in Poland and the West, are titled The Political Philosophy of the Democratic Left, The Political Philosophy of the Christian Democratic Movement and Letters from the Underground. Distribution of the books would be made in Poland as well as the West.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

PIASA seeks funds to publish collections of writings on the development of political thought within Poland and among Polish emigres in the West during the period 1939-1969. This was a very prolific period in Polish political thought, with a broad national discussion on the causes of the fall of the Polish Republic; how a new society should be organized after the War; the general issues of democracy, federalism, human rights and race relations; a constructive criticism of Marxism; and international issues concerning the need to establish a lasting peace. These writings were published both within Poland by the underground press and in journals abroad in England, France, Italy and the United States. The period 1939-69 has been chosen because it was during these years that such writings could not be distributed openly in Poland, and many of them reached Poland only by radio broadcast from the West. As a consequence, there is no record of them in Poland for use by the younger generation today.

PIASA has a rich archive of documents for these volumes, collected during the period 1975-1978 from London, Paris and Rome, and funded by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. A subsequent grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities enabled PIASA to store the documents in safe, acid-free boxes. In recent years, the documents have been catalogued and a catalogue published. The preliminary work has therefore been completed, and the materials are ready for final editing in New York and publication in London.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

This proposal meets several of the Endowment's objectives in closed societies. It gives support and encouragement to democratic forces in Poland, in particular to those nascent and renascent elements of the democratic left and the Christian Democratic movements, and will thereby encourage the pluralism which is a prerequisite for democracy. It will also help to sustain a dialogue between democrats within Poland and those who have been in exile in the West.

These volumes will also help overcome Poland's partial isolation from the West for almost forty years, during which it was cut off from Western political thinking and writings, first by World War II and then by the Iron Curtain, regime censorship and strict political control. In the final analysis, these volumes will provide an historic point of reference for the younger generation in Poland today which is seeking answers to the same questions posed by their fathers and grandfathers concerning the future of democracy in Poland.

ORGANIZATION

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, Inc., of New York City, founded in 1942, is a non-profit, non-political academic and cultural organization dedicated to increasing American understanding of Poland's cultural and intellectual heritage. Its president is The Honorable John A. Gronouski, former Postmaster General and U.S. Ambassador to Poland. Its Treasurer is Witold Sulimirski, Executive Vice President, Irving Trust Company. Executive Vice President and Project Director for the book project is Dr. Feliks Gross, Professor Emeritus, Brooklyn College and CUNY Graduate Center. Among its Board members are Zbigniew Brzezinski, Professor Alexander Schenker of Yale University and Professor Magnus Krynski of Duke University.

PIASA received a grant from NED in FY 1984 for \$90,000 for assistance to political prisoners and the intellectual opposition in Poland. This grant was successfully executed and evidence of the delivery of the material assistance was provided.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

PIASA has submitted the following budget for publication of the three volumes:

1.	Salaries	\$19,000
2.	Editing and Translations	8,000
3.	Authors' honoraria	5,000
4.	Operating expenses (equipment, telephone, stationary, postage, etc.)	3,100
5.	Printing and publication	10,000
6.	Audit	500
7.	PIASA Administrative expenses	<u>6,000</u>
	TOTAL REQUEST	<u>\$51,600</u>

The NED staff recommends a grant of \$25,000 to be apportioned among the above mentioned categories.

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE

SUMMARY

The Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE) is requesting funds to continue its activities in support of democracy in Eastern Europe, primarily in Poland, through support to independent publishing houses and to self-education and human rights groups. IDEE is an outgrowth of the Committee in Support of Solidarity, which received a NED grant in FY 84 for similar activities in Eastern Europe.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The two-part program proposed by IDEE includes support for:

1. Independent Publishing Houses

Independent publishing, i.e. that which is not controlled by the Polish state or subject to its censorship, is today one of the most effective means for Solidarity and the democratic movement to support and encourage independent public opinion. Several hundred independent publications appear regularly in Poland in editions of several hundred to 20,000 or more copies. The major independent publishing houses, representing a broad spectrum of democratic views, have formed a consortium to receive and distribute funds which will enable them to continue their activities. Funds would be used by the consortium to purchase supplies and equipment, and to pay writers, editors, printers and distributors of their publications. Despite the current crackdown by the Polish authorities, these publishing houses continue to be active in turning out books, monographs, textbooks and pamphlets written by Polish writers and journalists who are unable, for political reasons, to work for state enterprises.

2. Self-Education and Human Rights Groups, and Other Independent Periodicals

Organized for independent study, cultural activities and the defense of human rights in Poland, these groups publish a wide range of political, social and cultural journals. They represent diverse views which are independent of official Polish policy. They do not receive funding from Solidarity or from sources in the West.

REASONS FOR ENDOWMENT SUPPORT

A grant to IDEE will provide support to the democratic forces in Poland and will encourage independent public opinion in that country, both of which are Endowment objectives in closed societies.

ORGANIZATION

IDEE is an outgrowth of the Committee in Support of Solidarity which was established in 1981 in New York to organize support in the United States for the Solidarity movement in the aftermath of the imposition of martial law in Poland. The Committee is composed of former Solidarity activists now in the United States, former members of the Polish democratic movement, Polish-Americans, trade unionists and others who have organized support and raised funds for Solidarity.

The Committee received a NED grant of \$91,825 in FY 1984 for support of publishing and other independent cultural and educational activities in Poland. The Committee (and now IDEE) has established close working relations with a broad range of independent publishing houses, publications and human rights groups. Support grants to 45 such organizations were made by the Committee under the FY 1984 grant, and evidence of their effectiveness has been submitted.

IDEE's objectives are to conduct educational, cultural and publication activities in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland, in support of democracy.

Chairperson of IDEE is Irena Lasota, a U.S. citizen who was active in the 1968 student protests at Warsaw University. Its Vice-chairpersons are Jakub Karpinski, author and lecturer; Arch Puddington, author and editor of Workers Under Communism; Agnieszka Kolakowska, translator; and Wacław Adamczyk, author. Executive Director is Eric Chenoweth.

BUDGET AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING LEVEL

IDEE originally requested \$161,700. After discussions with the NED staff, the amount of the proposed grant has been reduced to \$123,200 as follows:

1. Consortium of independent publishing houses	\$ 90,000
2. Support grants for self-education and human rights groups	20,000
3. Administrative costs for IDEE @ 12%	<u>13,200</u>
TOTAL REQUEST	<u>\$123,200</u>

New File:

"Soviet Non-Group" (SNG)

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SECRETARIAT

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TAGS: COE, NL, XH, XM

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN SYMPOSIUM ON NICARAGUA: A CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN
YOUTH

- HUMAN RIGHTS IN NICARAGUA,
- THE CHURCH AND THE REVOLUTION,
- MULTI-CULTURAL NICARAGUA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY,
- WOMEN IN NICARAGUA,
- EDUCATION IN NICARAGUA.

2) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE IDEAS AND ANALYSE EXPERIENCES OF BUILDING UP A NEW SOCIETY IN ORDER TO SEE WHAT CHALLENGES THEY POSE TO EUROPEAN YOUTH AND DISCERN HOW FAR THEY CAN STIMULATE A MORE DEDICATED FORM OF YOUTH WORK ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN SOCIETIES.

3) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL BRING TOGETHER DIFFERENT YOUTH MOVEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS WHICH ARE, OR WANT TO BE, ACTIVE IN SUPPORTING THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION, IN ORDER TO COMPARE THEIR EXPERIENCES AND ESTABLISH COMMON GROUNDS AND PROJECTS AROUND WHICH YOUNG EUROPEANS CAN CONTINUE TO WORK IN SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA IN DEFENCE OF ITS REVOLUTION.

4) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN ONGOING INFORMATION CAMPAIGN CONCERNING NICARAGUA, AND PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO DOMINANT INFORMATION WHICH REDUCES THE REALITY OF NICARAGUA TO A TEST-CASE FOR ONE SUPER-POWER IDEOLOGY OR ANOTHER IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

BT

1. THE EUROPEAN YOUTH CENTER IS HOLDING A SPECIAL SYMPOSIUM IN STRASBOURG OCTOBER 3-9 ON NICARAGUA, A CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN YOUTH. THE SYMPOSIUM IS BEING ORGANIZED JOINTLY BY THE YOUTH CENTER, 13 INTERNATIONAL YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS (SEE PARA 4 BELOW), AND THE EUROPEAN COORDINATION OF NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGNS. GUEST SPEAKERS AT THE SYMPOSIUM WILL INCLUDE PIERRE SCHORI, SWEDISH UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FERNANDO CARDENAL, PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR EDUCATION IN NICARAGUA, CLAUDE JULIEN (LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE), PIERRE GALAND OF THE NGO-EEC LIAISON OFFICE, URUGUAYAN AUTHOR EDUARDO GALEANO, PROFESSOR GERARD LUTTE (ROME UNIVERSITY), M. FITZGERALD, ECONOMIST AT THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE HAGUE, AND ADRIEN ZOLLER, REPRESENTATIVE OF PAY CHRISTI TO THE UNITED NATIONS, GENEVA. REPRESENTATIVES FROM AMERICAS WATCH WILL ALSO PARTICIPATE.

2. THE AIMS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ARE DESCRIBED IN A SYMPOSIUM INFORMATION DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY THE EUROPEAN YOUTH CENTER SEPTEMBER 8TH AND FOLLOWS:

QUOTE:

"1) BASED ON EXAMPLES AND EXPERIENCES OF SOLIDARITY WORK, THE SYMPOSIUM ON NICARAGUA - A CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN YOUTH WILL PROVIDE A PLATFORM TO REFLECT WITH THE HELP OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND OTHERS FROM NICARAGUA ON THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE BUILDING UP OF A NEW SOCIETY, FOCUSSED ON THE FOLLOWING THEMES:

- THE MEANING OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION FOR THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA,
- NICARAGUA AND PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA,
- THE POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF WAR,
- THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS,

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5) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL ENCOURAGE COLLABORATION BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN ORDER TO PROMOTE GREATER SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA, AND WILL LOBBY IN THE EUROPEAN YOUTH STRUCTURES AND PUT PRESSURE ON EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS TO ADOPT POLICIES WHICH WILL UPHOLD NICARAGUA'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. UNQUOTE.

3. SOME 120 YOUTH PARTICIPANTS FROM ACROSS EUROPE ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND. THEY WILL PARTICIPATE IN WORKSHOPS OCTOBER 5 AND 6 ON SYMPOSIUM THEMES. THESE WILL BE FOLLOWED BY A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OCTOBER 6 WITH CARDENAL, GALAND, SCHORI AND JULIEN PARTICIPATING. THE PARTICIPANTS WILL ALSO SPLIT UP INTO WORKING GROUPS TO EXAMINE LOBBYING AND SOLIDARITY WORK AND METHODS. AN EXCHANGE WILL ALSO BE HELD OCTOBER 8 WITH PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.

4. PARTICIPATING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDE THE EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION OF YOUTH CLUB ORGANIZATIONS, INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN YOUTH EXCHANGE-EUROPE, INTERNATIONAL FALCON MOVEMENT (SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL INTERNATIONAL), INTERNATIONAL YOUNG NATURE FRIENDS, INTERNATIONAL YOUNG CATHOLIC STUDENTS, YOUNG EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS, YOUNG CHRISTIAN WORKERS, CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT FOR PEACE, INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT OF CATHOLIC AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL YOUTH, YOUTH MOVEMENT FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER, SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL, EUROPEAN UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS, AND WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION.
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: KAMR, PROG, PREL, DA
SUBJECT: OCTOBER 15-19 COPENHAGEN WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

REFS: (NOTAL) (A) STATE 283662
- (B) USIA COPENHAGEN 6664
- (C) COPENHAGEN 4781
- (D) 85 STATE 316950

1. (S-NF) SUMMARY: EMBASSY RECOMMENDS AGAINST ACTIVE MEASURES WORKING GROUP VISIT AS POSSIBLY HARMFUL TO EFFORT TO UNDERMINE OCTOBER 15-19 WORLD PEACE CONGRESS. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO LOOK INTO UNWITTING WPC SUPPORT WHICH SOME OF U.S. ALLIES MAY BE PROVIDING. DEPARTMENT SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL SAKHAROV COMMITTEE ANTI-WPC EFFORT WOULD BE APPRECIATED. END SUMMARY.

2. (S-NF) AMBASSADOR BELIEVES THAT A VISIT AND/OR ACTIVITIES BY ACTIVE MEASURES WORKING GROUP (AMWG) TEAM 1 COPENHAGEN DURING OCTOBER 15-19 WORLD PEACE CONGRESS (WPC (REF A) WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO A MAJOR AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE THE WPC'S LACK OF CREDIBILITY--A RESULT WHICH HAS BEEN ASSISTED BY BUT IS NOT ENTIRELY DUE TO THE INEPTITUDE OF THE WPC ORGANIZERS. SIRO HAS SEPARATELY ADVISED ITS HEADQUARTERS AGAINST AN AMWG VISIT.

3. (S-NF) THE CONSISTENTLY UNFAVORABLE MEDIA ATTENTION WHICH THE WPC HAS RECEIVED (REF B AND PREVIOUS WPC MEDIAREACT) HAS BEEN IN SUBSTANTIAL PART BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF VISIBLE U.S. CONCERN OR ACTIONS. THE LATTER WOULD HAVE OR WILL ENABLE THE HEAVILY LEFT-INTELLECTUAL DANISH MEDIA TO ADD A "WEST"

DIMENSION TO WHAT WAS EARLY ON RECOGNIZED AS A SOVIET-FRONT OPERATION AND THEREBY HAVE THE WPC GIVEN THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT. ALL DANES CRUCIAL TO WPC CREDIBILITY, SUCH AS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC (SDP) SECURITY SPOKESMAN AND OTHERWISE "PEACE" EVENT SUPPORTER LASSE BUDTZ AND ARNE STINUS OF RADICAL LIBERAL PARTY (OF WHICH WPC CHAIRMAN LANNUNG IS A MEMBER), HAVE BEEN BRIEFED INDIRECTLY AND FULLY WITH THE RESULT THAT THEY BECAME CONFIRMED IN THEIR CONCLUSIONS THAT THE SDP, DENMARK'S LARGEST PARTY, AND THE DANISH UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION (OF WHICH STINUS IS CHAIRMAN) SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE WPC (REF C).

4. (S) WE APPRECIATE THAT THERE MAY BE A NEED FOR BRIEFINGS OF NON-DANISH MEDIA AND DELEGATES. BECAUSE THE FACT OF U.S. BRIEFINGS--AS WELL AS THE PRESENCE OF AN AMWG TEAM--WOULD QUICKLY REACH THE PUBLIC IN THIS HIGHLY OPEN SOCIETY, WE WOULD URGE THAT THEY TAKE PLACE IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN. OUR EFFORTS IN COPENHAGEN SUGGEST THAT THE RECIPIENTS OF THE BRIEFINGS WOULD RESPOND BEST TO EXCHANGES WITH EMBASSY PERSONNEL WITH WHOM THEY ARE ALREADY FAMILIAR, RATHER THAN A SPECIAL-PURPOSE TEAM. WE WOULD APPRECIATE REPORTS OF SUCH EXCHANGES SINCE WE GET GOOD MILEAGE OUT OF DISCREET RECYCLING OF OPINIONS OF OTHER EUROPEANS.

5. (S) WE ARE CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME OF OUR ALLIES MAY BE GIVING THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE (IYP), IF NOT THE WPC ITSELF, AN UNDESERVED CREDIBILITY. THE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY IN COPENHAGEN, E.G., HAS RECENTLY BEGUN PLACING STICKERS WITH

THE IYP PEACE DOVE SYMBOL ON ITS MAIL. IT ALSO PROVIDED US (PROTECT) WHEN WE QUERIED WITH A SAMPLE FOLDER OF MATERIAL WHICH CANBERRA IS PROVIDING AUSTRALIAN MISSIONS. THE EMBASSY MAINTAINED THAT THE AUSTRALIANS ARE DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN IYP AND WPC--A SUBTLETY OF LITTLE VALUE GIVEN THE SOVIET INSPIRATION OF BOTH EVENTS.

6. (LOU) THE HIGHLY RESPECTED INTERNATIONAL SAKHAROV COMMITTEE (ISC) HAS APPROACHED THE EMBASSY FOR ASSISTANCE IN AN INVITATION IT PLANS TO SEND TO A U.S. SENATOR OR REPRESENTATIVE TO SIT ON OCTOBER 14-15 AFGHANISTAN TRIBUNAL IT IS ARRANGING AS A COUNTER BT

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: KAMR, PROG, PREL, DA
SUBJECT: OCTOBER 15-19 COPENHAGEN WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

TO THE WPC. THE ISC (SEE REF D AND PREVIOUS FOR
BACKGROUND ON OTHER ISC EFFORTS) IS ALSO INVITING
FORMER UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES
AND FORMER DANISH PRIME MINISTER POUL HARTLING,
A GERMAN POLITICAL FIGURE AND A BRITISH. THE ISC
IS CONSIDERING SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY IN THE FIRST
INSTANCE (WHOSE OFFICE WAS ALREADY PREPARED TO REJECT
A WPC INVITATION) AND WE HAVE SUGGESTED REPRESENTATIVE
STEPHEN SOLARZ OR SENATOR CHARLES MATHIAS AS
ALTERNATIVES. DEPARTMENT SUPPORT WOULD BE APPRECIATED.
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: COE, NU, XK, XM
SUBJECT: EUROPEAN SYMPOSIUM ON NICARAGUA: A CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN
YOUTH

1. THE EUROPEAN YOUTH CENTER IS HOLDING A SPECIAL SYMPOSIUM IN STRASBOURG OCTOBER 3-9 ON NICARAGUA, A CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN YOUTH. THE SYMPOSIUM IS BEING ORGANIZED JOINTLY BY THE YOUTH CENTER, 13 INTERNATIONAL YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS (SEE PARA 4 BELOW), AND THE EUROPEAN COORDINATION OF NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGNS. GUEST SPEAKERS AT THE SYMPOSIUM WILL INCLUDE PIERRE SCHORI, SWEDISH UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FERNANDO CARDENAL, PRIEST AND MINISTER FOR EDUCATION IN NICARAGUA, CLAUDE JULIEN (LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE), PIERRE GALAND OF THE NGO-EEC LIAISON OFFICE, URUGUAYAN AUTHOR EDUARDO GALEANO, PROFESSOR GERARD LUTTE (RDME UNIVERSITY), W. FITZGERRALD, ECONOMIST AT THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE HAGUE, AND ADRIEN ZOLLER, REPRESENTATIVE OF PAX CHRISTI TO THE UNITED NATIONS, GENEVA. REPRESENTATIVES FROM AMERICAS WATCH WILL ALSO PARTICIPATE.

2. THE AIMS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ARE DESCRIBED IN A SYMPOSIUM INFORMATION DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY THE EUROPEAN YOUTH CENTER SEPTEMBER 8TH AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE:

1) BASED ON EXAMPLES AND EXPERIENCES OF SOLIDARITY WORK, THE SYMPOSIUM ON NICARAGUA - A CHALLENGE TO EUROPEAN YOUTH WILL PROVIDE A PLATFORM TO REFLECT WITH THE HELP OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND OTHERS FROM NICARAGUA ON THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE BUILDING UP OF A NEW SOCIETY, FOCUSING ON THE FOLLOWING THEMES:

- THE MEANING OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION FOR THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA,
- NICARAGUA AND PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA,
- THE POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF WAR,
- THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS,

- HUMAN RIGHTS IN NICARAGUA,
- THE CHURCH AND THE REVOLUTION,
- MULTI-CULTURAL NICARAGUA AND NATIONALITY IDENTITY,
- WOMEN IN NICARAGUA,
- EDUCATION IN NICARAGUA.

2) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE IDEAS AND ANALYSE EXPERIENCES OF BUILDING UP A NEW SOCIETY IN ORDER TO SEE WHAT CHALLENGES THEY POSE TO EUROPEAN YOUTH AND DISCERN HOW FAR THEY CAN STIMULATE A MORE DEDICATED FORM OF YOUTH WORK ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN SOCIETIES.

3) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL BRING TOGETHER DIFFERENT YOUTH MOVEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS WHICH ARE, OR WANT TO BE, ACTIVE IN SUPPORTING THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION, IN ORDER TO COMPARE THEIR EXPERIENCES AND ESTABLISH COMMON GROUNDS AND PROJECTS AROUND WHICH YOUNG EUROPEANS CAN CONTINUE TO WORK IN SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUAN IN DEFENCE OF ITS REVOLUTION.

4) THE SYMPOSIUM WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN ONGOING INFORMATION CAMPAIGN CONCERNING NICARAGUA, AND PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO DOMINANT INFORMATION WHICH REDUCES THE REALITY OF NICARAGUA TO A TEST-CASE FOR ONE SUPER-POWER IDEOLOGY OR ANOTHER IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

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5. NEXT MINISTERS MEETING: CASTRO HAS BECOME ESPECIALLY
SOLICITOUS OF NORTH KOREAN INTERESTS SINCE HE VISITED
THERE IN MARCH 1986. ALTHOUGH THE 1989 SUMMIT WAS THE
PRIMARY CUBAN FOCUS, CASTRO CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE WELCOMED
PYONGYAN AS THE SITE OF THE 1988 MINISTERIAL. CYPRUS
IS A POOR LOCATION FOR CUBA TO PLAY A PROMINENT ROLE.

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, NAM, CU
SUBJECT: NAM SUMMIT: SCANT PAYOFF FOR CUBA'S AGENDA

6. SOUTHERN AFRICA: CASTRO GOT THE NAM TO REJECT LINKAGE
BETWEEN CUBAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE,
AND HE USED THE NAM ROSTRUM TO RESTATE FORCEFULLY CUBA'S
OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. BUT CASTRO'S REAFFIRMATION OF
THE CONDITIONS FOR WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN
ANGOLA WAS NOTHING NEW, NOR WAS HIS SPECIFYING THE NUMBER
OF 20,000 AS SUBJECT TO WITHDRAWAL IN A NAMIBIA PACKAGE
DEAL. OTHER NAM POSITIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES
SEEMED TAME BY THE STANDARDS OF CUBAN RHETORIC,
ESPECIALLY REGARDING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. CASTRO'S
EXPECTATION THAT HOLDING THE NAM IN HARARE WOULD GIVE THE
MOVEMENT AND CUBA A BIGGER SAY IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN MATTERS
PROVED LARGELY ILLUSORY. THE KEY LANGUAGE ADOPTED BY THE
SUMMIT APPEARS TO REFLECT PREPARATORY WORK AT THE OAU AND,
ESPECIALLY, THE FRONT-LINE MEETING IN LUANDA IN AUGUST.
CUBA WAS NOT PRESENT AT EITHER OF THOSE MEETINGS, AND IT
THEREFORE FOUND ITSELF UNABLE TO SHAPE THE AFRICAN ISSUES
TO ANY MAJOR EXTENT EITHER IN PLENARY OR IN THE NAM
COMMITTEES.

1. ~~ENTIRE~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

7. LIBYA: THE ONE THIRD-WORLD LEADER WHO CAN RELIABLY
UPSTAGE CASTRO IS QADHAFI, AND HE DID SO AT HARARE.

2. SUMMARY: CUBA REGARDS THE NAM AS ITS OWN SPECIAL TURF,
AND THE HARARE SUMMIT WAS DISAPPOINTING FOR THE CUBANS ON
SEVERAL COUNTS. CUBA ORCHESTRATED THE DECISION A YEAR AGO
TO HOLD THIS SUMMIT IN ZIMBABWE, AND IT OBVIOUSLY PLANNED
TO DO THE SAME IN CHOOSING THE SITE OF THE NEXT ONE. THE
CUBANS FOUND THEY COULD NEITHER CHARM NOR BULLY THEIR
THIRD-WORLD FRIENDS TO ACCEPT NICARAGUA AS THE HEIR-
APPARENT TO ZIMBABWE'S MANTLE, AND BY THE END OF THE SUM-
MIT THE CUBANS MAY HAVE BEEN ASKING THEMSELVES WHETHER
PUTTING THEIR MONEY ON ZIMBABWE HAD BEEN SUCH A WORTHWHILE
IDEA IN THE FIRST PLACE. END SUMMARY.

CASTRO AND DANIEL ORTEGA HAD A MEMORABLE PHOTO TAKEN WITH
THE LIBYAN LEADER WHICH APPEARED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF
GRANMA ON SEPTEMBER 5. AND FIDEL MADE THE RIGHT NOISES
ABOUT SOLIDARITY WITH LIBYA, REplete WITH CONDEMNATION
OF THE U.S. FOR BOMBING TRIPOLI. NEVERTHELESS, THE
RANTINGS OF QADHAFI IN PLENARY, INCLUDING HIS QUESTIONING
OF THE VALIDITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, WERE WIDELY
REPORTED AND DEPLORED BY OTHER NAM MEMBERS (INCLUDING
THE CHAIRMAN, MUGABE). THE CUBAN PRESS CAUTIOUSLY
ACKNOWLEDGED THE SCORN QADHAFI HEAPED ON THE NAM AND THE
REBUKE HE RECEIVED FROM MUGABE AFTER HIS SPEECH AS WELL
AS THE REJECTION OF HIS VIEWS BY EGYPT, IVORY COAST,
CAMEROON AND ZAIRE IN THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE SUMMIT.
PRIVATELY, WE SUSPECT CASTRO WAS APPALLED BY QADHAFI'S
BT

3. THE CUBAN LEADERSHIP IS STILL IN AFRICA, AND PERHAPS
IT IS STILL TOO SOON TO DRAW A BALANCE SHEET FOR THE
EIGHTH NAM SUMMIT AS IT AFFECTED CUBAN INTERESTS. NEVER-
THELESS, DRAWING ON CUBAN PRESS REPORTS OF THE EVENT, AND
WEIGHING THEM AGAINST AMEMBASSY HARARE'S EXCELLENT
COVERAGE, IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT CUBA DID LESS WELL THAN
IT EXPECTED IN HARARE.

4. NEXT SUMMIT: AT THE OUTSET, CUBA'S PRESS (LIKE
MANAGUA'S) WAS FULL OF OPTIMISTIC STATEMENTS ABOUT
NICARAGUA'S CHANCE OF BEING DESIGNATED TO HOLD THE NINTH
SUMMIT IN 1989. GETTING THIS DECISION NAILED DOWN WAS
AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT ON CUBA'S AGENDA IN HARARE, BOTH AS
AN IMMEDIATE BOOST TO NICARAGUA'S PRESTIGE AND FOR A MORE
PRACTICAL REASON. IF MANAGUA IS TO PLAY HOST TO A MAJOR
MEETING LIKE THE NAM, IT NEEDS A NEW CONFERENCE CENTER--
AND THE CUBANS WOULD HAVE TO BUILD IT, GIVEN THE LACK OF
SUFFICIENT RESOURCES IN NICARAGUA AND THE PAUCITY OF
BENEFACTORS WILLING TO TAKE ON A PROJECT OF THIS SIZE AND
DUBIOUS RETURN ON CAPITAL. BY POSTPONING THE DECISION,
THE NAM HAS IN EFFECT PLACED CUBA IN THE POSITION OF HAVING
TO RISK THE COSTS OF A MAJOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT
BEFORE THE CHAIRMANSHIP IS FIRM, OR DEFERRING A CONSTRU-

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, NAM, CU
SUBJECT: NAM SUMMIT: SCANT PAYOFF FOR CUBA'S AGENDA

BEHAVIOR AND THE PHOTO OF THE THREE RADICALS MAY COME TO
HAUNT HIM IN THE FUTURE.

8. IRAN-IRAQ: CUBA HAS ON OCCASION FANCIED ITSELF A
PEACEMAKER BETWEEN THESE TWO WARRING NAM MEMBERS. DESPITE
PRE-NAM VISITS TO HAVANA BY THE IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
AND A BAGHDAD VISIT BY A SENIOR CUBAN POLITBURO MEMBER,
IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT NEITHER CUBA NOR ANYONE ELSE COULD DO
ANYTHING BUT WITNESS THE HOSTILITY OF THE TWO PROTAGONISTS
THE ISSUE CROWDED OUT SOME OF THE ATTENTION THE CUBANS
WOULD HAVE WISHED TO GIVE TO ANTI-IMPERIALIST THEMES, SUCH
AS CENTRAL AMERICA.

9. FOREIGN DEBT: CASTRO DEVOTED A PORTION OF HIS SPEECH
TO THE DEBT PROBLEM, WHICH WAS AT THE CENTERPIECE OF CUBAN
FOREIGN POLICY DURING 1985. BUT WITH PERUVIAN PRESIDENT
ALAN GARCIA IN ATTENDANCE, THE CUBANS RISKED REOPENING
OLD DISPUTES IF THEY TRIED TO CHALLENGE PERU'S ECONOMIC
COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIP AND CONCRETE EXPERIENCE ON DEBT.
MOREOVER, THE SUMMIT OCCURRED JUST AS CUBA WAS MEETING IN
PARIS WITH ITS PRIVATE CREDITORS DESPERATELY TRYING TO
SECURE ENOUGH CREDIT TO MAKE ENDS MEET FOR THE COMING YEAR
AFTER A DISASTROUS DETERIORATION OF ITS BALANCE OF PAY-
MENTS POSITION IN THE PAST YEAR. RADICAL RHETORIC IN
HARARE, WE SUSPECT, WOULD BE DULY NOTED BY THE BANKS WHO
ARE BEING ASKED TO STRETCH OUT REPAYMENT TERMS FOR THE
HARD-PRESSED CUBANS.

10. CONCLUSION: THE SUMMIT WAS NOT A DISASTER FOR THE
CUBANS, NOR EVEN A SETBACK. CASTRO STILL RUBBED ELBOWS
WITH THIRD-WORLD LEADERS ALL THE WAY FROM UGANDA TO
VANUATU. HIS POST-SUMMIT VISIT TO ANGOLA WILL GIVE HIM
A CHANCE TO MAKE UP LOST GROUND ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ISSUES. BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE CUBANS ORGANIZED
EARLY, SPENT CONSIDERABLE MONEY AND TWISTED A LOT OF ARMS.
THEY HAVE PRECIOUS LITTLE TO SHOW FOR THE EFFORT.
KAMMAN

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IN LATIN AMERICA IS MANIFESTING ITSELF IN AN INCREASING EXCHANGE OF VISITS BETWEEN SENIOR SOUTH AMERICAN AND SOVIET LEADERS. ALTHOUGH MOSCOW'S AMBITIONS IN THE AREA APPEAR TO EXCEED ITS PRESENT CAPABILITIES, THE SOVIETS SEEM TO BE AS DETERMINED TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE IN LATIN AMERICA, AS THEY ARE ELSEWHERE.
END SUMMARY

VISITS AND VISITORS

ROUTINE

DE RUEHMO #6154/01 2601630
R 171615Z SEP 86
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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3. UNDER GORBACHEV, AND IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD ACTIVIZATION OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, MOSCOW IS DEVOTING CONSIDERABLY MORE ATTENTION TO LATIN AMERICA. IN THE LAST YEAR, THEY HAVE HOSTED A NUMBER OF REGIONAL LEADERS: BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SETUBAL VISITED MOSCOW IN DECEMBER 1985, ARGENTINE FOREIGN MINISTER CAPUTO FOLLOWED IN JANUARY AND URUGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTER INGLESIAO IN JULY. ARGENTINE PRESIDENT ALFONSIN IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN MOSCOW NEXT MONTH. MOREOVER, HIGH LEVEL SOVIET DELEGATIONS WILL SOON START A SERIES OF VISITS TO LATIN AMERICA. FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE WILL PAY A VISIT TO MEXICO IN OCTOBER AND REPORTEDLY TO BRAZIL AND POSSIBLY URUGUAY AND ARGENTINA AT THE END OF 1986 OR THE BEGINNING OF 1987. IN ADDITION, OUR MEXICAN COLLEAGUES TELL US THAT IN 1987 GORBACHEV COULD VISIT MEXICO, AND ALSO RUMORED, ARE ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL. THIS FLURRY OF VISITS APPEARS TO STEM FROM SEVERAL FACTORS. A) A GENERAL ACTIVIZATION OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY WHICH HAS COME TO INCLUDE LATIN AMERICA; B) SOVIET INTEREST IN COURTING THE DELMI SIX AND; C) A POSSIBLE SOVIET PERCEPTION OF NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN LATIN AMERICA.

MOTIVES

4. IN THE PAST, THE PRESENCE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENTS IN MANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES LIMITED MOSCOW'S OPTIONS IN THE REGION. IN ADDITION, NEITHER BREZHNEV IN HIS LATE YEARS NOR HIS TWO IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS WERE INTERESTED IN CHALLENGING BIASES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. NOW, ACCORDING TO SOVIET MFA OFFICERS, THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRATIC REGIMES IN A NUMBER OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAS REMOVED BARRIERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 MOSCOW 16154

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UR, US, XR, XL, XK
SUBJECT: INTENSIFYING SOVIET ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. IN THE PAST, LATIN AMERICA HAS NOT BEEN A HIGH PRIORITY IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. UNDER GORBACHEV, IT SEEMS TO BE GETTING NEW ATTENTION. MOSCOW BELIEVES THAT LATIN AMERICA OFFERS THE SOVIET UNION OPPORTUNITIES IN ITS GLOBAL COMPETITION WITH THE U.S. AND IN AREAS SUCH AS TRADE. THE NEW SOVIET DIPLOMACY

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F95-0412A109

BY d NARA, DATE 8/27/99

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 MOSCOW 16154

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: INTENSIFYING SOVIET ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA

TO RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. AND GORBACHEV IS
WILLING TO TEST THE WATERS.

5. MOSCOW'S MOTIVES, HOWEVER, GO BEYOND THE EXPLORATORY.
IN THE VIEW OF AT LEAST SOME SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY
PROFESSIONALS, LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARE EMERGING
FROM DECADES OF QUIESCENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
AND ARE BEGINNING TO ASSERT THEIR OWN VIEWS ON
INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, INSTEAD OF PASSIVELY FOLLOWING
THE U.S. LINE. MOSCOW IS ALSO AWARE OF THE GREAT
STRIDES WHICH SEVERAL NATIONS, SUCH AS BRAZIL, HAVE MADE

IN INDUSTRIALIZATION. MOREOVER, THE REGION'S SOCIAL
CHANGE AND UNREST - E.G., THE TREND TOWARD DEMOCRATIZA-
TION, TURMOIL IN HAITI AND CHILE - HAVE EVOKED MOSCOW'S
INTEREST. SOVIET EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT U.S. RELATIONS
WITH LATIN AMERICA ARE BECOMING MORE STRAINED BECAUSE
OF THE DEBT QUESTION, TRADE BARRIERS, U.S. ACTIONS IN
CENTRAL AMERICA, ETC., AND THEY HOPE THAT SUCH PROBLEMS
WILL WEAKEN U.S. POLITICAL APPEAL IN THE REGION.

6. IN LIGHT OF THESE PERCEIVED TRENDS, THE SOVIETS
APPEAR TO SEE NEW POSSIBILITIES TO ENCOURAGE LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO ADOPT FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS
SIMILAR TO OR SUPPORTIVE OF SOVIET POSITIONS ON ISSUES
SUCH AS DISARMAMENT AND CENTRAL AMERICA. THEY WANT
TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF EVENTS IN COUNTRIES SUCH
AS HAITI AND CHILE TO IMPROVE THEIR POSITION IN THE
REGION. IN ADDITION, MOSCOW WOULD LIKE TO HAVE ACCESS TO
SOUTH AMERICAN MARKETS AND TO THE TECHNOLOGY WHICH SOME
OF THE COUNTRIES, E.G., BRAZIL, ARE PRODUCING.

7. MOSCOW ALSO HAS DEFENSIVE MOTIVES, PARTICULARLY
IN SEEKING TO HELP PRESERVE SANDINISTA GAINS IN
NICARAGUA. PROMOTING LATIN AMERICAN ACCEPTANCE OF
THE SANDINISTAS AND OPPOSITION TO U.S. POLICIES ARE
ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET STRATEGY. IN EFFECT, THEY ARE
HOPING TO ISOLATE THE U.S. ON THIS ISSUE AND THEREBY
CONSTRAIN U.S. ACTIONS.

8. SOVIET INTEREST IN LATIN AMERICA IS REFLECTED IN
A COMMENT THAT MFA FIRST LATIN AMERICAN DEPARTMENT CHIEF
KAZIMIROV REPORTEDLY MADE TO LATIN AMERICAN DIPLOMATS
AFTER THE NOVEMBER 1985 ROUND OF THE U.S.-SOVIET
EXPERTS' TALKS ON CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.
KAZIMIROV SAID THAT THE U.S. HAD "NEGOTIATED" WITH
MOSCOW ON CENTRAL AMERICA FOR THE FIRST TIME AND HAD
THEREBY ADMITTED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A ROLE TO
PLAY IN THE REGION AND THAT THE MONROE DOCTRINE IS
NO LONGER IN FORCE.

METHODS

9. IN THEIR EFFORTS TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE IN
LATIN AMERICA, SOVIET METHODS WILL INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:
BT

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UR, US, XR, XL, XK
SUBJECT: INTENSIFYING SOVIET ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA

(A) THE SOVIETS ARE HOPING TO PLAY ON LATIN AMERICAN ANTI-AMERICANISM. FOR EXAMPLE, MOSCOW PORTRAYS NICARAGUA AS A STRUGGLE BY LATIN AMERICA TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN SOVEREIGNTY AGAINST TRADITIONAL U.S. INTERVENTIONISM. IN THE SAME VEIN, THE SOVIETS ENCOURAGE THE IDEA THAT CENTRAL AMERICAN PROBLEMS SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY REGIONAL COUNTRIES WITHOUT THE U.S.

(B) MOSCOW HOPES TO EXACERBATE ECONOMIC TENSIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE IDEA OF DEBT RENUNCIATION, FOR EXAMPLE, IS AIMED NOT ONLY AT GOVERNMENTS BUT ALSO AT

INCITING POPULAR OPPOSITION TO AGREEMENTS ON DEBT. THE SOVIETS ARE HOPING THEREBY TO CONSTRAIN GOVERNMENTS' CAPABILITIES TO COMPROMISE WITH THEIR CREDITORS.

(C) THE SOVIETS WILL ALSO SEEK TO PROMOTE LATIN AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR SOVIET POSITIONS, PARTICULARLY ON ARMS CONTROL. IN PART, THEY HAVE DESIGNED THEIR PITCH ON THE MORATORIUM AND ON DISARMAMENT TO APPEAL TO LATIN AMERICAN (AND OTHER DEVELOPING) COUNTRIES BY LINKING DEFENSE EXPENDITURES TO DEBT AND TO DEVELOPMENT. THE SOVIETS ARE ALSO TAKING FULL ADVANTAGE OF MEXICAN AND ARGENTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE "GROUP OF SIX" ARMS CONTROL EFFORT TO PITCH SOVIET DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES (E.G., MORATORIUM EXTENSION) DIRECTLY THEIR WAY.

10. MOSCOW PRESUMABLY WILL SEEK FURTHER VISITS BY LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS AND BY ITS LEADERS TO LATIN AMERICA (FOR EXAMPLE, THERE HAVE BEEN RUMORS OF A POSSIBLE SHEVARDNADZE VISIT TO VENEZUELA). IN ADDITION, MOSCOW HAS ACHIEVED FORMAL AGREEMENTS WITH ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND URUGUAY FOR ANNUAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BEFORE THE UNGA (AND FOR EXCHANGES OF PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS).

LATIN AMERICAN REACTIONS

11. LATIN AMERICAN DIPLOMATS IN MOSCOW PREDICT THAT SOVIET SUCCESSES IN CULTIVATING LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES WILL BE LIMITED, AT LEAST INITIALLY. OUR COLLEAGUES TELL US THAT THE SOVIETS DON'T HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE TO MANY REGIONAL PROBLEMS. THEY DO NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, BELIEVE THAT MOSCOW CAN HELP THEM RESOLVE THE DEBT PROBLEM, SINCE THE SOVIETS LACK RESOURCES TO ASSIST AND RENUNCIATION IS IMPRACTICAL. THERE IS ALSO A PERCEPTION THAT ON SOME ISSUES, E.G., CENTRAL AMERICA, THE SOVIETS ARE PART OF THE PROBLEM. ACCORDING TO THE ARGENTINE EMBASSY, FOR EXAMPLE, FOREIGN MINISTER CAPUTO TRIED TO IMPRESS ON HIS HOSTS ARGENTINE OBJECTIONS TO SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA DURING HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW EARLIER THIS YEAR.

BT

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: INTENSIFYING SOVIET ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA

12. IN ADDITION, OUR LATIN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES RELATE THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS ARE RELUCTANT TO BECOME TOO DEEPLY INVOLVED WITH THE SOVIET UNION POLITICALLY. ACCORDING TO AN URUGUAYAN EMBASSY OFFICER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT HAS RESISTED MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO EXPAND SOVIET PRESENCE IN URUGUAY, REJECTING A REQUEST FOR AEROFLOT LANDING RIGHTS AND LIMITING THE IMPORT OF SOVIET MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT IN ORDER TO OBIVIATE THE NEED FOR SOVIET TECHNICIANS. ARGENTINIAN DIPLOMATS TELL US THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT WANTS TO TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT KEEP

POLITICAL RELATIONS Distant, WHILE A PERUVIAN DIPLOMAT HAS INDICATED THAT PRESIDENT GARCIA, CONSISTENT WITH HIS NON-ALIGNED POLICY, IS NOT INTERESTED IN A VISIT BY A SOVIET LEADER.

13. THE SOVIETS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY EXPERIENCE NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES IN EXPANDING THEIR TRADE RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. IN SOME CASES, TRADE ASPIRATIONS ARE COMPETITIVE, RATHER THAN COMPLEMENTARY. MOSCOW WANTS TO EXPORT MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT AND TO IMPORT RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS (WHEN IT SUITS MOSCOW'S INTEREST). BUT COUNTRIES SUCH AS ARGENTINA, WHILE WILLING TO EXPORT RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS, ALSO WANT THE SOVIETS TO BUY THEIR MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS, WHICH THE SOVIETS ARE REJECTING. ANOTHER PROBLEM INVOLVES MOSCOW'S SEEKING TO TRADE ON A BARTER BASIS. LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES WOULD PREFER TO TRADE ON A HARD CURRENCY BASIS AND IDEALLY TO RUN SURPLUSES WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO HELP PAY OFF DEBT WITH WESTERN CREDITORS. BOTH BRAZILIAN AND ARGENTINE EMBASSY OFFICERS INDICATED THAT THIS WAS ONE OF THEIR COUNTRIES' GOALS IN TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. MOREOVER, MOSCOW APPARENTLY OFFERS PRICES CONSIDERABLY BELOW WORLD MARKET PRICES IN SUCH BARTER DEALS, E.G., ONE-FIFTH OF THE WORLD MARKET PRICES FOR SOME RAW MATERIALS, ACCORDING TO AN URUGUAYAN EMBASSY OFFICER. IN OTHER CASES, MOSCOW AVOIDS BUYING SMALL QUANTITIES OF VARIOUS PRODUCTS, EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDING THE SMALL LATIN AMERICAN PRODUCERS OF COMMODITIES. BOLIVIA HAS HAD DIFFICULTY IN SELLING COFFEE TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR THIS REASON.

14. WHERE MOSCOW'S EFFORTS WILL LEAD REMAINS TO BE SEEN. LATIN AMERICAN CONTACTS IN MOSCOW APPEAR TO HAVE A HEALTHY SKEPTICISM ON THE VALUE OF SOVIET ATTENTIONS, AND IF LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS SHARE THIS SKEPTICISM, THE SOVIETS WILL FACE SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLES. BUT AT LEAST AT PRESENT, MOSCOW SEEMS TO BE DETERMINED TO EXPAND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE REGION.
COMBS
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PWB - Jan 86 - one citizenship for all; sov
of law; apartheid is not of date

Suzman - land not, system - not resolved

Issue is political power - for Responsible leaders
De Plessis - share power at leadership level (not
white box) - so be it.

Van Stille - Gnt trying to co-opt w. a losing
control. - Stille sees no chance of peaceful change
How to break spirit of violence

Urban Revolution - solid work in black

Aphane Youth - ready for change -

"When the whites learn to love, the blacks learn
to hate?"

3 1/2 M forestry land in 1960s

Country on three more -

- Aph. Youth 1hr - ??

- Aphane - Can we live w. blacks

absolutely. 1 GNT, 1 CO.

DECLASSIFIED

NLS FPJ-04/12/27 205

NARA, DATE 8/27/99

BY d

Nati statutory counsel

Must urban pro jobs

Colin Eyles

Speed up ref - it will be best
defense to Sov demand.

a → VDF - What do we feel about disinvestment - ?
We should stop!

b ✓ INKASAA

c ✓ NAMPOC - we're open seats + disinvestment
↳ Expect more lending policy

d ✓ SUSMAN

Africans - Ref at top of our list

Polly - Come w/ us ref - not south

Changes to date for ew success

Questi of power - The vote
Who are the ~~best~~ actors -

~~Forstake~~ Turberville

(AFRIKANWA) PWB (white not - line)

Can't accept 1 man, 1 vote in voting sys.
(black not - line)

Baron du Plessis - Minghi

OFS/T.

Historical bases of Afrikaner & ANC (75 yrs)

1948 - apartid - ANC over - rested

Questi clouded

UDF (a surrogate ?? of ANC)

Buchanan - Natal - Inkatha

Who are the power holders - NATI P;

ANC, INKATHA

Garvin Kelly - ANC must be in the center

One of just #.

Penly
WR

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 29, 1986

Dear Ed:

I had a great time in southern France, and I will talk to you about that on the telephone. I wanted to forward the attached material to you so that you would be briefed before a Dutchman named N. H. Serry calls you. Mr. Serry, a retired Dutch businessman, has been developing a series of public diplomacy activities in Europe. He is working with a number of people that are known to both of us.

In addition, I have forwarded the first couple of pages of a publication of "Democracies Under Strain," which summarized a conference that he developed in The Hague in April, 1986. He is anxious to develop a new "international Helsinki monitoring group" which would be small, sharply focussed, and help integrate disparate elements that are working on the problem. I thought you might have some useful input to share with him and, if you think the idea credible, possibly some suggestions for funding. I would be interested in your own reactions to the package.

Best regards,

Walt

Walter Raymond, Jr.
Special Assistant to the
President

Attachment

Mr. Edward Kline
1165 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10126



N.H. SERRY
Executive Director

INSTITUTE FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

11 Vincent Cleerdinlaan
5582 EJ Waalre
The Netherlands
Tel. (0)4904-15121

THE HELSINKI PROCESS

The Helsinki Agreement - now in its eleventh year - has not produced the results the West had hoped for. Inevitably, this has caused controversy in the West. It is argued that in spite of the disappointing results, the Helsinki Process supplies an important means of dialogue between East and West and that there have been some tangible results for the West. Others argue that the Helsinki Process has become an exercise in delusion and self-deception, which, if it is allowed to continue in the same way, will erode Western security.

The third CSCE follow-up meeting will start in Vienna on November 4th, 1986.

The Institute for the Public Interest is seeking to organise and to promote a series of international meetings to evaluate whether the Helsinki Process contributes towards dialogue or towards delusion and self-deception.

The one day meeting planned by IPI will be held in The Hague late January or early February 1987. Two well-known speakers, who have first hand experience with the Helsinki Process will address the subjects. After the presentations there will be a debate with a panel and the participants. Approximately 100 participants will be invited on the basis of their involvement (politicians etc.) or interest (media) in the subject.

The first subject, to be addressed by a German speaker, will be:

The role and the influence of the German Ost-politik on the Helsinki Process.

The second subject, to be addressed by an American speaker, will be:

Dialogue or delusion: an interim appraisal of the proceedings of the third CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna.

Nowak, Cristian
7-9 Feb.

INSTITUUT VOOR PUBLIEKE INTERESSEN

Proposal for an International Helsinki Monitoring Group

Aims:

- to watch continually the Helsinki process;
- to evaluate whether and how the Helsinki process weakens the (negotiating) position of the West in relation to the Soviet Union;
- to arrange through the proper channels that these evaluations are disseminated among public policy makers and the public;
- to further the growth of critical assessments in the West of the Helsinki Agreement as an instrument of the international political order.

Members of the monitoring group:

- European and American private citizens who agree with the above stated aims and who qualify by one or more of the following criteria:
 1. a good grasp of the Helsinki process and its inherent problems;
 2. able to participate as a private citizen in the meetings of the group;
 3. access to the channels i.e. public policy organisations and the media which can organise conferences and/or give publicity about the monitoring groups' evaluations;
 4. access to funding to promote conferences or publications.

Method of operation of the monitoring group:

- the group, to consist of 20 to 30 persons, to meet in a European city 3 or 4 times a year;
- the meetings to be organised and prepared by a small secretariat. This task could possibly be undertaken by an existing European public policy organisation against payment of a fee;
- the task of the secretariat is to obtain information and documents about what is happening under the Helsinki process and to prepare working papers for the periodical meetings of the International monitoring group;
- the secretariat is also to draw up the reports of the monitoring group's periodical evaluations and its conclusions about specific actions to be set into motion;
- the monitoring group to decide after each meeting which of the individual members will initiate the actions to be set into motion.

Funding:

- the cost of the secretariat should not present a major funding problem. It is basically a task for one man in an existing organisation. A yearly budget of \$150.000 - with a commitment for at least 3 years - would probably be sufficient;
- the funding for such actions as may be considered necessary from time to time once the monitoring group has started to function should come mostly from foundations and public policy organisations as a normal part of their functional activities.



DEMOCRACIES UNDER STRAIN

a publication of

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

WAALRE

No. 3

June 1986

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: AIMS AND METHODS.

This issue of the series of publications on the theme "DEMOCRACIES UNDER STRAIN" is devoted entirely to the presentations and discussions at the international conference on Soviet foreign policy which was held in the Kurhaus Hotel in The Hague on 25 - 26 April 1986.

The conference was organized by the **INSTITUTE FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST** and co-sponsored by:

The Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, London.

The Institute of Security Studies at the Christian Albrechts University, Kiel.

Le Centre Européen de Relations Internationales et de Stratégie, Paris.

The purpose of the conference was to examine Soviet foreign policy and its aims towards the West.

Three main fields were explored:

- The role of "ideology" in Soviet foreign policy
- The psychological warfare and (in Soviet parlance) "active measures" aimed at influencing Western public opinion
- How the West should respond.

There were 70 participants amongst which many academics, journalists, politicians and experts on Soviet affairs from the Netherlands, The United Kingdom, France, Germany, Sweden, Greece and the U.S.A.

The subjects which were discussed and the names with the backgrounds of the speakers and the members of the panel and the other participants are given in the following pages.

Thereafter follows a synopsis of each presentation and the ensuing debates.

MEMBERS OF THE PANEL

Mr. J. M. Benoist, is the founder and chairman of Le Centre Européen de Relations Internationales et de Stratégie in Paris. He is also a senior research fellow at the Collège de France.

Prof. H. Cohen, lectures on social history of the natural sciences at the Technical University of Twente. He is a critical observer of international affairs. One of the many articles he has published is entitled: Is the Soviet Union a superpower as other superpowers ?

Mr. G. Frost, is director of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies in London. He has edited many important publications on international affairs. He also produced several penetrating analyses of controversial matters.

Mr. H. Hendrikse, is a senior member of the "Clingendael Institute" for international relations in The Hague. He is an expert on East European affairs.

Prof. W. Kaltefleiter, is chairman of the Institute of Security Studies at the Christian Albrechts University in Kiel. He has lectured and written extensively on issues of political science, international security and East-West relations.

Dr. J. Löwenhardt, lectures and does research at the Institute for Eastern European studies of the University of Amsterdam. He is a.o. the author of a book on decision-making in Soviet politics.

Drs. B. Tromp, lectures on political science at the University of Leiden. He has published several articles on Marxism and the need for a realistic defence policy.

Prof. J. Voorhoeve, is a member of the Dutch parliament. He specializes on foreign affairs and defence.

AGENDA

The role "ideology" in Soviet foreign policy and its aims towards the West.

The psychological warfare: an overview of Soviet active measures.

Agents of influence and media operations.

The role of the international front.

Keynote address:

The effects of the psychological warfare on Western perceptions of East-West relations.

The Helsinki process: "Détente" and human rights.

The Soviet military build-up as a political weapon.

Unity of the Alliance - how should we respond: Escapist notions versus realistic perceptions and policies.

Shifting Western priorities.

Winding-up address by the chairman.

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cal science, international security

des research at the Institute for
versity of Amsterdam. He is a.o.
ng in Soviet politics.

ience at the University of Leiden.
Marxism and the need for a realis-

e Dutch parliament. He specializes

The role "ideology" in Soviet foreign policy
and its aims towards the West.

M. Tatu

The psychological warfare: an overview of
Soviet active measures.

L. Bittman

Agents of influence and media operations.

J. Barron
&
P. Anastasi

The role of the international front organizations.

H. Romerstein

Keynote address:

The effects of the psychological warfare on
Western perceptions of East-West relations.

V. Bukovski

The Helsinki process:
"Détente" and human rights.

Prof. F. Alting
von Geusau

The Soviet military build-up as a psychological
weapon.

C.N. Donnelly

Unity of the Alliance - how should the West
respond: Escapist notions versus realistic
perceptions and policies.

Dr. E.J. Feulner, Jr.

Shifting Western priorities.

H. Count Huyn

Winding-up address by the chairman.

Lord Chalfont
OBE MC PC

THE CHAIRMAN AND THE SPEAKERS:

Lord Chalfont OBE. MC. PC. has been Chairman of the All-Party Defence Group in the House of Lords since 1980. Having served for over twenty years in the British Army, he joined the staff of *The Times* in 1961 as defence correspondent, also acting as consultant on foreign affairs to BBC Television.

Between 1964 and 1970 he was a Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, serving latterly as British Permanent Representative to the Western European Union. He is a regular contributor to newspapers and journals on defence and foreign affairs.

Michel Tatu is editorialist on foreign affairs of *le Monde* in Paris. Before that he was seven years foreign correspondent in Moscow and four years in Washington. He is the author of several books; "Power in the Kremlin" (1969), "La bataille des euromissiles" (1983) and "Eux et nous" (1985). He is now working on a computerized system of the Soviet elite with some 10,000 biographies.

Ladislav Bittman was, prior to his defection in 1968, deputy chief of the disinformation department of Czech intelligence. He is now professor at the School of Journalism at the University of Boston. He has written two books, "The KGB and Soviet disinformation" and an earlier work, "The deception game".

John Barron, a former US naval intelligence officer, is the recipient of many journalistic awards. He is currently a senior editor of *Reader's Digest* based in Washington. In his research he gained exclusive access to some of the most important KGB officers ever to flee the Soviet Union or to be caught in the West. Through their accounts, independently corroborated, he has been able to write his book, published in 1984: "KGB today-the hidden hand".

Paul Anastasi is managing editor of the *Athens Star*, an English-language daily newspaper in Greece. He is also foreign correspondent in Athens for the *New York Times* and the *London Daily Telegraph*. He has become known for his investigative journalism into manipulation of the Greek press.

Herbert Romerstein was a professional staff member in the US House of Representatives. He has given testimony in subcommittee hearings on intelligence activities. He is now with the United States Information Agency.

Vladimir Bukovski spent twelve years in Soviet psychiatric hospitals including the notorious Solovki. He was exchanged for the Chilean communist Luis (Pedro) Valenzuela. He graduated from King's College, Cambridge and did his doctoral research at Stanford University. His book "The castle - My life as a dissenter" was published in 1984.

Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau is professor of European Organizations at the Catholic University of Leuven where he founded in 1967 the "John F. Kennedy Studies". He is also professor at Leiden University where he wrote "The Second World War". He is author of several books on European integration, East-West relations, peace, security and arms control.

C. N. Donnelly is Head of the Soviet Studies Centre, Sandhurst, holding a reserve commission in the British Army. His publications include: "The Soviet Union in 1980", "The Soviet Union in 1981", "The Soviet Union in 1982", "The Soviet Union in 1983", "The Soviet Union in 1984", "The Soviet Union in 1985", "The Soviet Union in 1986", "The Soviet Union in 1987", "The Soviet Union in 1988", "The Soviet Union in 1989", "The Soviet Union in 1990", "The Soviet Union in 1991", "The Soviet Union in 1992", "The Soviet Union in 1993", "The Soviet Union in 1994", "The Soviet Union in 1995", "The Soviet Union in 1996", "The Soviet Union in 1997", "The Soviet Union in 1998", "The Soviet Union in 1999", "The Soviet Union in 2000". His major study of the Soviet military is "The Soviet Military: A Study of the Soviet Military" published by Firehorn Press, London.

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner Jr. is president of the Heritage Foundation, a Washington based conservative think tank. He has over 1200 scholars, it brings witnesses to World War II committees and produces analyses of the Cold War. The Heritage Foundation released a detailed study "The Second Reagan Administration: A Study of the Second Reagan Administration for reducing the size of the Federal Government".

H. Count Huyn is a member of the Bundestag, a member of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria. He has attended international conferences as a foreign-policy spokesman. Count Huyn studied law, political theory and economics at the University of Munich. Qualified as a lawyer, he worked with the German foreign office in Tunis and in the foreign service, he has published and lectured on international law.

RS:

nan of the All-Party Defence Group in
d for over twenty years in the British
1961 as defence correspondent, also
Television.

of State at the Foreign and Common-
nant Representative to the Western
to newspapers and journals on defence

f le Monde in Paris. Before that he was
and four years in Washington.

the Kremlin" (1969), "La bataille des
1985). He is now working on a compu-
10,000 biographies.

in 1968, deputy chief of the disin-
He is now professor at the School of

Soviet disinformation" and an earlier

officer, is the recipient of many jour-
editor of Reader's Digest based in

to some of the most important KGB
caught in the West.

laborated, he has been able to write his
hidden hand".

Athens Star, an English-language daily
respondent in Athens for the New York
has become known for his investigative
press.

member in the US House of Represen-
tee hearings on intelligence activities.
in Agency.

Vladimir Bukovski spent twelve years in Soviet prisons, labour camps, and psychia-
tric hospitals including the notorious Serbsky "Institute". He was released in
exchange for the Chilean communist Luis Corvalan in December 1976.

He graduated from King's College, Cambridge, in 1981 and is currently engaged in
doctoral research at Stanford University. His autobiographical books: "To build a
castle - My life as a dissenter" was published by Viking Press in 1979.

Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau is professor of the Law of International and
European Organizations at the Catholic University of Tilburg, the Netherlands,
where he founded in 1967 the "John F. Kennedy Institute for International
Studies". He is also professor at Leiden University in "Western Co-operation since
the Second World War". He is author and editor of many books and articles on
European integration, East-West relations, the United Nations and problems of
peace, security and arms control.

C. N. Donnelly is Head of the Soviet Studies Research Centre at the Royal Military
Academy, Sandhurst, holding a reserve officer's commission in the British Army.
His publications include: "The Soviet War Machine (co-author)", Salamander,
1980, and he is a contributor to numerous journals and reviews, including the
International Defence Review, RUSI Journal, NATO Review, NATO's Sixteen
Nations and the US Army's Military Review.

His major study of the Soviet military system is to be published in 1986 by the
Firehorn Press, London.

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner Jr. is president of the Heritage Foundation, an important
Washington based conservative think tank. Drawing on a "resource bank" of about
1200 scholars, it brings witnesses to Washington to testify before Congressional
committees and produces analyses of measures pending on Capitol Hill. The
Heritage Foundation released a detailed policy blueprint "Mandate for leader-
ship II" for the second-Reagan Administration term with 1300 specific proposals
for reducing the size of the Federal Government and strengthening US defenses.

H. Count Huyn is a member of the Bundestag in the Federal Republic of Germany.
A member of the Christian Social Union, he frequently attends international
conferences as a foreign-policy spokesman.

Count Huyn studied law, political theory, and languages, earning his degree from
the University of Munich. Qualified as both a lawyer and an interpreter, he served
with the German foreign office in Tunis, Dublin, Tokyo and Brussels. Since leaving
the foreign service, he has published and lectured widely on foreign policy.

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J. M. Benoist – chairman Centre Européen de Relations Internationales et de Stratégie

Other participants

- T. Bagley – writer on international affairs
R. Baxter – former journalist and diplomat
B. Belder – journalist
Drs. G. v. Benthem v.d. Bergh – Institute for Social Studies
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tute of Security Studies at the Utrecht University	B. Haggman	- director Stiftelsen for Konfliktanalyses-Helsingborg
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IL Foundation for Freedom and Democracy		
Journalist and writer on international affairs		

OPENING STATEMENT BY MR. N.H. SERRY, CHAIRMAN OF THE INSTITUTE FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

The West is engaged in a psychological battle with the East. The East cannot really hope to win the hearts and the minds of the people in the West. They are a closed society but what is known of it, does not appeal to the people in the West.

The psychological battle the Soviets are trying to win is, however, about - as they portray it - the Soviet Unions "peaceful intentions" as opposed to the "aggressive and dangerous policies" of the United States and its European allies.

Therefore, one should look at the record. Propaganda and rhetoric is one thing, what counts, however, is what actually happens.

That is what the participants of this conference will try to do. No theoretical evaluations but practical examinations of the record.

Through your efforts the conference will contribute towards the need to distinguish between the stated and the actual policies of the Soviet Union.

THE ROLE OF "IDEOLOGY" IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS AIMS TOWARDS THE WEST

Michel Tatu.

The question which is often debated in the West - whether the vigour of ideology in the Soviet Union is declining and perhaps even dead or whether it is still the driving force - is not really important. There are probably not so many true believers anymore but ideology remains the cement of the Soviet system, its unifying language and the instrument for perpetuation of the power of the Communist Party.

Externally, ideology is even more important. It serves as an instrument of legitimacy for the Party's "socialist" system. "Socialism" must and will replace capitalism. It is the will and the duty of the Soviet Union to contribute to this process; first of all by defending "socialism" where it has been implanted, secondly by changing the "correlation of forces"

in the world in favour of "socialism" an ideology of conquest and expansion.

The Soviet Union has two faces. In its own sphere of influence it is a conservative power bent on preserving its own sphere of influence it is a revolutionary power because it will not and cannot accept a status quo which is considered as a threat to the

Communist ideology pretends to be peaceful (precisely central America) is as irrevocable as the

Military might and strategy play a role and are subordinated to the same strategy contradict, however, in some ways.

That is why the role of nuclear weapons is the same way as it is in the West. This has been accepted only partially by Soviet leaders know very well that the West. Nuclear strategy is considered - to "deter to deter": that is to deter Soviet offensive moves outside the Soviet Union. - to coerce others: to inspire fear in other countries and bring them to the Soviet Union.

All this is to be done without using force even without direct military force. This is the "total strategy" of the Soviet Union means, like propaganda, pressure and

One of the most important means for the Soviets on creating a good "climate" of "mutual confidence". The West's free and open system is considered a threat to the Soviets.

Another play is Soviet stimulation of rivalries in the West. Whilst there are

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USSR-INTERNATIONAL: New Soviet Campaign Against SDI

[redacted] the Soviet Communist Party recently tasked the Novosti press agency to launch an intensive worldwide campaign against SDI in preparation for a possible US-Soviet summit meeting. The campaign involves the dissemination of propaganda on a regional basis to physicians, scientists, and retired military officers who oppose SDI and the use of a newly created Novosti television department that will distribute anti-SDI videocassettes. [redacted]

Comment: The campaign will reinvigorate Moscow's longstanding anti-SDI efforts, which recently have been overshadowed by Soviet propaganda on nuclear testing. Moscow's attempt to influence professional groups is designed to improve the credibility of its disarmament initiatives by attracting support from organizations—such as International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War—outside its traditional network of front groups. The new priority accorded to television is another example of the leadership's efforts to modernize the Soviet propaganda apparatus. [redacted]

NONALIGNED MOVEMENT-US: Appeal for Meeting

Zimbabwe's permanent representative to the UN has requested that President Reagan meet with eight nonaligned Foreign Ministers—from Algeria, Argentina, Congo, India, Nigeria, Peru, Yugoslavia, and Zimbabwe—to receive an unspecified message. [redacted] The Foreign Ministers are all in New York for the UN General Assembly session. [redacted]

Comment: The Foreign Ministers probably intend to deliver an appeal for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The final communique from this month's Nonaligned Movement summit in Harare mandates that they lobby key industrial countries, especially the UK, West Germany, Japan, and the US, for sanctions. The proposed meeting is part of an effort to press the UN Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions at a meeting that will probably be held next month. [redacted]

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~~Top Secret~~
27 September 1986

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RFED/RLD DAILY REPORT NO. 198 FOR 20 OCTOBER 1986

1. EASTERN EUROPE

JNK

EASTERN EUROPE. ON OCTOBER 18 A GROUP OF 122 DISSIDENTS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR, HUNGARY, AND POLAND ISSUED A STATEMENT COMMEMORATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROCLAIMING THEIR "DETERMINATION TO STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRIES, THEIR INDEPENDENCE, PLURALISM BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED EUROPE AND ITS DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION, AS WELL AS FOR THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES." THE DISSIDENTS INCLUDED 24 MEMBERS OF THE CHARTER 77 GROUP FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 16 ACTIVE ANTINUCLEAR CAMPAIGNERS FROM THE GDR (INCLUDING RALF HIRSCH FROM THE "SWORDS INTO PLOUGH SHARES" MOVEMENT), 54 HUNGARIANS, AND 28 POLES. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE SIGNATORIES WERE INTELLECTUALS, PARTICULARLY WRITERS AND SCIENTISTS. THE STATEMENT WAS REMARKABLE IN THAT IT REPRESENTED A RARE INSTANCE OF DISSIDENTS FROM VARIOUS EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BEING ABLE TO ISSUE A SINGLE STATEMENT ON EVENTS RELATED TO THEIR COUNTRIES--EARLIER STATEMENTS OF THIS NATURE INVOLVED THE CZECHOSLOVAKS AND THE POLES IN 1978 AND THE CZECHOSLOVAKS AND THE HUNGARIANS IN 1982. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE COLLECTION OF THE SIGNATURES WAS DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS, PARTICULARLY FOR THE CZECHOSLOVAKS. IT MUST HAVE REQUIRED ELABORATE AND POSSIBLY LENGTHY PREPARATIONS, TESTIFYING TO A DEGREE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THE STATEMENT IS BOUND TO BE PUBLICIZED IN THE WEST AND MAY HAVE AN IMPACT IN INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITIES. ITS POLITICAL IMPORTANCE IN EASTERN EUROPE IS LIKELY TO BE RELATIVELY LIMITED, HOWEVER, OWING BOTH TO THE FACT THAT MOST OF THE SIGNATORIES ARE NOT WIDELY KNOWN IN THEIR OWN SOCIETIES, THAT THE SUBJECT OF THE STATEMENT IS BASICALLY HISTORICAL, AND THAT ITS CONTENT AND EVEN VERY EXISTENCE IS CERTAIN TO BE IGNORED BY THE MEDIA.

POLAND. OCTOBER 19 WAS THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER BY GOVERNMENT AGENTS OF THE POPULAR WARSAW PRIEST JERZY POPIELUSZKO. RELIGIOUS SERVICES WERE HELD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, THE MOST IMPORTANT BEING IN WARSAW. THIS SERVICE, WHICH WAS HELD OUTDOORS AND ATTENDED BY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE, TURNED INTO A SORT OF POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION WITH OPENLY DISPLAYED BANNERS AND PRO-SOLIDARITY SLOGANS, A STATEMENT

BY LECH WALESA READ BY BOGDAN LIS, AND STRONGLY-WORDED HOMILIES BY SEVERAL PRIESTS. NO REACTION FROM THE AUTHORITIES HAS BEEN REGISTERED.

IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT, GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI ACCUSED LECH WALESA AND SEVERAL PROMINENT INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE RECENTLY APPEALED TO PRESIDENT REAGAN FOR THE REMOVAL OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND OF HYPOCRISY BECAUSE THEY HAD ALLEGEDLY SUPPORTED THE SANCTIONS WHEN THEY HAD BEEN IMPOSED. JARUZELSKI MADE THOSE REMARKS IN A SPEECH TO A LOCAL PARTY CONFERENCE IN KATOWICE ON OCTOBER 18; HE ALSO WARNED THAT THE AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY ATTEMPTS TO SET UP PUBLIC GROUPS INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CONTROL.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PASS USIS AND ACTIVE MEASURES COMMITTEES

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: KAMR, PROP, PINR
SUBJECT: ANTICIPATED SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES APPARATUS IN RECENT YEARS HAS ATTEMPTED TO IMPLICATE THE US GOVERNMENT IN VIRTUALLY EVERY UNTIMELY DEATH OF A WORLD LEADER. THIS PHENOMENON IS PARTICULARLY TRUE THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD. WE ANTICIPATE THAT SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES PLANNERS WILL IMMEDIATELY INITIATE A CAMPAIGN TO BLAME THE US GOVERNMENT AND/OR THE CIA FOR THE DEATH OF MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT MACHEL. IN ADDITION, BECAUSE MOZAMBIQUE IS A FRONT LINE STATE, THE SOVIETS MAY TRY TO IMPLICATE THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

3. ACTION REQUESTED: THE ACTIVE MEASURES WORKING GROUP IN INR INTENDS TO TRACK MEDIA APPEARANCES WORLDWIDE OF ANY ACCUSATIONS OR SUGGESTIONS PERTAINING TO THE TRAGEDY IN AN ATTEMPT TO ANALYZE THE SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES APPARATUS AND HOW IT REACTS TO TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY. POSTS ARE ASKED TO REVIEW LOCAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE

MACHEL DEATH AND REPORT ANY SUGGESTION OF US OR SOUTH AFRICAN CULPABILITY. PLEASE REF THIS CABLE FOR OCCURRENCES THROUGH NOVEMBER 8. (POSTS SHOULD CONTINUE TO REPORT ON THE ISSUE AS ITEMS OCCUR BUT INR'S STUDY OF THE TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY WILL USE THAT DATE AS A CUTOFF.) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SHULTZ
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BY *cl*, NARA, DATE 8/27/99

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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EOB:

SOVIET FRONT ORGANIZATION -- HAS HELD WORLD PEACE CONGRESSES IN SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES. THIS YEAR THE CONGRESS IS BEING HELD IN A WESTERN COUNTRY. THE CONGRESS OPENED YESTERDAY IN COPENHAGEN AMIDST CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY. POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES CAUSED BY LENGTHY AND NEGATIVE ATTENTION FROM THE DANISH PRESS AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH RESULTED IN CANCELLED HOTEL RESERVATIONS INDICATE THAT THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO HOLD A PEACE CONGRESS IN THE WEST MAY NOT BE A RESOUNDING SUCCESS.

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TO ALL PRINCIPAL POSTS
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
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2. ALMOST SINCE THE DAY THAT COPENHAGEN WAS ANNOUNCED AS THE 1986 CONGRESS SITE THE DANISH PRESS HAS UNCOVERED EMBARRASSING FACTS ABOUT THE PLANS. WHILE THE ORGANIZERS CLAIMED THAT THERE WILL BE FREE AND OPEN DISCUSSION, THE DANISH PRESS HAS REVEALED THAT INDEPENDENT PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS FROM EASTERN EUROPE HAVE BEEN BARRED FROM THE CONGRESS. AS A RESULT OF THIS ADVERSE PUBLICITY, MOST WELL-KNOWN PERSONALITIES, OTHER THAN THE USUAL ATTENDEES AT SUCH GATHERINGS, HAVE DECLINED TO ATTEND THE CONGRESS. THERE IS THUS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE CONGRESS WILL BE A MAJOR FAILURE. THE CONGRESS WILL NONETHELESS PROVIDE A PLATFORM FOR DENUNCIATIONS OF U.S. AND NATO DEFENSE POLICIES.

3. FOR MORE INFORMATION AND BACKGROUND SEE USIA'S SOVIET BT

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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CAP: ALSO PASS ARS AND OECD; MACDILL FOR USIA ADVISER BELL
CAP: OTHER MILITARY ADDEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLADS

SUBJECT: PUBLIC AFFAIRS GUIDANCE NO: 86-88: WORLD PEACE
CONGRESS, COPENHAGEN, DENMARK OCT 15 TO 19, 1986.

BACKGROUND

1. FOR MANY YEARS THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL -- A WELL-KNOWN

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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ACTIVE MEASURES REPORTS 4, 6 AND 8 (SENT VIA USINFO) AND THE
STATE DEPARTMENT FOREIGN AFFAIRS NOTE "SOVIET ACTIVE
MEASURES: THE WPC COPENHAGEN PEACE CONGRESS" DATED JULY 1986
AND SENT TO YOU VIA POUCH.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS GUIDANCE

3. POSTS MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS AS NEEDED
AND APPROPRIATE.

-- THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL IS A WELL-KNOWN SOVIET FRONT

ORGANIZATION. IT IS A TOOL OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY
DIRECTLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

-- THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS INEVITABLY DENOUNCES THE UNITED
STATES AS THE MAIN THREAT TO PEACE AND ABSOLVES THE SOVIET
UNION OF ANY RESPONSIBILITY. THE ONE-SIDEDNESS OF THE
CONGRESS' RESOLUTIONS REMOVES ANY ILLUSION THAT A SERIOUS
EFFORT TO EXAMINE THE CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND
THREATS TO PEACE IS MADE AT SUCH GATHERINGS.

-- MANY OF THE DELEGATES TO THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS ARE
WELL-MEANING PROPONENTS OF PEACE. WE REGRET THAT THEY ARE
MANIPULATED AND THAT THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS ARE ABUSED BY THE
SOVIET-FRONT ORGANIZERS OF THE MEETING.

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OTHER MILITARY ADDEES FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND POLADS

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SUBJECT: DISINFORMATION ALERT: U.S. RESPONSIBILITY FOR AIDS

1. SUMMARY. SPECULATION ON THE POSSIBILITY THAT AIDS WAS THE
RESULT OF A U.S. BIOLOGICAL WARFARE EXPERIMENT GONE AWRY ARE

ONCE AGAIN SURFACING IN THE WORLD PRESS. THIS DISINFORMATION
STORY OCCURS PERIODICALLY. NO REPUTABLE SCIENTIST HAS
ADVANCED THIS THESIS AND NO EVIDENCE HAS EVER BEEN PRESENTED
TO SUPPORT THE ALLEGATION. END SUMMARY.

2. AS SEVERAL POSTS HAVE REPORTED, CHARGES THAT THE CURRENT
WORLDWIDE AIDS (ACQUIRED IMMUNOLOGICAL DEFICIENCY SYNDROME)
EPIDEMIC IS A RESULT OF U.S. BIOLOGICAL WARFARE EXPERIMENTS
ARE AGAIN APPEARING IN VARIOUS MEDIA. SUCH CHARGES HAVE BEEN
MADE BEFORE, BUT THE CURRENT RASH OF ALLEGATIONS IS UNIQUE IN
THAT IT APPEARS TO BE MORE WIDESPREAD THAN USUAL AND THAT THE
SOURCE CAN BE TRACED TO A LENGTHY PAPER SUBMITTED BY EAST
GERMAN BIOLOGISTS AT THE NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN HARARE IN
SEPTEMBER.

3. AIDS HAS TAKEN ITS PLACE AMONG THE DISEASES SUPPOSEDLY
DEVELOPED AND SPREAD BY THE U.S. IN ITS ALLEGED ATTEMPTS TO
DEVELOP AND TEST BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. DENGUE FEVER, MALARIA,
PLANT DISEASES, ETHNIC-SPECIFIC WEAPONS (SUPPOSEDLY DESIGNED
FOR ARABS OR BLACKS, DEPENDING ON THE DISINFORMATION NEEDS OF
THE MOMENT), AND NOW AIDS ARE ATTRIBUTED BY THE USUAL
QUESTIONABLE SOURCES TO U.S. PENTAGON OR CIA SCIENTISTS.

4. THE AIDS STORY HAS POPPED UP IN VARIOUS PLACES AT VARIOUS
TIMES. IN MID-1985, FOR EXAMPLE, RUMORS THAT U.S. TROOPS ON
MANEUVERS IN CENTRAL AMERICA WERE SPREADING THE DISEASE. ON
OCTOBER 30, 1985, THE SOVIET NEWSPAPER "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA"
CARRIES A MAJOR ARTICLE WHICH CITED THE NEW DELHI "PATRIOT"
-- A NEWSPAPER WHICH FREQUENTLY CARRIES VIRULENTLY ANTI-U.S.
ARTICLES AND WHICH IS A MAJOR SOURCE OF DISINFORMATION -- TO
THE EFFECT THAT U.S. SCIENTISTS TRAVELLED TO AFRICA TO GATHER

INFORMATION ON PATHOGENIC VIRUSES NOT NATIVE TO EUROPE AND
ASIA. ACCORDING TO THE STORY, THIS LED TO THE DISCOVERY AND
ISOLATION OF THE AIDS VIRUS, WHICH WAS TESTED IN NAITI AND
THE U.S. ITSELF. THIS PARTICULAR "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA"
STORY WAS NOT THE FIRST OF ITS KIND, BUT IS OF INTEREST
BECAUSE "PATRIOT" APPARENTLY PRINTED NO SUCH ARTICLE. THE
STORY WAS NONETHELESS WIDELY REPRINTED IN EUROPE AND LATIN
AMERICA.

5. "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" RETURNED IN MAY, 1986, WITH A
REPORT ON A ROUNDTABLE WHICH FEATURED SOVIET MEDICAL
SPECIALISTS WHICH CONCLUDED THAT AIDS WAS AN ARTIFICIAL
DISEASE DEVELOPED BY GENETIC ENGINEERING. THE ARTICLE RELIED
HEAVILY ON A PURPORTED "WASHINGTON TIMES" SURVEY WHICH
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SUPPOSEOLY FOUND THAT 37 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS BELIEVED THAT AIDS WAS CREATED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THE "WASHINGTON TIMES" NEVER CONDUCTED SUCH A SURVEY AND NEVER PRINTED SUCH AN ARTICLE.

6. THE LATEST ROUND IN THE AIDS DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN WAS SET OFF BY A PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE, IN SEPTEMBER, BY AN EAST GERMAN COUPLE, BIOLOGISTS JACOB AND LILLI SEGAL -- ERRONEOUSLY DESCRIBED IN REPORTS AS FRENCH. THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS BROADCAST THE STORY WIDELY, THIS TIME RELYING ON THE "TIMES OF INDIA" AND THE INDIAN WIRE SERVICE, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA. AMONG OTHER CLAIMS, THE EAST GERMAN BIOLOGISTS SAID THAT "U.S. MILITARY PRISONERS" WERE BEING INJECTED WITH AIDS, EXPERIMENTS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT AT FORT DETRICK, AND HOMOSEXUAL CRIMINALS WERE THE MAIN GUINEA PIGS. ALMOST ALL RECENT AIDS DISINFORMATION STORIES RELY ON THIS PAPER OR THE PRESS ACCOUNTS OF IT. ACCORDING TO INTERVIEWS, THE SEGALS ATTRIBUTE THEIR INFORMATION ON THE ORIGINS OF AIDS TO AN UNNAMED BRITISH RESEARCHER WHO WROTE IN AN UNNAMED NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL. THE SEGALS ADMIT TO NEVER HAVING MET THE BRITISH RESEARCHER, ALTHOUGH THEY SAY THEY HAVE CORRESPONDED WITH HIM.

7. THE DIFFICULTY IN DEALING WITH DISINFORMATION STORIES OF THIS TYPE IS THAT IT REQUIRES THAT ONE PROVE THE NEGATIVE, I.E., THAT THE U.S. DID NOT DEVELOP THE AIDS DISEASE FOR BIOLOGICAL WARFARE PURPOSES. NONETHELESS, THE STORIES AND THE "AUTHORITIES" WHO MAKE THE CHARGE ARE FILLED WITH CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS AND BASELESS ALLEGATIONS. POSTS MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN DEALING WITH SUCH STORIES:

-- NOT A SINGLE REPUTABLE SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL HAS TREATED THE THESIS THAT AIDS IS A MAN-MADE DISEASE SERIOUSLY, LET ALONE THAT IT WAS PART OF A U.S. BIOLOGICAL WARFARE EXPERIMENT.

-- NO STORY HAS PRESENTED ANY EVIDENCE THAT AIDS IS MAN-MADE. THE BEST THE AUTHORS CAN DO IS TO REPEAT VAGUE

RUMORS AND PREVIOUS DISINFORMATION STORIES ABOUT BIOLOGICAL WARFARE EXPERIMENTS AT FORT DETRICK AND THE DIAGNOSIS OF AIDS IN THE LATE 1970'S.

-- ALMOST EVERY WESTERN AIDS SPECIALIST IS CONVINCED THAT THE AIDS VIRUS MUTATED NATURALLY AND SPONTANEOUSLY FROM AN ANIMAL VIRUS, PROBABLY IN AFRICA AND POSSIBLY IN A MONKEY.

-- EVEN THE NEWSPAPERS THAT REPEAT THE AIDS STORY OFTEN DISCOUNT IT. THE BRITISH NEWSPAPER "THE GUARDIAN", FOR EXAMPLE, DEVOTED AS MUCH SPACE TO AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS DOUBTING THE STORY AS TO THE STORY ITSELF.

8. NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HEALTH SPECIALISTS ARE EXAMINING THE SEGAL REPORT DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 6. AGENCY WILL TRANSMIT THEIR ASSESSMENT WHEN IT IS RECEIVED.

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