

ARTICLE APPAREL
ON PAGE A1NEW YORK TIMES
14 March 1986

U.S. VOWS TO RESIST DESPOTS OF RIGHT AS WELL AS OF LEFT

By LESLIE H. GELB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 13 — In a major policy statement to be made public on Friday, President Reagan says explicitly for the first time that his Administration will oppose dictatorships of the anti-Communist right as well as the pro-Soviet left.

The core of a message that key Administration officials said would be sent to Congress says, "The American people believe in human rights and oppose tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or the right."

This new approach differs in emphasis from the one enunciated by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the former chief United States delegate to the United Nations. That policy held that "traditional authoritarian" regimes were "less repressive," more susceptible to change and better for American interests than Marxist-style rulers.

Left Called Greater Threat

Mr. Reagan's statement still calls leftist dictatorships the greater and "unique" threat to world peace. But his thrust is intended to take advantage of his recent role in helping to remove right-wing dictators in the Philippines and Haiti and to blunt charges that the Administration follows a double standard on human rights.

The main purpose of the statement, according to the Administration officials, is to lay out a regional security strategy.

The human rights part of the strategy is said to be intended to increase Congressional support for covert military aid to anti-Soviet "freedom fighters" in general and Nicaraguan rebels in particular. This aid, in turn, is intended to convince Moscow that its policy of backing so-called colonial agents in Angola, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia and Nicaragua cannot work.

'Soviet Adventurism' Deplored

Soviet leaders are warned not to expect "fundamental improvement of Soviet-American relations" while there is "continuing Soviet adventurism in the developing world." The message goes so far as to tell them that there is no more likely time than now for "Soviet policy reviews and reassessments," given Soviet domestic problems and signs of "democratic revolution" said to be "visible in Moscow." The text did not explain what was meant by those terms.

The officials said Mr. Reagan had been considering presenting this kind of message for some months. The time was said to be propitious because of recent policy successes in the Philippines and Haiti, the need to provide context for the struggle with Moscow over set-

ting a date for the next summit meeting, and the coming vote on \$100 million in covert aid to the anti-Sandinista rebels, known as contras.

"You cannot underestimate how good the President felt about the reaction to his handling of the Philippines and Haiti," a high-ranking Administration official said.

The officials said that no one needed to persuade Mr. Reagan to make the statement and that it was coordinated with the highest levels of the State Department and the Pentagon.

On the human rights issue, the officials were careful not to describe the President's statement as the abandonment of what has been called the Kirkpatrick doctrine.

"The statement should not be regarded as a hunting license to undermine friendly states, which often face external threats, and which can over time evolve nonviolently to ever-more democratic forms of government," one official said.

Nonetheless, the new Reagan approach is likely to be greeted by some critics of the Administration as a vindication of President Carter's human rights policy, which Mr. Reagan and his top aides have strongly attacked.

The Administration officials said it would be wrong to characterize Mr. Reagan's statement as the adoption of Mr. Carter's approach, and many human rights activists are likely to agree, or at least they are likely to argue that while the language may be favorable, it still has to be put into practice.

Condemned Chile in Geneva

But the statement does reflect the fact that the Administration only a few days ago introduced a resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva that condemned the human rights situation in Chile. The Administration decided that its quiet pressure for change on the military Government of President Augusto Pinochet had not worked.

But the officials also said Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, went too far Wednesday in proclaiming the Administration's support for "majority rule" in South Africa. They said his reference to members of the African National Congress as "freedom fighters" had also been made without White House approval.

The officials emphasized that the statement should not be read as setting the stage for compromise on covert aid to the contras fighting the Nicaraguan Government. That aid package is expected to be voted on in the Senate next week, and one of the key officials insisted that "the President wanted an open or down vote, not a compromise."

The statement does not mention authoritarian regimes friendly to Washington, such as those in South Korea, Indonesia and Taiwan, and the officials declined to say how the new approach would apply in those cases.

'Cases Are More Complicated'

"The statement is an attempt to say that the cases are more complicated than people realize, that we have to use different instruments in different ways in dealing with each," one official said.

In the words of the President's message, "The drive for national freedom and popular rule takes different forms in different countries, for each nation is the authentic product of a unique history and culture."

The statement refers to a "global revolution" for democracy. In this, "there can be no doubt where America stands," it says, adding, "The American people believe in human rights and oppose tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or the right."

Then, to make the point about different cases, it goes on: "We use our influence to encourage democratic change, in careful ways that respect other countries' traditions and political realities as well as the security threats that many of them face from external or internal forces of totalitarianism."

It talks about the people of Turkey fighting back "a violent assault on democracy from both left and right" several years ago. It says that the Philippines "are now restoring their democratic traditions," and that the "people of Haiti have their first chance in three decades to direct their own affairs."

Position on South Africa

As for South Africa, it states: "Advocates of peaceful change in South Africa are seeking an alternative to violence as well as to apartheid. American support will be ready, in these countries and elsewhere, to help democracy succeed."

As for what the statement calls "Leninist regimes," it argues that "the assault of such regimes on their own people inevitably becomes a menace to their neighbors." Thus, "Soviet-style dictatorships, in short, are an almost unique threat to peace, both before and after they consolidate their rule."

Mr. Reagan argues that the "democratic revolution is having profound effects in two ways: on peoples' thinking in general and in generating resistance to Soviet-style government."

He states: "Ours is a time of enormous social and technological change everywhere, and one country after another is discovering that only free peoples can make the most of this change. Countries that want progress without pluralism, without freedom, are finding that it cannot be done."

Causing Problems for Moscow

This, the statement contends, has caused problems for Moscow. "In recent years, Soviet ambitions in the developing world have run head on into a new form of resistance," it says. In the 1970's "the Soviets overreached," and now they and their clients "are finding it difficult to consolidate" their gains "mainly because of the courageous forces of indigenous resistance."

Then, as the statement turns toward Soviet policy, it says, "We did not create this historical phenomenon, but we must not fail to respond to it."

STAT