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PARRY

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

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

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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P.D.

Foreign Affairs Note

United States Department of State
Washington, D.C.



July 1984

SOVIET FRONTS: WOMEN AND YOUTH

This is the first of three Foreign Affairs Notes which provide information on principal Soviet fronts—their history, organization, and current activities. The succeeding Notes will deal with miscellaneous fronts and with those involving professional organizations.

Three "mass" international organizations have sought to mobilize the broad spectrum of youth and women's groups in support of Soviet foreign policy objectives. The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), and the International Union of Students (IUS) were created in the immediate aftermath of World War II when public hopes for the continuation of wartime cooperation between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union were widespread. But the reality of Soviet control over them became quickly apparent to the major noncommunist national affiliates initially participating in these organizations, and most independent groups dissociated themselves within a few years. While the three groups claim a total membership over 360 million, most adherents belong to affiliates in communist-controlled states, and the relatively few members in other countries are generally associated with groups that are not the most representative of their countries' young people or women.

In Leninist theory and practice, front organizations are "transmission belts" whereby elements of the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) are presented to noncommunists who may already sympathize with or support similar policies, but who are unwilling to accept the entire program of the CPSU or submit to party discipline.¹ The utility of this type of support was summed up by the late Bulgarian communist leader Georgi Dimitrov, a secretary general of the former Communist International: "One sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant communists. A writer of reputation and a retired general are worth more than five hundred poor little devils who won't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police."² A successful front must be able to attract this type

of nonparty support for its purpose while still remaining under effective Soviet control—two attributes which are nearly always in tension as can be seen in the three organizations discussed below.

Origins

WFDY. The origins of the World Federation of Democratic Youth began shortly after the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. when representatives of communist youth groups organized a meeting in London in November 1941 to examine ways to mobilize youth against Hitler and in support of the Soviet Union. This meeting attracted support from diverse political groups and led to the formation of the World Youth Council (WYC) in 1942. Immediately after the Allied victory in Europe, the WYC Executive Committee, still under communist influence, called for an international youth conference in London. Meeting in November 1945 in a mood of genuine enthusiasm, delegates from many countries and youth organizations adopted the constitution of the WFDY and designated Paris as its headquarters. Although initially the new organization had a number of noncommunist youth organizations as affiliates, it followed a clearly pro-Soviet orientation. Most noncommunists left the WFDY within a few years.

IUS. Separate initiatives in 1945 by the British and Czechoslovakian National Unions of Students led to the convening in November 1945 in London of a meeting to plan for a postwar international student organization. Although the London meeting had a noncommunist majority, the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) that it established was strongly influenced by communists. Moreover, the IPC set up an executive committee, whose orientation was clearly pro-Soviet. In early 1946, the IPC approved a suggestion by its Soviet delegate to transfer its headquarters from Paris to Prague where the communists had taken control of the Czechoslovak National Students Union's International Department and were in a position to supply the IPC with a full-time secretariat of disciplined communists.

¹Lenin frequently used the "transmission belt" image. It was a major theme in his speech of December 30, 1920, to the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. (See V.I. Lenin, *Selected Notes*, New York, International Publishers, 1943.)

²As quoted by Ian Greig in *The Assault on the West*, Petersham, The Foreign Affairs Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 244-245.

In August 1946 a conference met in Prague to establish the IUS. Although the communists were a numerical minority, they were able to elect supporters to 11 of the 16 seats on the Bureau of the Executive Committee of the new organization and win general approval of their more important positions. They achieved this through superior organization, control of the conference's officers (who had been designated by the IPC) and the secretariat, and the disciplined behavior of their partisans in the various national delegations.

Only on the question of subordinating the IUS to the WFDY (according to the Soviet model where the students' organization is a section of the *Komsomol* youth movement) did the communists give ground. As the reality and permanence of communist control of the IUS became clear in the sharp divisions of the emerging "cold war," most of the student organizations from noncommunist countries left. The expulsion of the Yugoslav delegation following the break between Tito and Stalin in 1948 was a particularly important catalyst in the process of disassociation.

WIDF. The Women's International Democratic Federation arose from an initiative of the communist-controlled *Union des Femmes Francaises* which convened an inaugural congress in November 1945 in Paris attended by delegations from 40 countries.³ Communist dominated from the beginning, the WIDF attracted little noncommunist support and largely avoided the wave of disaffiliations that marked the early years of the student and youth federations.

Organization

Basically, the organizational structure of the three fronts is identical. A congress of representatives of national affiliates meets every 3-6 years.⁴ The assembly, in turn, selects an executive committee ranging from 50 to 70 members. Generally, the executive committees of the three organizations meet annually. The officers of the executive committee constitute a bureau (generally about 15-20 people) that meets as needed to direct the ongoing activities of the secretariat. The secretariat is an international staff of permanent employees with a predominant representation of host country nationals. In the U.S.S.R., front activities throughout the world are the responsibility of the International Department of the CPSU. Instructions to the fronts are normally transmitted from the International Department by means of the representatives of Soviet affiliates on the organization's bureau or secretariat.

All three organizations are now headquartered in East European capitals: the WIDF in East Berlin, the IUS in Prague, and the WFDY in Budapest. Originally all three organizations were slated to set up in Paris, but the IUS was promptly moved to Prague to facilitate communist control, as noted above, and French authorities asked the WIDF and WFDY to leave in 1951 for anti-host-country activities.

While the theoretical line of authority runs from the congress to the secretariat, in reality the reverse is true. Normally, initiatives which implement Moscow's line are taken by the secretariats acting on their own or in consultation with the bureaus. These are presented to the executive commit-

tees and the assemblies at their scheduled meetings for pro forma ratification as a presidential report drafted by the secretariat. There is no record that a report has ever been rejected by a "higher" body. A former Irish member of the IUS secretariat was quoted in the *Irish Press* of January 30, 1980, as saying that when he served in Prague in the early 1970s the Soviet IUS bureau representative, Vice President Vladimir Ponomarev, was the dominant influence on the secretariat although not officially a member.⁵ According to this account, even the conclusions of biweekly meetings of the secretariat were worked out in advance by Ponomarev and his supporters and then imposed upon dissenters.

All three fronts have a well-articulated structure. The IUS, for example, has an elaborate system of regional committees apparently to facilitate cooperation with regional student organizations in which noncommunists predominate. It also maintains an International Students Research Center which prepares propaganda materials and a student service organization which provides scholarship grants enabling Third World students to attend Soviet and East European universities. The WIDF's Regional Center in Havana has given courses to almost 300 women since it was established in 1978. The WFDY has permanent bureaus for children's and adolescents' affairs, tourism and youth exchanges, and voluntary service activities.

The three youth and women's organizations publish both periodical propaganda magazines and regular in-house newsletters. The propaganda magazines specialize in descriptions of the blissful life of students, youth, and women in the Soviet bloc and the oppressed conditions of their counterparts in the West. The title of two recent articles in the WIDF's publication are indicative of the approach: "Reminiscences of the Mongolian People's Republic: On the Road to a New Life" and "Children in USA Need Bread—Not Bombs."⁶ The magazines are printed on expensive coated paper and have numerous color photos and no advertisements. The newsletters are more modest in format and generally confined to a few pages describing the organization's activities. All these publications are produced in four or more languages. In addition, the IUS publishes a bilingual newsletter, the *IUS Bulletin*, on its Latin American activities and may have other regional publications.

None of the three front organizations makes financial data available on a regular basis, and no treasurers' reports are submitted at the periodic congresses. Their publications contain no appeals for donations from supporters, and affiliation does not seem to require any financial support for the international organizations. One possible source of support is suggested by occasional expressions of appreciation for members of affiliates in bloc countries who have "volunteered" to work on a holiday and contributed the proceeds to the international organization. The Moscow Youth Festival in 1957 was financed in part by the proceeds of a lottery organized by the Soviet youth organization, *Komsomol*. It is clear, however, that these organizations receive a direct subsidy from the Soviet Union and other communist states. In 1981, the U.S. Government estimated that expenditures implied by the wide-ranging activities of the three fronts totaled \$2,870,000 per year.⁷

⁵Irish representation on the IUS secretariat ended when the Union of Students in Ireland withdrew in 1981, after its principal officers, who had been supported by the Communist Party of Ireland and the Sinn Fein Workers Party (both pro-Moscow), were defeated at the union's annual congress.

⁶*Women of the Whole World*, 1983, No. 2.

⁷The estimates of annual staff salaries, administrative costs, travel, publications, public meetings, and in-house meetings, are: IUS, \$905,000; WFDY, \$1,575,000; and WIDF, \$390,000. *Soviet Covert Action (The Forgery Offensive)* hearings before the Subcommittee on Oversight of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, February 6 and 19, 1980, Washington, D.C., U.S. GPO, 1980).

³The pre-war Comintern had an International Women's Secretariat.

⁴The congress of the WFDY is called a general assembly and recently has been meeting every 4 years. The IUS Congress is held every 3 years, and the WIDF allowed 6 years to elapse between its 7th congress in 1975 and its 8th congress in 1981.

Following the Soviet Line

Because these groups are primary Moscow-controlled fronts, their activities have necessarily followed the changing orientations of Soviet international relations. The period from 1947 to 1953 was dominated by the Soviet slogan of "two camps": the Soviets led the so-called peace camp, and the United States, its allies, and others were labeled the imperialist camp. This rubric permitted no middle ground. Anyone not clearly for the Soviet line automatically became an "imperialist." This dichotomy was manifested in the fronts by the abrupt expulsion of their Yugoslav affiliates, as previously noted, and by the torrent of anti-Western propaganda which climaxed in the campaign of disinformation charging the United States with using "germ warfare" in the Korean war.⁸ In Europe, the priority task for the organizations was to support the activities of another front, the World Peace Council, in promoting the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the "ban the bomb" campaign of the early 1950s. In East and South Asia, the fronts backed the communist-sponsored insurrections of the late 1940s, and some scholars believe that secret instructions to start armed uprisings were passed by the Soviet representatives at the WFDY/IUS "Conference of Youth and Students of South East Asia Fighting for Freedom and Independence" that was held in Calcutta in February 1948.⁹

After the death of Stalin in March 1953, Soviet policy became less confrontational, eventually adopting the slogan of "peaceful coexistence." Observers noted this new tone 4 months later in the IUS congress in Warsaw. For the first time in years, there were no orchestrated demonstrations against the West and the language of the "anti-imperialist" resolution was milder. The Yugoslav student organization was invited (but declined) to participate. All three fronts in this period tended to close down sham national affiliates (paper organizations created to give an appearance of broader geographical representation at international congresses) in order to facilitate cooperation with more representative national groupings. In 1954 this policy of flexibility led to the reentry of the British National Union of Students in the IUS as an associate member, a newly established category which did not carry the constitutional obligation to follow IUS directives. While the front's failure to condemn the Soviet armed suppression of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 frustrated their outreach efforts in the West, criticism of the Anglo-French operation in the Suez later that year brought the organization renewed respectability in many non-aligned nations.

Especially since 1960, the efforts of the women's and youth fronts have become increasingly regional in focus. In Latin America, Castro's popularity among radically inclined youth opened new possibilities for the IUS and WFDY to expand their influence. In Africa, the formation in the newly independent nations of local women's and youth groups—which were often hesitant to establish friendly links with their former colonial powers—opened new opportunities for cooperation for the Soviet fronts.

Keeping Control. Front groups typically take elaborate measures to assure that potential challenges to the pro-

⁸*Dezinformatsiya* (disinformation) in the Soviet theory of ideological struggle is the deliberate dissemination of false or distorted information in order to weaken or mislead a political adversary.

⁹See Peter T. Jones, *The History of U.S. National Student Association Relations with the International Union of Students, 1945-1956*, University of Pennsylvania, 1956, p. 36; and J. M. Mackintosh, *Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, 1963, pp. 54-55. Also Greig, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

Sino-Soviet Split

In the early 1960s, international meetings of the women's and youth fronts were characterized by bitter rivalry between Soviet and Chinese delegations and their partisans. (One of the earliest indications of the impending break in communist unity occurred at an IUS meeting in 1958 when a Chinese delegate accused the Yugoslavs of "revisionism" for advocating positions that the Soviets also supported. The Chinese later used this term against the Soviet Union itself.) The issue seemed of little interest to new affiliates of the international fronts. Delegations from Africa and elsewhere protested the excessive amount of meeting time devoted to it. By 1966 the Chinese had ceased to participate in the three organizations and even tried unsuccessfully to set up rival international federations sympathetic to their views. Apparently, however, the Chinese did not formally disaffiliate, and the women's and youth fronts still include tens of millions of nonparticipating Chinese among their claimed membership.

Moscow policies invariably followed by the secretariats are headed off at executive committee and assembly meetings. The groups' secretariats control the agenda and organization of meetings in a number of ways designed to stifle dissent. The presiding officers are chosen for their reliability. Controversial subjects are discussed only in smaller commissions, not in plenary, if discussion cannot be avoided completely. Votes are not taken; and decisions, including the selection of officers, and resolutions are normally approved by consensus as defined by the presiding officer. The formal record of the meetings—prepared by the organizations' secretariats—never reflects divergence from Moscow-approved positions.

However, despite all these formidable obstacles to dissent, not all participants at the larger meetings always agree with the official line. When Soviet troops overthrew the Dubcek government in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the Czech president of the IUS, Zbynek Vokronhlicky, denounced the occupation and called for the organization to protest. The IUS secretariat did not respond, and in October Vokronhlicky withdrew his request for formal condemnation. In September 1969, he was purged from the Central Committee of the Czech student organization and from the IUS presidency. The Italian president of the WFDY also protested the invasion on a personal basis and was promptly replaced. None of the three women's and youth fronts ever took a formal position on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At the 11th general assembly of the WFDY in 1982, the British representatives of the Young Communist League, affiliated with the independent British Communist Party, expressed their disapproval of the imposition of martial law in Poland, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the organization's condemnation of China, and the group's policy that the United States and its allies were the exclusive source of world tension. None of this was reflected in reports on the meeting by Moscow-line media nor in the *WFDY News*, the federation's newsletter. (*WFDY News*' account of the general assembly reprinted in full the statement of the Soviet delegate, the only speech reported. It also highlighted an interview with the WFDY's newly elected president, characterized by such questions as: "Imperialism led by U.S. imperialism threatens mankind with disaster. How is the WFDY prepared to meet this dangerous challenge?")

Supporting "Peace" Movements. The activities of the women's and youth fronts are primarily political rather than oriented to constituent services. Currently, all are giving priority to a range of "peace" themes, especially opposition to the deployment of NATO intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. In order to stress these themes, the primary fronts sponsor conferences, issue pamphlets and statements, address UN and other international meetings to which they have access, and undertake functional activities with a "peace" theme. An example of the latter would be a 1983 summer "peace cruise" organized by the Tourism and Youth Exchange Bureau of the WFDY.

National affiliates of the primary fronts, according to their publications, take credit for such activities as having "co-organized" the June 1982 demonstration in Bonn on the occasion of President Reagan's visit. The Swedish affiliate of the WFDY claims it started a campaign that collected 800,000 signatures for a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone and brought together the organizers of a major peace rally in Goteborg. The British Young Communist League (associated with the WFDY) takes pride in having organized the distribution of leaflets at the October 1981 peace demonstration in London and in helping to establish the youth wing of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Participants in two IUS winter sports camps held in Germany in early 1983 heard lectures on IUS "peace activities."

Other Activities. While "peace" agitation—always with a pro-Soviet slant—has priority, the three organizations also advocate positions on a variety of other international and regional issues. Special emphasis is currently accorded Central America, Lebanon, the Palestinian problem, Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam, Kampuchea, China, the Indian Ocean zone of peace, and selected "liberation movements" around the world. Invariably, the fronts' position coincides with that of the Soviet Union. At times, the fronts' efforts to follow the Soviet line require quick footwork. Through the middle 1970s, for example, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in northern Ethiopia regularly was listed in front resolutions among the worthy revolutionary movements. With the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie and the consolidation of power by the Soviet-supported Mengistu government, the ELF has ceased to receive the fronts' support.

International Cooperation

Much of the three groups' activity is directed at establishing and maintaining cooperation with a variety of regional and national organizations of various political hues. Representatives of the WFDY, IUS, and WIDF send observers to a bewildering number of meetings sponsored by noncommunist or, at least, nonaffiliated organizations. Members of the secretariats and executive bureaus make several trips a year to different regions calling not only on affiliates but also on independent national and regional organizations, presumably to discuss "cooperation." They cosponsor a large number of symposia on subjects of common interest with other organizations, such as a seminar on disarmament held in Moscow in May 1983 that was one of a series jointly sponsored by the WFDY and the International Union of Socialist Youth. In addition, a symposium on "Liberation in Africa" was jointly sponsored by the IUS and the All-Africa Students' Union in Guinea-Bissau in March 1983. This type of activity is especially important to the fronts as a means of fulfilling the "transmission belt" role with audiences that may be sympathetic to elements of the Soviet program but are unwilling to submit to rigid communist discipline on all issues.

Youth Festivals and Women's Congresses

The WFDY and the IUS have jointly sponsored a series of 11 World Youth Festivals since 1947. These large-scale events mix politics with sports, entertainment, and international camaraderie. Each has attracted over 10,000 participants, and the latest festival, held in Havana in 1978, may have brought together 25,000 young people. The political theme—to present the youth of the world as enthusiastically following the Soviet lead—is more persuasive if the festivals are held outside the communist bloc. However, the two which have been held elsewhere—Vienna (1959) and Helsinki (1962)—were not particularly successful: in Vienna there was a non-communist counter rally, and the Helsinki festival was reportedly considered by its organizers to be disappointing in attendance and political effect. Plans to hold the next World Youth Festival again in Helsinki have reportedly fallen through, and the date and venue have not yet been announced. The emphasis on the festivals reflects the special place communist ideology accords to youth, who are considered a potential "revolutionary vanguard" whose natural energy and often idealistic desire for change can contribute to the "ideological struggle."

Although conducted on a smaller scale than the WFDY/IUS festivals, the WIDF organizes a World Congress of Women in conjunction with the periodic congresses of the organization. The most recent, held in Prague in October 1981, attracted 1,000 delegates from 132 countries. It was held under the rubric of the UN Decade for Women, and 18 UN agencies were among those represented. A Yugoslav report on the event noted that opportunities to speak at the plenum were limited to those selected beforehand; any delegates likely to attribute responsibility for world tensions to both the East and West were excluded. When the Japanese delegate tried to state this position in plenary she was bodily pushed out of the hall. Others who subsequently attempted to speak found that the microphone had been disconnected. Finally, the plenary session had to be abruptly terminated to prevent the possible intervention of speakers unacceptable to the organizers.

Participating in UN Activities

All three youth and women's fronts try to maintain close relations with the UN system of organizations. The WIDF, for example, has consultative status (level I) with the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), consultative status (level B) with the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), consultative status with UNICEF, and is on the International Labor Organization's special list. The youth organizations maintain similarly privileged relations with UN agencies and participate regularly in the activities of UN organizations while inviting UN representatives to attend their own. The fronts also play an active role in the conferences of nongovernmental organizations (NGO) having consultative status with ECOSOC and UNESCO. All three women's and youth organizations have been elected to the 20-member presidium of the ECOSOC NGO organization and a WIDF official served at least two terms as chairman of the UNESCO NGO conference.

Maintaining the Pretense of Independence

The three youth and women's fronts play a number of roles in the conduct of Soviet foreign relations. The illusion of being member-controlled nongovernmental organizations allows

their spokespersons to advocate official Soviet positions to an array of private organizations which normally shun participation by governments. This is particularly true of the generally loose-knit "peace" movements where affiliates of the fronts are extremely active among the organizers of demonstrations, rallies, symposia, and the like.

The fronts also have played a prominent role in the Soviet efforts to establish reliable channels of influence in Third World regions. Here the Soviets' commitment to "anti-imperialism" appears to offer a community of interest with authentic local organizations of women, youth, and students. Normally under financial stress and lacking organizational expertise, some Third World organizations see benefits in conducting joint programs with the affluent women's and youth fronts. Moreover, as nominally independent organizations, the fronts are able to give selective support to those programs of UN agencies which accord with Soviet aims and, as participants in UN-related meetings, increase the frequency with which pro-Soviet views are expounded. These types of activities are adaptations to the contemporary realities of the classic "transmission belt" role of front organizations.

Fortunately, the insistence by front groups on strict adherence to the Soviet line often works against them. Because of the imperative of continuing and detailed con-

formity to Soviet positions,¹⁰ the women's and youth international fronts generally have not been able permanently to attract affiliates widely representative of women and youth in noncommunist countries. Typically, participants from noncommunist countries are either closely tied to Moscow-line communist parties or members of extreme leftist factions that are sympathetic to the Soviet Union's anti-West orientation (although some may be resistant to Moscow's control of the activities).

Given obvious pro-Soviet bias among the membership, the endless stream of front publications, resolutions, declarations, telegrams of solidarity or protest, and innumerable meetings has only minor impact, except among those already inclined to a Marxist world view. But among those so inclined, these organizations play a major role in coordinating the activities of youth and women's groups around the world, instructing them on the "correct" position on current issues, and continuing to attract to the Soviet orbit of influence an array of pliant sympathizers—the "writer of reputation and retired general" on which Dimitrov placed such high value.

¹⁰Within days of the shooting down by a Soviet fighter plane of a Korean airliner on August 31, 1983, the WFDY issued a statement condemning the United States' "provocative policy" and "campaign of slander."

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ALTON G. KEEL
Associate Director
National Security and International Affairs
Office of Management and Budget

SUBJECT: *Al.* USIA Programming to Eastern Europe and the USSR

I discussed USIA programming with the PAOs for East and West Europe including the USSR at the PAO conference in Berlin in April. Following this discussion, I had a detailed conversation with the USIA Director of the Office of European Affairs, Sam Courtney. I asked Sam to put together his views on the way USIA programs could be more effectively carried out in the Soviet bloc. His memorandum (attached) points out that efforts to implement the President's program in East Europe and the Soviet Union have been severely impaired by budgetary limitations. In no way am I critical of OMB as I rather doubt that these issues have been brought to your attention. Nevertheless, the attached memorandum reflects a need totally consistent with the President's more recent statements on exchanges made on 27 June.

Some of the attached proposals are consistent with the overall thrust projected in NSDD-130 on international information. I have indicated to Pat Schlueter that I will be providing OMB a detailed package of materials reflecting community response to NSDD-130 tasking. Nevertheless, I think this specific program opportunity is one which should be considered as an add-on to the USIA budgetary submission and I would encourage you to try to treat it in this manner. I suspect if you go back to USIA and try to force a reprogramming within the Agency to accomplish these funding needs you will meet with opposition from vested interests. Nevertheless, it is our judgement that these programs are important and, subject to your own personal review, I would hope that the USIA budget ceiling could be raised sufficiently to provide expanded effort to be directed to East European and Soviet targets.

Please let me know what I may do further to assist you.

Walt

Walter Raymond, Jr.
Senior Director, International
Communications and Information

Attachment: Sam Courtney Memorandum

cc: Pat Schlueter

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132379	MEMO STEVE STEINER TO WALT RAYMOND RE BUD'S MEETING WITH CHARLIE WICK	2	9/6/1984	B1

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

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132380	MEMO FOR THE RECORD RE MINUTES OF MEETING	7	9/19/1984	B1

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
New York, New York

F - US/SOU
P. D. 12

For Immediate Release

September 23, 1984

US/SOVIET RELATIONS

FACT SHEET

The United States has consistently sought to make progress on a wide range of issues with the USSR. Following is a summary of the individual areas in which we have had significant dealings with the Soviets over the past year.

Arms Control/Security

Hotline Upgrade: On July 17 in Washington, the US and the USSR reached agreement providing for the addition of facsimile transmission capability to the Direct Communication Link, or "Hotline."

Vienna Talks: US responded immediately and positively to the July 29 Soviet offer to open talks in Vienna in September on arms control issues related to space. The Soviets, however, set preconditions for these talks. We continue to believe such talks would offer an opportunity to discuss a wide range of issues of concerns to both sides.

Non-Use of Force: The President announced June 4 that the US would be prepared to consider Soviet proposals to reaffirm commitments on non-use of force, in conjunction with movement on Western proposals at the Stockholm CDE on concrete confidence-building measures.

Chemical Weapons (CW): Vice President Bush tabled a draft treaty in April at the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. The Treaty calls for a global ban on production, possession, retention, transfer, and acquisition of CW, with comprehensive provisions to ensure verification.

Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) Talks: The US and its Western allies tabled important new initiatives in April in Vienna aimed at resolving the long-standing dispute over data on the number of Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe.

Non-proliferation Bilaterals: The US and USSR have held three rounds of bilateral consultations on nuclear non-proliferation issues. Last round was held in February in Vienna.

Incidents-at-Sea Agreement (INCSEA): The 12th annual Navy-to-Navy talks to review the Incidents-at-Sea Agreement took place in Moscow in May.

START/INF: The US has repeatedly stressed readiness to resume negotiations at any time, without preconditions, in order to find a common approach to nuclear arms reductions.

Nuclear Testing: The US has sought to work with the Soviet Union to strengthen the verification provisions of the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

MORE

Regional Issues:

Diplomatic Discussions: To reduce the risks of US-Soviet conflict over regional disputes, we have held high-level diplomatic discussions in Moscow and Washington on third-country questions.

Proposals for More Detailed Exchanges: US has expressed readiness for more detailed exchanges on regional issues of special concern, including Southern Africa and the Persian Gulf. Such talks have previously been held on Southern Africa and Afghanistan.

Bilateral Relations:

New Consular Agreement: On August 1, the US and USSR exchanged notes concluding agreement on facilities, travel of exchange scholars, expediting visa issuance, and adding two entry-exit points for diplomats.

Kiev and New York Consulates: In his June 27 remarks, President Reagan announced US willingness to move forward on establishment of consulates in these cities. Work on establishing posts had been halted when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.

Space Rescue: US proposed a joint simulated space rescue mission involving US astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts. No positive Soviet response has yet been received.

Economic Issues

Economic Agreement: In late June, the US and Soviet Union agreed on a 10-year extension of the US-USSR Agreement to Facilitate Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation. The Agreement is the only existing bilateral accord covering commercial relations. It calls for both parties to use good offices to facilitate economic cooperation.

Maritime Boundary: We have held two rounds of technical-level discussions this year with the Soviet on our disputed maritime boundary in the Bering Sea.

Grain Sales: Earlier this month, the President announced the US will allow the Soviets to purchase an additional 10 million metric tons of grain during the 1984/85 year of the Long-Term Agreement (LTA) on grain. Under the LTA, the Soviets are allowed to purchase up to 12 million tons of US grain each year without prior notification. They are now free to buy up to 22 million metric tons of grain in the upcoming agreement year without further consultations.

Fishing Allocation: On July 25, the President announced his decision to grant the USSR a directed fishing allocation of approximately 50,000 tons in the US exclusive economic zone. This decision should result in the expansion of joint fishing ventures with US fishing industries as well as up to \$8 million in additional payments to US fishermen.

MORE

Fur Seal Convention: US and USSR have agreed in principle to extend the North Pacific Fur Seal Convention. Canada and Japan are also signatories to the Convention which establishes a conservation regime for fur seals in the North Pacific.

Cooperative Exchanges

In his June 27 remarks, President Reagan stated US willingness to begin negotiations on new exchanges agreement and revive cooperative agreements in environmental protection, housing, health, and agriculture. Status of individual issues follows:

General Exchanges Agreement: US presented Soviets with draft text in early July, received the Soviet draft in August, and began detailed discussions in Moscow this month.

Environmental Agreement: EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus advised his Soviet counterpart on June 27 of the Administration's interest in reinvigorating environmental cooperation. In July, US officials met in Moscow with Soviets to discuss next Joint Committee Meeting.

Health Agreements: US has expressed agreement in principle to expand joint health activities.

Search and Rescue: The Soviets has recently accepted a US proposal to renew discussions between US Coast Guard and Soviet Ministry of Merchant Marine on search and rescue cooperation. In early October, we expect the US, Canada, France, and the USSR to sign a memorandum bringing our joint search and rescue satellite system (known as COSPAS/SARSAT) into the fully operational phase.

Agricultural Agreement: The President has committed the Administration to moving ahead to reinvigorate cooperation in the agricultural field.

Housing Agreement: Earlier this year the Soviets accepted our proposal to renew for another five years the US-USSR Agreement on Housing and Other Construction. We expect advance planning for the next Joint Committee Meeting to begin in the near future.

####

Secretary Shultz

Soviet Jewry and U.S.-Soviet Relations

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October 22, 1984



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

Following are remarks by Secretary Shultz upon receiving the Humanitarian Award for 1984 from the Leadership Assembly of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, Washington, D.C., October 22, 1984.

Thank you very much, Ken.¹ I'm deeply honored to have this award, and I feel privileged to work with you, Ken, and Elliott Abrams²—people like Max Kampelman³ and many, many others—who have the same view and who are trying to do our best in this great effort. I hoped that sometime we might have a meeting like this in which we would have something really to celebrate. Unfortunately, we don't—other than to pledge our continuing and very strong efforts. I've always believed that the foreign policy of the United States must reflect not only our material and security interests but our moral values as well. These strands are completely intertwined, for as long as human rights are denied the citizens of other countries, the freedoms we enjoy in this country are ultimately in jeopar-

dy. That is why freedom for Soviet Jewry and other human rights issues have occupied such a prominent place in my concerns as Secretary of State.

At a time of prosperity and peace, when we may be liable to take our own liberty for granted, it is good to remember Thomas Jefferson's observation. "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom," he said, "must . . . undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

I wish I could use this occasion to bring you encouraging news about the condition of Soviet Jewry, but you know, at least as well as I do, that their situation remains very grim. Soviet persecution of Jews and other minorities has not only not diminished, it seems to be getting worse.

- Within the past 2 months, four well-known Hebrew teachers have been arrested in what appears to be an intensifying campaign of repression aimed specifically at Jewish cultural activities. In the Soviet view, apparently, promoting identification with one's religious and cultural heritage constitutes "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

- We cannot forget Anatoly Shcharansky, courageously clinging to his principles as his health is deteriorating in Chistopol Prison. He was imprisoned on the blatantly false charge of spying for the United States, but his real "crime" was to try to escape from Soviet tyranny so that he could lead a full Jewish life with his family in Israel.

- To discourage others from trying to leave, Soviet authorities are continuing to threaten many "refuseniks" with

confinement in psychiatric hospitals, expulsion from their jobs, and internal exile.

While all this has been going on, there has been an alarming upsurge in officially sanctioned anti-Semitic propaganda. Scurrilous cartoons, broadcasts, and articles equate the study of Jewish culture with fanaticism and racism and compare the State of Israel to Nazi Germany.

Jews, of course, are not the only victims of Soviet persecution. Efforts to stamp out all independent thought have led to the victimization of Nobel Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner. Within the past 6 months, three prominent Ukrainian human rights activists died in Soviet labor camps. All three deaths can be attributed to the brutal conditions in Soviet labor camps and prisons. The small group of Soviet idealists who tried to monitor their government's compliance with its human rights obligations under the Helsinki Final Act has been decimated by imprisonment and exile. Even foreign tourists and diplomats have been subjected to Soviet harassment.

Emigration, meanwhile, has come to a virtual standstill. Just over 1,300 Jews left the Soviet Union in 1983, approximately 2% of the peak year total of 51,000 in 1979. This year it looks like fewer than 1,000 Jews will leave the Soviet Union. Soviet authorities would have the world believe that almost all Soviet Jews who want to emigrate have

¹Kenneth Bialkin, National Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

²Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

³Max M. Kampelman, consultant to the Department of State and Ambassador and Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the 1980-83 Followup Meeting of the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

already done so. But, clearly, this is not true. Thousands of Soviet Jews have applied for exit visas, only to have them denied. They are ready to leave on a moment's notice.

We debate the question of what to do among ourselves, as I am sure you do. We are all frustrated by the lack of progress and by the absence of any easy or ready solutions. But rather than argue inconclusively among ourselves, I am convinced that what we can and should do is to make clear to the Soviets what our own approach is and how it is related in our eyes to the U.S.-Soviet relationship as a whole.

That is what we have tried to do under this Administration. The Soviets know that we seek to put relations on a stable and constructive basis for the long term. But I think they also know that we will not stop our practice of calling them to account for their abuses of human rights. And among human rights issues, none has more urgency than the treatment of Soviet Jewry.

As a government, we would prefer to deal with these issues on a confidential basis, simply because it's more effective that way. But we understand and support the efforts of public interest groups to express their concerns, and we will not be silent when the Soviets act in a way we consider dangerous or irresponsible, as they so often do in the human rights area.

The United States, therefore, continues to speak out at every opportunity against Soviet human rights violations. We have vigorously denounced Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda and practices. We have consistently condemned denial of the basic right of Soviet citizens to emigrate. In the face of blatant intimidation, our Embassy in Moscow and our consulate in Leningrad have maintained contact with individual "refuseniks," and we have made numerous representations on behalf of Soviet citizens who have been denied permission to emigrate. We continue to consult with other Western nations on ways to improve human

rights performance. And in all our diplomatic discussions with the Soviets—including President Reagan's recent meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko—we have stressed human rights issues.

Soviet leaders may well be perplexed by our preoccupation with human rights. After all, they and many other governments throughout the world take the view that human rights are strictly an "internal affair." In this view, how a government treats its own citizens is not a matter of legitimate international concern or even discourse. Compassion, it seems, should stop at a country's borders.

In the aftermath and in the everlasting memory of the Nazi Holocaust, this attitude must be relentlessly exposed as a gross moral evasion. Numerous international covenants, conventions, and declarations—including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Genocide Convention, and the Helsinki accords—today attest to the fact that human rights are no longer regarded as an "internal matter." On the contrary, they are intimately linked to the issues of war and peace. We recognize that governments not at peace with their own people are unlikely to be at peace with their neighbors.

The people and Government of the United States are deeply and irrevocably committed to the rule of law in both domestic and foreign affairs. For this reason, we have insisted, and shall continue to insist, that the Soviet Union adhere to *all* its international obligations, including its human rights obligations. As I said last Thursday in an address on the management of U.S.-Soviet relations:

We can never let ourselves become so wedded to improving our relations with the Soviets that we turn a blind eye to actions that undermine the very foundation of stable relations.

A moment ago, I referred to the President's meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko at the White House.

Every American hopes that this meeting marks the beginning of a new, more constructive period in Soviet-American relations. We look forward to the opportunity to build on our common interests and to help narrow the scope of some of our differences.

But I hope that no one, either in the Soviet Union or in this country, seriously entertains the idea that once negotiations are underway, the United States will refrain from raising our human rights concerns. If improvement in Soviet human rights performance continues as in the past to be nothing more than the cynical manipulation of human lives for political purposes, then the Soviets cannot expect that international—and internal—pressures for better performance will stop growing. Doesn't the Soviet Union pay a price for this censure and for the isolation that goes with it? The price is large and steadily increasing. And let me add, ladies and gentlemen, that we shall continue to do all in our power to see that the price continues to increase.

From the experience of World War II and its aftermath, we have learned that the issues of peace and of human rights are joined and that attempts to separate them can bring on disaster. We have learned that it is not the advocacy of human rights but rather their denial that is a source of tension in world affairs. The issue of human rights is at the top of our agenda because we have learned the great lesson of the Scriptures: we truly are our brother's keeper.

Thank you. We'll keep struggling, and somehow, some way, we're going to succeed. ■

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132381	PAPER RE USIA STRATEGY PAPER	5	ND	B1

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132382	AGENDA RE MEETING	1	11/8/1984	B1

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR SOVIET POLITICAL ACTION WORKING GROUP

SUBJECT: Soviet Anniversaries Significant
for Public Diplomacy

Forwarded herewith is the USIA prepared list of Soviet anniversaries significant for public diplomacy exploitation. This tasking is consistent with planning discussions at our Working Group. Each office should consider these dates as points around which public attention can be formed to foster our overall public diplomacy action plan.

Walter Raymond

Walter Raymond, Jr.

Attachment

USIA List

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SOVIET ANNIVERSARIES SIGNIFICANT FOR
PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

- 1/12 Day of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner, (unofficially observed in the Ukraine)
- 1/16 Jan Palach, student at Charles University in Prague, burned himself publicly in protest against the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia; died of his burns on January 19 in a Prague hospital (1969)
- 1/18 Resolution to exile Trotsky (1929)
- 1/20 Birth of Anatoly B. Schraransky, Soviet physicist, Jewish activist, currently imprisoned (b. 1948)
- 1/22 Aleksandr Sakharov exiled to Gorki (1980)
- 1/22 Ukraine proclaimed an independent republic
- 1/25 Comecon established (1949)
- 2/10 Trial of A. Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel begins (1966)
- 2/16 Lithuania proclaimed an independent republic (1918)
- 2/23 Mass deportation of Chechen-Ingush (1944)
- 2/24 Estonia proclaimed an independent republic (1918)
- 2/25 Soviet rule established in Georgia (1921)
- 2/25 President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia yields to a Communist ultimatum to install a pro-Soviet cabinet and join the Soviet bloc (1948)
- 4/01 USSR began blockade of Berlin (1948)
- 4/12 Germany announced the discovery of mass graves of Polish officers at Katyn (1943)
- 4/13 Soviet-Japanese non-Aggression Pact signed (1941)
- 4/28 Soviet rule established in Azerbaijan (1920)
- 4/30 First issue of Chronicle of Current Events (1968)
- 5/07 Formation of Jewish Autonomous Oblast' in USSR (1934)
- 5/13 Moscow Helsinki group founded (1976)
- 5/17-18 Mass deportation of Crimean Tartars (1944)
- 5/19 Kengir prison camp uprising began; lasted 42 days (1954)
- 5/21 Aleksandr Sakharov's birthday (1921)

- 5/26 Georgia proclaimed an independent republic (1918)
- 5/27 Azerbaijan proclaimed an independent republic (1918)
- 5/28 Armenia proclaimed an independent republic (1918)
- 6/02 Novochoerkassk shootings (1962)
- 6/15 Riots erupt in East Berlin (1953)
- 7/17 Suppression of East Berlin worker uprising (1953)
- 8/01 Helsinki Agreement signed (1975)
- 8/02 Moldavian SSR founded (1940)
- 8/03 Lithuania incorporated into the USSR (1940)
- 8/04 Birth of Raoul Wallenberg, Swedish diplomat (1912)
- 8/05 Latvia incorporated into the USSR (1940)
- 8/06 Estonia incorporated into the USSR (1940)
- 8/12 Night of the murdered Jewish poets (1952)
- 8/13 Berlin wall built (1961)
- 8/13 Birth of Yuri F. Orlov Soviet physicist and human rights activist, currently in internal exile
- 8/19 U.S. Congress adopted Communist Control Act, which deprived U.S. Communist Party of "the rights, priveleges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies" but did not make membership a crime (1954)
- 8/19 At UN World Population Conference in Bucharest, USSR opposed controls on population growth (1974)
- 8/20 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968)
- 8/20 USSR resumed jamming of the VOA and other Western Radio stations (1980)
- 8/23 Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact signed (1939)
- 8/25 Demonstration in Red Square to protest Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968)
- 9/01 Korean airliner shot down by Soviet fighter plane
- 9/01 American Communist Party founded (1919)

- 9/05 Law establishing concentration camps promulgated in Soviet Russia (1919)
- 9/05 Day memorializing victims of Red Terror (unofficially observed in the USSR since 1974)
- 9/17 USSR invaded Poland under terms of the Molotov Ribbentrop Pact (1939)
- 9/27 USSR renounced treaty of friendship and cooperation with Yugoslavia
- 9/29 USSR signed treaty of friendship and cooperation with Germany (1939)
- 9/30 Berlin blockade lifted (1949)
- 10/5 Members of Obol branch of Belorussian underground Komsomol organization killed (1943)
- 10/16 Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin flew to Prague to sign treaty authorizing "temporary stay" of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia (1968)
- 10/23 Revolution in Hungary began 1956
- 10/28 Aleksandr Solzhenytsin charged that Soviet authorities were behind a threat against the life of Andrei Sakharov by men representing themselves as Arab guerillas who, on October 21 warned the physicist to stop speaking out in favor of Israel; the charge was contained in a letter to Sakharov (1973)
- 10/30 Political Prisoners' Day (unofficially observed in the USSR since 1974 on the initiative of camp prisoners in Mordovia)
- 11/1 Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed "Law on the Integration of the Western Ukraine into the USSR and its Reunification with the Ukrainian USSR" (1939)
- 11/2 Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed "Law on the Integration of Belorussia into the USSR and its Reunification with the Belorussian SSR" (1939)
- 11/3-4 Soviet Union invaded Hungary and ended revolution (1956)
- 11/9 Ukrainian Helsinki Group founded (1976)
- 11/10 Khrushchev issues ultimatum on Berlin (1958)
- 11/18 Latvia proclaimed an independent Republic (1918)
- 11/20 Soviet Union and Ethiopia signed Twenty-year pact of friendship and cooperation that included a pledge of military consultation (1978)
- 11/29 Soviet rule established in Armenia (1920)
- 11/29 Red Army invaded Finland (1939)

35

- 12/2 Soviet Government abolished decree issued in 1947 that forbade Soviet citizens to marry foreigners (1953)
- 12/2 Soviet Government issued decree on liquidation of foreign banks (1918)
- 12/05 Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev and Afghan Premier Nur Mohammad Taraki signed twenty-year treaty of friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation (1978)
- 12/12 Soviet press published Tass statement demanding abolition of four-power occupation of Berlin (1958)
- 12/15 Trial of Jewish plane high-jackers began in Leningrad (1970)
- 12/27 Soviet armed forces invaded Afghanistan (1979)

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE GROWTH OF THE SOVIET DISSENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS' MOVEMENTS

1/04 Soviet public informed for first time about Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's newly published Gulag Archipelago when nationwide television broadcast accused Solzhenitsyn of "malicious slander" and of trying to "cover up for those who became traitors to our motherland in World War II." Broadcast did not mention subject matter of book (1974)

1/09 Writer Lidiya Chukovskaya unanimously expelled from Moscow Writers' Organization for having "slipped into an anti-Soviet swamp" by defending Andrei Sakharov (1974)

1/11 Jaroslav Sabata, spokesman for "Charta 77," given nine-month sentence (1979)

1/18 [Approximate date] A group of twenty-three officially recognized writers, among them some of the USSR's most popular authors, submitted Metropol, a collection of unpublished works (many of which had previously been rejected for publication), to the USSR's Writers' Union for official approval and demanded that it be published without censorship. Among the contributors were: Andrei Voznesensky, Vasilii Aksenov, Bella Akhmadulina, Andrei Bitov, and Evgenii Popov [Reuters report 1/23/79] (1979)

2/12 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn arrested in Moscow; deported from the USSR and deprived of Soviet citizenship on February 13 (1974)

2/20 Vladimir Voinovich expelled from USSR Writer's Union (1974)

Feb. Petr G. Grigorenko and Ivan A. Yakhimovich addressed an appeal to all Soviet citizens on the subject of Jan Palach's self-immolation (1969)

3/02 Petr Yakir wrote a letter to Kommunist about Stalin's crimes (1969)

3/9-10 Mykhailo Mel'nik, Ukrainian dissident, committed suicide after his home was searched by the KGB (1979)

3/13 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn received permission to live permanently in Switzerland (1974)

3/18 Pavel Litvinov, dissident physicist and grandson of Stalin-era Foreign Minister Maksim Litvinov, left the Soviet Union with his family (1974)

3/22 Writer, Victor Nekrasov, was expelled from Moscow to the city of his birth, Kiev, ostensibly for violating residence regulations. On March 11, he had denounced official controls on writers, refusing to take part in a Soviet campaign against exiled novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and physicist Andrei Sakharov. Nekrasov had been a Communist Party member for thirty years until his expulsion in 1972 for supporting Jewish and Ukrainian dissidents (1974)

3/23 Vladimir Shelkov, eighty-three-year-old leader of the Church of the Faithful and Free Adventists of the Seventh Day (True Remnant), was sentenced to five years in strict regime camps on charges of "dissemination of knowingly false fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system" and "infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites and ceremonies." Shelkov was one of five members of the Church of the True Remnant convicted that day (1979)

March L. Petrovsky wrote a letter to the CC CPSU protesting against the rehabilitation of Stalin (1969)

4/3 Roy A. Medvedev wrote "Can Stalin Be Rehabilitated Today?" -- an open letter to the journal Kommunist (1969)

4/13 Australian government granted political assylum to former Soviet diplomat Vladimir Petrov (1954)

4/24 Soviet cellist, Mstoslav Rostropovich, received exit visa to live abroad for two years; left Soviet Union on May 26 (1974)

4/27 Five leading Soviet dissidents--Aleksandr Ginzburg, Valentin Moroz, Georgii Vins, Mark Dymshits, and Eduard Kuznetsov--were flown to New York in exchange for Valdik Enger and Rudolph Chernyaev, two Soviet employees of the United Nations who had been convicted for spying. It was the first time that Soviet dissidents had been exchanged for Soviet espionage agents. (1979)

April A. Koval wrote "Open Letter to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Deputies on the Need for Genuinely Representative Government" (1969)

Apr-Jun Andrei Amal'rik wrote Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984? (1969)

5/07 Petr Grigorenko arrested in Tashkent (1969)

5/12-14 Gabriel Superfin tried by Orel court on chrges of anti-Soviet activities; sentenced to five years strict-regime labor camp and two years exile (1974)

- 5/24 Soviet writer Viktor Nekrasov expelled from Soviet Cinema Workers Union (1974)
- May First letter from "Action Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR" to the United Nations (1969)
- 6/06 Soviet art critic Viktor Fainberg received exit visa (1974)
- 6/12 Galina and Valerii Panov received exit visas; left USSR June 14 (1974)
- 6/26 Petr Grigorenko released from psychiatric hospital after five years of confinement (1974)
- 6/28 Andrei Sakharov started hunger strike to press demands for the release of political prisoners in the Soviet Union (1974)
- 7/14 Birth of Isaak M. Nusimov, literary critic and historian (1889); died in prison in 1950 and was posthumously rehabilitated
- 7/31 Protest of ten residents of Kharkov against the arrest on July 11 of Major Genrikh O. Altunyan, a member of the Action Group for the Defense of Civil Rights in the Soviet Union (1969)
- July Altunyan met three times with Party Control Committee officials in an attempt to have himself reinstated as a member of the CPSU (1969)
- 8/04 Soviet writer Viktor Nekrasov received exit visa to live abroad for two years; arrived in Switzerland on September 12 (1974)
- 8/22 Sil'va Zalmanson released from Soviet camp after serving four years of ten-year sentence; received exit visa, left Soviet Union on September 10 (1974)
- 8/23 USSR Supreme Soviet decree pardoned Lithuanian sailor, Simas Kudirka, who had tried to defect to the United States in 1970 and subsequently had been sentenced to ten years deprivation of freedom (1974)
- 9/02 Anatolii Levitin-Krasov received exit visa; left Soviet Union on September 20 to settle in Switzerland (1974)
- 9/04 Birth of Bronislav I. Epimakh-Shipila, Belorussian linguist and literary historian; arrested and exiled in 1930, posthumously rehabilitated (1859)
- 9/13 Mikhail Kheifets, Soviet history teacher and writer,

sentenced by Leningrad court to four years in strict-regime camps and two in exile on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (1974)

9/15 Exhibition of abstract paintings, staged in Moscow by thirteen Soviet artists, broken up by police using bulldozers (1974)

10/02 Mykola Konchakivs'kyi was released after twenty-eight years of imprisonment for belonging to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; Died soon afterwards (1978)

11/01 List of 175 Baptists, convicted in Soviet court trials for their religious beliefs, published (1969)

11/04 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn expelled from the Soviet Writers' Union (1969)

11/14 Death of Petr Yakir, an historian who had taken an active part in the human rights movement in the USSR in the 1960's and early 1970's (1982)

11/15 First issue of Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, bulletin of human rights violations in the USSR, published (1978)

11/24 Russian nationalist V. Osipov arrested in Aleksandrov (1974)

12/28 Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956 published in Russian by YMCA Press in Paris (1973)