

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

DOI # 2003-77/1

The attached memorandum, "Impact of the US Stand on Human Rights," is in response to your request, conveyed to us by Ms. Tuchman.

/s/

STANSFIELD TURNER
Admiral, U.S. Navy
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Attachment:
RP-M-77-10107

Date 5-11-77

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Approved For Release 2005/07/20 : CIA-RDP80R01362A000200100001-6

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11 May 1977

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

MEMORANDUM

IMPACT OF THE US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Initial international skepticism about the seriousness of the Carter administration's commitment to the fostering of human rights has been dispelled by presidential statements and US initiatives in bilateral relations and international forums. Considerable confusion and suspicion over US motives persist, however, and despite recent statements by Secretary Vance and other officials there still is apprehension over the lengths to which the US may be prepared to go in pursuit of human rights objectives. This memorandum surveys reaction to the US stand. A regional listing of significant developments is provided at annex.

* * * * *

Introduction

The US stand on human rights has prompted a number of governments to move toward bettering their human rights performance. This has occurred principally where the regime has been anxious to preserve cooperative relations with the US, has not felt publicly challenged or specifically prodded by Washington, and is relatively confident about its internal security situation.

Even in these cases, however, there has been a notable reluctance to accept the US stand at face value. Public expressions of understanding about US concerns have been

This memorandum was prepared by the Office of Regional and Political Analysis. Inquiries may be directed to

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matched by private assessments of Washington's emphasis on human rights as a ploy designed to pressure other countries into comporting themselves in accordance with US policies generally.

Attribution of such ulterior motivation, the connection of human rights to other issues, and a marked propensity to interpret US pronouncements and actions in egocentric terms have been characteristic reactions of countries with the most cause for unease over the US stand. Repressive practices have intensified in some cases, and bilateral relations have suffered in a number of instances.

There is strong public endorsement of the principles that underlie the US stand in some countries, but in many cases it is coupled with considerable worry over the potential for adverse international political consequences. Applause for Washington's espousal of human rights principles, therefore, is not always accompanied by approval of specific US initiatives. A broad range of political relationships important to the US thus has been complicated by the addition of what many foreign observers view as a new element of uncertainty in international affairs.

The Communist World

The Soviets, perplexed and concerned over Washington's human rights initiatives, tend to view the US stand as aimed primarily at them. Even sophisticated Soviet observers reportedly suspect US actions are part of a campaign to undermine their political system. The Soviets reportedly have been concerned over the potential implications of heightened activity by intellectual dissidents if they attempt to combine with existent popular dissatisfaction over food shortages and managerial deficiencies. Worry about the economy is likely to continue to figure in Moscow's tendency to magnify the threat posed by dissidents and to react strongly to foreign encouragement of domestic criticism.

The Soviets have protested vehemently about unacceptable interference in their internal affairs, and there have been numerous warnings that bilateral relations could suffer as a result of the US stand. Soviet propaganda on

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human rights has shifted from a generally defensive to a somewhat more accusatory posture since late April, but Moscow has generally limited itself to reactions deemed sufficient to make its points without jeopardizing its ties with the US.

Hints at the possible spillover of Soviet displeasure into SALT, for example, continue to be accompanied by explicit signals that SALT is a separate issue where progress can be achieved. Nevertheless, at least for tactical reasons, the Soviets are likely to continue to point to the US human rights stand as a major impediment to progress on the whole range of bilateral issues.

Moscow is anxious to disabuse the US of the notion that public urgings on human rights will help Soviet dissidents and to convince the dissidents that pleading their cause to the West will be counterproductive. Soviet authorities significantly increased pressure on the dissidents early this year, and attempts to intimidate them through arrests and threats almost certainly will continue. Some of them reportedly are encouraged by US initiatives despite the fact that they anticipate further intensification of repressive measures in the immediate future. But there also are indications of disheartenment among the dissidents, and some of them have called for a return to "quite diplomacy." Approval of US human rights activism among Soviet citizens interested in bringing about changes in their society tends to be strongest among those who feel most alienated from the system.

The Soviets have been concerned that the revolution's 60th anniversary in November could be tarnished if the West vigorously presses the issue of "Basket III" (human rights) implementation at the Belgrade CSCE meeting that begins in June. Efforts to stifle dissident activity before and during the CSCE sessions are coinciding with the dissidents' own realization that it is a propitious time internationally to promote their various causes. As of now the Soviets have managed to suppress the most publicized manifestations of the human rights movement. They are likely to employ a variety of tactics--including selective emigration and expulsion--to confine the movement within the circumscribed limits that obtained before the recent upsurge of Western support.

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A serious worry for Moscow is that agitation over human rights could exacerbate existing or anticipated control problems in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland, and to a lesser extent in East Germany. Like the Soviets, the East European regimes have been puzzled by the US stand and somewhat off balance as a result. Party officials reportedly met recently to discuss the long term impact of US initiatives and concluded that a continuing international focus on human rights could erode the loyalties of important segments of their populations, especially intellectuals and young people.

There is no evidence so far that the US stand on human rights has had a significant impact on the East European regimes' tactics for dealing with dissidents. Even before recent US initiatives there was disagreement within and among the East European regimes on how to handle the serious wave of dissident activity that has developed over the last several years--activity that may become bolder as the CSCE meeting approaches. Those with the least serious dissident problem (i.e., Hungary) or which believe a hard line would be counterproductive in their particular circumstances (i.e., Poland) reportedly have been defending their moderate approach. Thus far, the Soviets appear to be tolerating some diversity in handling dissent.

The East Europeans have shown concern over the possibility that US human rights initiatives could provoke Soviet movement away from detente, and over the adverse implications such a development would have for them both economically and politically. The East European press has been highly critical of the US stand and has counterattacked with condemnations of alleged injustices in the US and US disregard for "economic and social" rights.

China is the only Communist country that seems to have derived some satisfaction from the US stand. Peking clearly has taken heart from recent difficulties in US-Soviet relations, and the Chinese see Washington's attitude on human rights as possibly signaling a toughening US stance toward Moscow generally. The Chinese are ostensibly unconcerned about their own vulnerability on the human rights issue, but Peking probably has some private misgivings on this score. This may explain the failure of Chinese media to

highlight the human rights controversy despite Peking's penchant for emphasizing US-Soviet differences.

The Industrial Democracies

There is broad approval in principle of the US human rights stand in Western Europe, Canada, and Japan. But leaders of these countries tend to define international issues on which the US takes a comprehensive global approach in more parochial terms. Thus, the Europeans see the human rights issue mainly in terms of East-West relations, while the Japanese are primarily concerned with how the US stand will affect US policy and Japanese interests in Asia.

The Europeans are concerned that US human rights initiatives risk causing a deterioration in East-West relations that would have a more damaging impact on Western Europe than on the US. As a result, government leaders have displayed a decided preference for pursuing human rights objectives with quiet diplomacy and behind-the-scenes approaches.

Britain's Prime Minister Callaghan may have indicated to the Soviets that Foreign Secretary Owen's strong speech on human rights did not herald a major change in UK policy. French officials are reportedly worried about preserving what remains of the Franco-Soviet "special relationship," and they are eager to maintain a friendly atmosphere for Brezhnev's coming visit to Paris. In Germany, Chancellor Schmidt has declared that Bonn will seek to advance the cause of human rights in its own low-key way. Among the smaller West European nations, willingness to be outspoken on the human rights issue seems to vary inversely with physical proximity to the Soviet Union.

Latin America

US human rights initiatives have aroused considerable resentment in several Central and South American countries ruled by military regimes that have felt directly challenged. They have denounced US statements and actions as unwarranted and unacceptable interference in strictly internal affairs.

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Argentina and Uruguay rejected all US military assistance after Washington linked aid cuts to human rights violations in those countries. Brazil, already angered by US pressure to modify its nuclear deal with West Germany, condemned the State Department's preparation of a report on its human rights practices as an affront to its sovereignty and renounced the 1952 military assistance agreement. Guatemala and El Salvador have also rejected military assistance conditioned on US judgment of their human rights situations.

The Latins are angered by what they regard as US failure to understand and make allowances for their political and internal security problems. The Southern Cone military regimes, especially, are convinced that their countries' experiences with political disintegration, insurgency, and terrorism fully warrant tough internal security measures. The Argentines, for example, insist that they will not deviate from the practices they deem indispensable in their continuing war with leftist terrorists no matter what outside criticism they incur.

The Latins are also resentful over the fact that they were not considered important enough to US interests to be treated specially (like South Korea). They have questioned US qualifications for making international moral judgments and have voiced suspicion that the US has ulterior motives for its human rights stand. The latter view is particularly strong in Brazil, where the human rights issue is viewed as an adjunct to US pressure on nuclear matters.

The Southern Cone regimes have been commiserating with each other, and they reportedly are considering joint moves to convince the US that it has seriously underestimated the costs of alienating them. The Latins undoubtedly would prefer to forgo polemics and halt any deterioration in their relations with Washington. But the military regimes are determined not to take any action that could be construed as caving in to US pressure.

Latin reaction to the US stand has not, of course, been entirely negative. Venezuela and Costa Rica, two of Latin America's few remaining democracies, have strongly

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endorsed US initiatives, and expressions of support for the US stand have also been received from Mexico and Bolivia. Prisoner releases in Paraguay and Peru were directly responsive to US concerns.

East Asia

The US stand has been met with a noticeable lack of enthusiasm in most of East Asia, where with the exception of Japan all states are ruled by authoritarian regimes that impose significant restrictions on human rights. The nations with the closest political, economic, and security ties to the US--those that feel most vulnerable to US pressure--seem to have the most negative attitudes.

South Korea's sensitivity on the issue is reflected in a trend begun last November selectively to ease pressures on dissidents and reduce overt police surveillance. The press is enjoying greater latitude in its handling of foreign news, prison conditions for key political figures have improved, and the government has forgone punishment for a number of protestors. A spate of arrests in mid-April probably was meant as a warning to those inclined to increase anti-government activity during the independence day period, and most of the dissidents already have been released.

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The Marcos government in the Philippines is quite concerned over the potential implications of the US emphasis on human rights. Manila's vulnerability on the issue is one reason Marcos would like to receive rent payments for US bases rather than payment in the form of military assistance subject to annual congressional scrutiny.

Indonesia initially seemed anxious not to let the human rights issue disrupt relations with the US, especially the continuance of military aid. Government officials publicly expressed understanding of US initiatives, and Jakarta announced an accelerated timetable for the release of political

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prisoners. Privately, however, the Indonesians interpreted US emphasis on human rights as one ploy in a series designed to force their country to support US policies generally, and they expressed resentment over interference in their internal affairs. There recently has been a perceptible stiffening in Indonesia's attitude, accompanied by hints that Jakarta has alternative sources of military hardware.

The government of Taiwan is trying to avoid giving the US cause to focus on human rights practices there, but the mainland Chinese political establishment remains determined to suppress ethnic Taiwanese opposition. Taiwan will undoubtedly be tempted to try to turn the issue to its own advantage by calling attention to the human rights situation in the People's Republic of China.

Africa

Almost every African government is vulnerable to criticism on the human rights issue, in part because African standards of conduct differ markedly from "internationally accepted" conceptions of human rights. The most negative African responses to the US stand have come from Uganda, South Africa, and Ethiopia.

Idi Amin's dramatically hostile reaction stemmed partly from President Carter's statement about human rights violations in Uganda. The South African reaction was discreet and cautious at first, but has become outspokenly critical as the US stand has increasingly been seen as demanding that whites change their way of life. The radical Ethiopian dictator Lt. Colonel Mengistu has cited a human rights-related cutback in US aid as one reason for his recent anti-US actions, but the anti-US trend in Ethiopian policy predates US emphasis on human rights. It is rooted in a strong commitment to domestic socialism and a desire to win favor with the Soviets.

Several black African countries have applauded the US stand largely because they believe it implies US support for majority rule in southern Africa. Some have also quietly welcomed US criticism of the situation in Uganda. US initiatives have been warmly received in Nigeria, Cameroon,

and Gambia. Senegal, the Central African Empire, Zambia, and--in a recent shift--Ghana have also endorsed the US stand. Togo recently released some political prisoners partly out of a desire to improve relations with the US, but another group of persons was arrested for political reasons shortly thereafter.

Middle East

The Arab states tend to define human rights strictly in terms of concern over Israel's settlement policy in occupied territories, the fate of Arab prisoners in Israeli jails, and recognition of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." They will react positively to the US stand so long as its principal effect in the Middle East is the focusing of US attention on such issues, rather than on human rights practices (especially the treatment of minorities) in Arab countries.

The Israelis, of course, are concerned over the possible implications of increased US interest in their treatment of Arabs in the occupied territories. On the other hand, the Israelis apparently believe the US will be inclined to support initiatives they may take to focus international attention on Soviet harassment of Jews who have asked to leave the USSR.

Prospects

The impact that US human rights initiatives will have over the next several months will depend in large part on how the US chooses to press the issue. Repeated protestations as to the universality of US concerns are in any case unlikely to dissuade most of the vulnerable governments from continuing to interpret even general US actions or pronouncements as being directed particularly at them.

The Soviets will be continuing their efforts to convince West European leaders that degeneration of the CSCE meeting into an acrimonious exchange of charges on implementation of the Helsinki final act would be a severe setback

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for detente. There are indications that some Europeans are already worried on this score and do not want the Soviets to be "put in the dock" at Belgrade. The Soviets may, in fact, believe that the asymmetry of US and West European perspectives on human rights can be exploited to create controversy and tension within the Atlantic Alliance.

In any case, the Soviets undoubtedly have compiled lists of countercomplaints on Helsinki non-compliance, socio-economic inequities and alleged injustices in US society, and discrepancies between US actions and the administration's stand on human rights. Soviet propaganda organs have made it clear that Moscow is prepared to respond in kind if its human rights practices come under attack at Belgrade.

Other countries that have reacted most negatively to US human rights initiatives seem to be hoping for a "cooling off" period that would permit a resumption of less antagonistic bilateral relations and allow them to develop strategies for coping with the new situation. This is especially the case in Latin America, where recent congressional testimony by State Department officials and Secretary Vance's Law Day Speech have been interpreted as signaling that the US is in the process of moderating its tactics for pursuing human rights objectives. Disappointment of such expectations would give added impetus to discussions among the Southern Cone countries about convincing the US that they are vitally important to its interest.

Criticism of alleged US disinterest in the world wide advancement of social and economic justice is likely to increase if the less developed countries conclude that the US plans to link human rights to international economic issues by seeking to further its human rights objectives in international financial institutions whose charters call for loan decisions to be made strictly on the basis of economic considerations. The "North-South" dialogue, moreover, could become considerably more contentious generally if controversy over human rights were to severely damage US relations with nations (like Brazil) that have played significant moderating roles in the articulation of LDC demands.

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ANNEX

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

SOVIET UNION

JANUARY

- 2 Soviet national television broadcasts an hour-long "anti-Zionist" film designed to curb Jewish emigration by denigrating the emigrants' motivation.

FEBRUARY

- 2 Moscow CSCE monitoring group leaders Yury Orlov and Aleksandr Ginzburg are smeared by an article in Literary Gazette, signalling possible action against them.
- 3 Ginzburg is detained, but no formal charges are levied.
- 4 Associated Press Moscow correspondent George Krinsky is told to leave the country within a week. Krinsky is charged with currency improprieties, but his dissident contacts are the real reason for his expulsion.
- 5 Two members of the Ukrainian branch of the CSCE monitoring group are detained. Homes of other members are searched.
- 10 Orlov is arrested, but no specific charges are filed.
- 12 Pravda editorial castigates "impermissible" Western interference in Soviet internal affairs, and makes clear Moscow's belief that fundamental doctrinal principles upon which it cannot compromise are at stake in the controversy over human rights.
- 14 Valentin Turchin, chairman of the Soviet chapter of Amnesty International, is harassed by the KGB and given an official warning to curtail his activities.

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FEBRUARY

- 17 Andrey Sakharov receives a letter from President Carter at the US Embassy in Moscow. The Soviets promptly protest.
- 20 Pravda commentary is implicitly critical of President Carter and Secretary Vance for their statements on human rights.
- 22 Pravda charges Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty with funding dissident activity, raising by several notches endemic propaganda against the radios.
- 24 Anticipating President Carter's meeting with Vladimir Bukovsky, Tass smears Bukovsky as "criminal scum" and suggests that "US authorities" not consort with him. More biting commentary follows the March 1 meeting at the White House.

MARCH

- 1 Moscow CSCE group holds its first meeting since the arrests of Orlov and Ginzburg and declares its determination to carry on.
- 4 An "expose" by Izvestia charges that US diplomats and Soviet dissidents are involved in espionage. Among those named on the Soviet side are Jewish activists Anatoly Shcharansky, Vladimir Slepak, and Aleksandr Lerner.
- Leningrad dissident Vladimir Borisov is released after three months in a psychiatric hospital.
- 14 Shcharansky is arrested. He is not specifically charged, but is privately described by a senior investigator as an "important state criminal."
- Mikhail Shtern, a Ukrainian Jewish doctor serving an eight-year sentence after a blatantly rigged trial, is released for "health reasons." Shtern and his wife subsequently are given permission to emigrate.
- 18 Pravda article attacking "imperialist slander campaign" on the human rights issue is characteristic of themes projected almost daily by various Soviet media.

MARCH

- 19 Two Leningrad artists are sentenced to long prison terms for daubing anti-Soviet graffiti on public buildings last year.
- Tass flatly ties President Carter's statements on human rights to attempts to "interfere in the internal affairs" of other countries.
- 21 In a major policy address to the Soviet trade union congress in Moscow, General Secretary Brezhnev comments extensively on the human rights issue. Charging that false publicity in the West creates the image of an internal opposition in the USSR, Brezhnev declares that subversive foreign support for individuals who violate Soviet laws will not be tolerated, and that without "at least a minimum of mutual propriety" the normal development of US-Soviet relations is "unthinkable."
- 23 Izvestia takes President Carter to task for expressing hopes of improved bilateral relations while "Bukovsky is received in the White House" and "American political standards are impudently foisted on others." Article warns that the atmosphere for the forthcoming Moscow SALT talks has been made "more complicated."
- 31 Foreign Minister Gromyko, in a press conference following close of SALT talks, declares that the human rights issue "poisons the political climate" and makes resolution of other problems more difficult.

APRIL

- 4 A CSCE monitoring branch is set up in Yerevan, capital of the Soviet republic of Armenia. The group joins regional chapters in the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Georgia.
- 17-20 The fifth anniversary session of the so-called Sunday seminar is held without incident in Moscow, with the participation of scholars from the US and Canada. The seminars were initiated by Soviet Jewish scientists and scholars dismissed from prominent positions after applying for emigration.

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APRIL

- 18-22 Soviet media attempt to deflect criticism of Moscow's record on implementation of the Helsinki final act by playing back US press criticism of Washington's decision to deny visas to Soviet trade union officials.
- 25 A Soviet appeals court rejects review of a five year sentence imposed on a Belgian national convicted of distributing anti-Soviet pamphlets in Leningrad. Helsinki accord clauses relating to freedom of information had been cited unsuccessfully as a defense.
- Tass commentary implicitly warns that any efforts to put the USSR and its allies in the dock at the CSCE meeting will backfire against the West. The commentary carries the message that Moscow will be prepared to respond in kind if its human rights practices come under attack at Belgrade.
- 29-30 Soviet press accounts of a protest made to the US Embassy regarding Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty threaten unspecified retaliatory measures against the radios.

MAY

- 6-7 Soviet media links "so-called fighters for human rights" to the CIA. The CSCE monitoring group founded by Yury Orlov is specifically mentioned.
- 10 Tass attacks the London economic summit participants for having brought up the issue of human rights during the session.

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SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

EAST EUROPE

JANUARY

- 6 The manifesto of the Czechoslovak human rights cause-- Charter 77--is published in West Europe. It calls on the Prague regime to observe human rights provisions of domestic laws and international agreements.
- 13-14 Four Czechoslovak dissidents--three of them Chartists--are arrested for "maintaining contacts with hostile forces."
- 30 Two Charter 77 spokesmen are officially informed that their activities are "contrary to Czechoslovakia's law."

FEBRUARY

- 3 Polish leader Gierek proposes a pardon for workers still jailed as a result of June 1976 riots.
- 13 Romanian novelist Paul Goma and seven other dissidents condemn the lack of respect for human rights in their country and appeal for support from the Helsinki signatories.
- 17 Romanian leader Ceausescu attacks Goma and other dissidents as "traitors."

MARCH

- 2-3 Warsaw Pact central committee secretaries responsible for ideology meet in Sofia and discuss control of dissident activities in their countries.
- 3 Czechoslovak dissident Pavel Kohout delivers a letter for President Carter to the US Embassy.
- 8-10 Ninety Yugoslav dissidents express support for Charter 77.
- 12-15 Czechoslovak dissidents release two documents intended to regain momentum for their cause; one tries to establish common cause with workers, the other appeals to the Euro-communist parties for greater support.

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MARCH

- 16 A thousand persons reportedly attend the funeral of Czechoslovak dissident leader Jan Patocka.
- 24 The Yugoslav Constitutional Court rejects a plea by dissidents for an end of travel restrictions.
- 27 A new Polish dissident organization--the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights--is inaugurated. Its goals are broader than those of the already active Workers Defense League. The regime immediately responds with strong criticism.

APRIL

- 7 Goma is detained by Romanian authorities.
- 27 Two leading Polish dissidents are officially told they are under suspicion of maintaining illicit contact with Radio Free Europe and an emigre journal.
- A Czechoslovak court upholds dissident Zdenek Mlynar's dismissal from his job for participating in the Charter 77 cause.
- 27-30 Senior East European and Soviet party officials reportedly meet in Prague to discuss the long-term impact of the US stand on human rights.

MAY

- 2 A Czechoslovak dissident spokesman releases the tenth follow-up document to the Charter 77 manifesto.
- 9 Romanians release Goma.

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WEST EUROPE

FEBRUARY

- 22 West German Chancellor Schmidt declares his country will foster human rights "in ways we consider suitable."
- 23 French President Giscard refuses to meet with Soviet dissident Andre Amalrik.

MARCH

- 3 British Foreign Secretary Owen delivers a strong speech on human rights, but notes that Great Britain will have to balance morality with reality.
- 8 Following their Madrid summit Eurocommunist leaders from Italy, France, and Spain issue a tepid communique endorsing "full application" of the Helsinki Accords without specifically mentioning the Soviet Union or any East European country.

APRIL

- 5 A joint declaration of the European Parliament, the EC Council, and the EC Commission strongly reaffirms the signatories' commitment to the enhancement of fundamental rights and individual freedoms.
- 18 EC foreign ministers meeting in London discuss preparations for the CSCE session in Belgrade. They urge that the West's approach on the human rights issue be restrained in order not to jeopardize detente.
- 20 Socialist International President Willy Brandt calls for cautious pursuit of human rights objectives in a speech to Socialist Party leaders from twenty-three countries meeting in Amsterdam to discuss East-West relations.
- 25 A Papal adviser says that the Vatican has developed a three-stage action plan to guide Church officials in countries where human rights are not respected.

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SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTSLATIN AMERICAJANUARY

- 27 Three members of Paraguayan communist party are released after spending almost 20 years each in prison.
- 28 Political rights are restored to eight persons in Uruguay.

FEBRUARY

- 7 A US Embassy inspection of Ache Indian camp in Paraguay uncovers no evidence to prove or disprove allegations of official abuse.
- 10 Eleven women and their 17 children are released from a Paraguayan detention facility for political prisoners.
- 28 Argentina and Uruguay reject US military assistance tied to their human rights performance.
- A state of siege is imposed in El Salvador following demonstrations protesting fraudulent presidential elections.

MARCH

- 3 Brazil rejects all US military assistance for fiscal year 1977.
- 5 In a meeting with National Guard commanders, Nicaraguan President Somoza warns against human rights violations by National Guard troops, and declares that such conduct will be punished.
- 11 Brazilian President Geisel renounces the military assistance agreement with the US that was signed in 1952. The decision follows publication of the State Department's report on human rights.
- The Guatemalan government notifies the US that it declines in advance any US military assistance conditioned on US judgment of Guatemala's human rights practices.

MARCH

- 11 Venezuelan President Perez praises President Carter's human rights initiatives in a major address to his country's congress.
- Sixty-four additional Paraguayan political prisoners are released.
- 12 Chilean President Pinochet dissolves remaining political parties and strengthens sanctions against all partisan political activity.
- 15 In a press conference Colombian President Lopez supports the promotion of human rights through an international entity and declares Colombia's opposition to interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.
- 17 El Salvador rejects US military assistance.

APRIL

- 1 President Geisel suspends the Brazilian legislature for two weeks in response to its veto of a government amendment to reform the judiciary.
- 6 Nicaragua describes the US decision to link its military aid to human rights conditions as "interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua."
- 11 Mexico announces that it has stopped legal proceedings against 424 persons charged with political crimes and declares that there are no more political prisoners in Mexico.
- During a meeting with members of the general staff of the National Guard, Nicaraguan President Somoza says he will not renounce US military aid.
- 15 The Paraguayan government refuses to grant formal safe conduct out of the country to three communist party members released in January, who have been in asylum in the Peruvian Embassy since 25 February. The government claims they are not wanted for arrest and therefore are free to go.

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APRIL

- 15 Brazilian President Geisel issues a series of decrees aimed at reducing the influence of civilian politicians in the government.
- 25 Peru extends the emergency suspension of civil guarantees another 30 days; these measures went into effect after street demonstrations last July.
- 26 Peruvian President Morales Bermudez announces amnesty for 314 persons, including several political prisoners.
- 28 The Archbishop of Asuncion comments favorably on Paraguay's human rights progress. He has previously been highly critical of the government on the issue.

MAY

- 3 The pro-government press in Nicaragua praises Secretary Vance's Law Day Speech.

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ASIA



APRIL

- 9 The official Vietnamese newspaper accuses the US of hypocrisy on the human rights issue.
- 11 President Suharto reportedly tells Time magazine that Indonesia would rather not receive foreign aid if it has strings attached.
- 14-20 The South Korean government detains about two dozen persons associated with the "Charter for Democracy and National Salvation" issued by dissidents in March. The arrests are probably meant as a warning to those inclined to increase anti-government activity during the 19 April independence day period.
- 18 The Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines issues a sequel to its previously published pamphlet on political prisoners. It claims that torture continues to be practiced despite government denials.
- 19 Mr. and Mrs. Marcos assure Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke that the Philippines will move on human rights in order to improve relations with the US.

MAY

- 2 Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik says he hopes the US will use foreign assistance to promote the basic human right to food and clothing, and not preoccupy itself with the "legal side" of the human rights issue.
- 2-4 Most of the South Korean dissidents detained in March are released.

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SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTSAFRICAFEBRUARY

- 14 Nigeria welcomes the US emphasis on human rights.
- 15-28 Ugandan President Amin orders the approximately 240 US citizens in Uganda to a meeting in Kampala with a list of their possessions and forbids them to leave the country. Amin sends a strongly anti-US message to President Carter.

MARCH

- 1-15 Amin backs away from his anti-US line and postpones the meeting with US citizens indefinitely.
- 4 A high-level spokesman for Cameroon President Ahidjo's government expresses strong support for the US stand on human rights to Ambassador Spiro.
- 21 Gambian President Jawara's closest foreign policy advisor tells the US charge that President Carter should be applauded for the forthright stand he has taken on human rights. Jawara himself speaks out publicly on the situation in Uganda.
- 22 Spokesmen for the Senegalese government react to the US stand on human rights in a low-key but largely positive fashion.
- 25 Zambian President Kuanda endorses the US stance on human rights.
- 27 The Ethiopian government expresses official displeasure at a cutback in US grant materiel aid linked to its human rights performance.
- 31 Ghana expresses unhappiness with the State Department's report on its human rights practices but does not make it a major public issue.

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APRIL

- 10 President Mobutu of Zaire expresses annoyance and concern about the US emphasis on human rights. He says that continued US harping on the issue will alienate Washington's friends and have little effect on its adversaries--whom he views as the main offenders.
- 10 Togolese President Eyadema releases about 25 political prisoners in part to open the way for closer Togolese-US relations.
- 16-18 The South African government begins to respond to US criticism of its apartheid system after a period of discreet and cautious silence. Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha declares that arm twisting and threats from the US will not make white South Africans change their way of life.
- 19 Percy Qoboza, editor of the black-oriented South African newspaper, The World, writes that the majority of black South Africans agree with Ambassador Young's remark about the illegitimacy of the South African government.
- 20 23 Togolese are arrested for political reasons.

23

29

25X1

25X1

MAY

- 4 Some of those recently arrested in Togo are released.
- 5 Ghana comes out publicly in support of the US stand on human rights.
- 6 South African Foreign Minister Botha indicates that it may "not be convenient" for Ambassador Young to visit South Africa later this month.
- 9 The Ghanaian foreign minister tells a US diplomat that US refusal to sign the international cocoa agreement is "a violation of human rights." Ghana is the world's largest cocoa producer.

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SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

MIDDLE EAST

FEBRUARY

- 20 The Shah tells US officials in Iran that criticism of his country's human rights practices is unwarranted, unfair, and lacking in recognition of Iran's socio-economic advances.
- 27 Iran announces royal pardons for over one hundred prisoners convicted in civilian courts; few if any political prisoners are involved.

MARCH

- 17 The Shah pardons 653 prisoners who were tried by military courts. Ninety-one are identified as "anti-security" prisoners convicted of crimes against state security. The release brings to 215 the total of such prisoners freed in 1977.

APRIL

- 20 Eleven Iranian dissidents are sentenced to terms ranging from three years to life imprisonment for activities against the security of the state in a trial notable for its openness to reporters and foreign observers.

MAY

- 1 Opposition elements in Tunisia proceed with plans to hold a "National Conference on Public Liberties," while the government moves to undercut the effort. Both sides attempt to use the human rights issue for their own political purposes.
- 2 Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmi expresses his recognition of US seriousness on human rights to the US Ambassador.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Sayre Stevens
Deputy Director for Intelligence

SUBJECT : Memorandum on "Impact of the US Stand on Human Rights" Prepared at Request of NSC Staff

1. Action Requested: You transmit the attached ORPA report directly to Dr. Brzezinski, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

2. Background: Ms. Tuchman telephoned [] Special Assistant to the DDCI, on 3 May to request a wrap-up of significant responses to President Carter's Human Rights policy since the Inaugural. She indicated that Mr. Brzezinski wished to use such a paper to brief the President upon his return from Europe. *The paper was requested for Thursday, 12 May.*

Brzezinski's interest was apparently stimulated by the DCI's "Watching Brief" on "Significant Developments Related to the US Stand on Human Rights," delivered to Ms. Tuchman on 29 April. The memorandum which ORPA has prepared is mainly a compilation of information that has been used in previous briefings.

Sayre Stevens

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