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WORLDWIDE DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE

US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

FEBRUARY 1978



LATIN AMERICA

Brazilian President Geisel's hints of forthcoming political changes created an anticipatory mood. Groups backing liberalization of the military regime took heart from the apparent interest of General Figueiredo, Geisel's choice as his successor, in relaxing political restrictions and correcting abuses. Meanwhile, political prisoners in Sao Paulo publicized a document cataloguing the abuses they claim to have suffered during their years of confinement. The prisoners' document was received by the Brazilian Bar Association, which forwarded a copy to the Ministry of Justice as a "contribution" toward revision of the National Security Law.

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In Paraguay, 24 political prisoners were released in February. Several of the prisoners had been detained for up to 13 years. Nineteen of them, however, were labor leaders arrested in December on the orders of the chief of the secret police. Meanwhile, a pre-election amnesty in <u>Bolivia</u> resulted in the release of the last of Bolivia's 12 acknowledged remaining political prisoners.

Argentina continued to feel pressure from Europe on human rights matters. According to West European press reports, the European Community was planning to present a demarche to Buenos Aires that recognized recent improvements in Argentina but protested the lack of protection of foreign nationals and expressed concern over the general human rights situation.

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13 January 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: D/ORPA C/ID

FROM : ORPA Human Rights Coordinator

SUBJECT : Unclassified Human Rights Monthly

Attached is the December edition of <u>Worldwide Developments</u> <u>Related to the US Stand on Human Rights</u>, the unclassified human rights monthly requested by the NSC Staff.



Attachment: a/s

cc:

Executive Secretary, O/DCI (B.C. Evans)

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WORLDWIDE DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE

US STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

DECEMBER 1977

NR







Argentina announced the release of 389 persons from Executive Detention. The government put another 30 detainees on parole, placed two under house arrest, granted 10 the so-called "right of option" to leave the country, and expelled one. The regime also announced that a list of the 3,607 persons it claims are still being held under Executive Detention will be made public "at an opportune time." Some of the 389 persons released from Executive Detention may not actually be freed. Some prisoners are being held in Argentina under both Executive Detention and judicially ordered preventive detention related to pending criminal charges.

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D/ORPA-78-659/A 19 July 1978

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

THROUGH : Deputy Director for National Foreign Assessment

FROM : William A. Christison Director, Regional & Political Analysis

SUBJECT : Human Rights

1. On 5 June, you asked for a country by country scorecard of worldwide performance on human rights since January 1977. Attached is a final draft of our response (and a copy of your request).

- 2. You should note particularly:
 - a. The Summary Tables on page 4 of the report; and
 - b. <u>The Table at the end</u> (pages A1-A8), which presents our judgments on the human rights performance of every independent country in the world with a population of over 175,000. The only populated areas not covered are territories that are not independent (e.g., Greenland, Hong Kong), or countries with very small populations (e.g., San Marino, Qatar). Overall, the Table--and the paper as a whole--cover all but 0.2 percent of the world's population.

3. Since you personally requested this report, we would like to have your comments before publishing. After we have your approval, we are also prepared to work up a Presidential briefing based on the report. Much of the data can be presented quite effectively on charts or maps.

4. In reviewing the paper, please be aware that some of our judgments on the human rights performance of nations are harsher than those of the Department of State. As you probably know, the State Department

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SUBJECT: Human Rights

annually submits <u>Country Reports on Human Rights Practices</u> to the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The most recent compilation by State, which runs over 400 pages, was published last February. The State study does not compare countries, as our does, and in our view is too optimistic about the progress made on human rights in a number of countries. State's study also does not even cover the USSR, Eastern Europe, and certain other important countries including Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Finally, State's study is unclassified. Given the differences between it and our paper, there is some flap potential in ours if it leaks-or if it is issued in an unclassified version.

5. All Divisions of ORPA made major contributions to this paper. The analysts responsible for organizing and coordinating it are of ORPA's

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William A. Christison

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Attachments: as stated

to all

31 JUL 1978

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SUBJECT: Human Rights

CONCUR:

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31 JUL 1978

Date

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5 JUN 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for National Foreign Assessment

FROM: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Human Rights

1. Now that Cord Meyer is gone are we still turning in weekly reports on human rights?

2. Would it be possible at this juncture to develop a scoreboard on the progress in human rights since the Carter Administration took office, country by country, where there have been significant improvements or regressions? In short, could we pull something together that isn't so extensive as to be unusable but still capture the sense of the trends.

STANSFIELD TURNER

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yes

NEAC # 2352-78/1-

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director, NFAC

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Attached is a country by country scorecard of worldwide performance on human rights which the DCI requested on 5 June. (Attached also is a copy of the DCI's original request. We have already answered the first question in his request in the affirmative.)

Bill

William A. Christison Director Regional & Political Analysis

19 July 1978 Date

THE DIR! OR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Deputy Director for National Foreign Assessment

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Note for the Director

Attached is a country by country scorecard of worldwide performance on human rights which you requested on 5 June.

Robert R. Bowie

Attachment: "Human Rights Performance"

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18 July 1978

MEMORANDUM

HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE

FOREWORD

This assessment of the Human Rights performance of foreign countries over the past year and a half, requested by the DCI, is in two parts. The first is an overview of worldwide trends, which emphasizes the degree to which there has been change in the practices of foreign countries since 1976. This is followed by regional sections, which attempt to place foreign practices and indications of change into the context both of the countries' history and political culture and of their relations with the US.

For the purposes of this paper we have identified "human rights" as including governmental unwillingness to condone: (1) torture; (2) cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; (3) arbitrary arrest or imprisonment; (4) denial of fair public trial; (5) invasion of the home. They also connote governmental respect for freedom of: (6) thought, speech, press, religion and assembly; (7) movement within the country, foreign travel and emigration; and (8) participation in the political process. Finally (9) they imply a government's willingness to tolerate international and nongovernmental investigation of alleged violations of human rights. We have not included evaluations of economic performances within the scope of this paper, although we recognize that there is an economic dimension to the term human rights as it is commonly used. Moreover, only independent foreign countries with more than 175,000 inhabitants have been evaluated.

Regarding ratings, we judge generally good those countries with endemic problems in no more than one or two areas of human rights; as <u>spotty</u> those with problems in several areas; and as <u>poor</u> those with problems in all or nearly all areas.

The views expressed in this paper represent the best judgments of ORPA analysts and have not been coordinated with other components of the Agency. We are aware that, for many countries, assessing the state of human rights practices, and even the direction they are taking, is both complex and controversial. It is extremely difficult to place 100 or so

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countries into a few categories to the satisfaction of ORPA analysts, let alone observers elsewhere. Some changes for the better that we describe may not be thought significant by others. In any case, the changes may not prove lasting; they may not withstand the litmus test that the authoritarian governments which rule most countries of the world tend to apply to improvements in human rights practices: the extent to which these may complicate domestic security problems and even general political problems for the governments in power.

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Overview

Over the last year and a half, we believe the human rights performances of governments in 40 foreign countries have improved. Because of improvement, we would now group India, Spain and, with some qualification, even Thailand with the industrial democracies and developing countries whose overall human rights performance is judged generally good. There are now 44 such foreign countries, with a total population of 1.4 billion, or nearly a third of the world's total population.

Aside from India, Spain, and Thailand, the countries that have witnessed some improvement in human rights performance since January 1977 still have overall records we would characterize as either <u>spotty</u> (e.g., Bangladesh, Brazil, Chile, Iran, Indonesia, South Korea, Yugoslavia, Iran, Indonesia), or <u>poor</u> (notably the Peoples Republic of China (PRC)). Because of the large population of many of these 40 countries, about 2.4 billion people are judged to enjoy a higher standard of human rights in mid-1978 than at the end of 1976. Even with China excluded, the number would represent over one third of the world's population.

The governments of these countries generally were less likely than before to condone: torture; cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; arbitrary arrest or imprisonment; denial of fair public trial; and invasion of the home. By and large the central authorities seemed to encourage greater respect for freedom of: thought, speech, press, religion and assembly; movement within the country; foreign travel and emigration; and participation in the political process. Not all these governments showed improvement in all these areas, but the available information suggests that all made some progress in one or more of them.

Moreover, evidence of a government's willingness to tolerate international and nongovernmental investigation of alleged violations of human rights was itself judged as a positive indication of human rights performance. Some governments that have bristled at direct US initiatives as "interference" in their internal affairs have, as a compensating action, permitted Amnesty International or some regional human rights commission to conduct its own investigation. To that extent US initiatives have been indirectly responsible for part of the rise in prestige and influence shown by such human rights organizations.

On the negative side, it is fairly clear that for a substantial number of other persons (nearly one in ten) the standards of human rights have declined (notably in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Cambodia,

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Angola and post-coup Afghanistan). While quiet diplomacy may assist in individual cases in these countries, by and large the regimes have proved insensitive to official public criticism, and at times have shown a tendency to react to such criticism by becoming even more repressive. This has been particularly apparent in the USSR and Czechoslovakia, where, nonetheless, dissent seems to have become embedded in political life.

The PRC represents a special case on human rights. Overall, it still must be rated <u>poor</u>. Yet, there has been some easing of controls, and the recent rhetoric, promising the restoration of more regular judicial procedure, a prohibition against the use of force in obtaining confessions, and punishment for violations of "human rights" (Peking's term), is of considerable interest. At minimum the rhetoric shows a new and noteworthy recognition by Chinese leaders that such concepts matter to countries the PRC now finds in its interest to cultivate.

Between the countries rated generally good on human rights and those rated poor are countries with spotty performances, currently embracing slightly more than a fourth of the world's population. There has been considerable progress and some retrogression within these categories in the period under discussion, but in only four cases did countries already in the <u>spotty</u> categories at the end of 1976 move out of those categories; India, Spain and Thailand, as indicated earlier, moved up to generally good, and Afghanistan moved down to poor.

Countries in the spotty category generally have shown themselves willing to engage in dialogue with other countries, including the United States, about human rights. Where they resist changes they usually at least offer explanations for their resistance. They plead parlous security conditions, and emphasize, among other things, the increasing tendency of indigenous terrorist groups to use human rights rhetoric to serve terrorist goals. Economic and social circumstances are used in a variety of ways to excuse inattention to political and civil rights. For example, countries with low standards of living maintain that political freedoms are simply not of urgent priority. Recipients of economic aid express pointed resentment against attempts to link human rights to the loan policies of international financial institutions. Newly acquired economic prosperity, notably in some Moslem oil-producing countries, has reinforced an already strong cultural bias against Western human rights concepts. Other countries frankly fear the social turmoil they perceive to be an inherent part of Western liberal democracies.

As the regional sections that follow indicate, the causes both of the prevailing climate of human rights practices in individual countries

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and of the changes that have occurred recently are often exceedingly complex, especially in regard to the relative importance of internal and external factors. By and large, increased US attention to human rights practices has contributed to a global climate of greater sensitivity to the issue and to the heightened concern of a large number of countries about the importance to their wellbeing (e.g., in terms of foreign aid and loans) of international perceptions of their practices. In a number of cases, US bilateral representations have been an important factor in improvements noted (e.g., South Korea, Chile). In most cases, however, especially where substantial and far-reaching improvements have taken place (e.g., India, Spain), they very largely reflect dramatic internal political changes--and only secondarily--if at all--foreign representations. Similarly, the several instances of retrogression are explained very largely by internal dynamics, though at times (e.g., the USSR) fear or traditional resentment of international pressures also played a part.

Despite the overall improvement, disregard of human rights remains a depressing fixture of the world scene. For the forseeable future there will be regimes--including some in which we have noted improvements-inclined to use force and fraud to prevent their countrymen from expressing dissident views, however nonviolently; willing to deny them privacy and due process; and able to inflict on them ever more refined forms of distress and humiliation.

> <u>Note</u>: Throughout this study, population data for all countries are estimates as of 1 January 1978, a point between the beginning and end dates (January 1977 and July 1978) of our assessments of human rights performance. Thus our data do not show the <u>increase</u> of the world's population between January 1977 and July 1978; such figures are simply not available for many countries.

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try	Category	Trend Since January 1977
ntina	Spotty	No Change

There have been encouraging signs of progress on human rights in Latin America since the present US administration assumed office, although there are stubborn cases, involving authoritarian regimes reacting to real or perceived threats to internal security, that show no improvement. US pressures for reform have strained relations with some of the recalcitrant countries, but the few countries with relatively good records on human rights have been generally supportive of US policies in this area. Among the improvements noted is a marked decrease in the worst abuses, such as officially condoned killings, torture, and prolonged and illegal detention. There are indications that liberalization is under way or is planned in some countries with longstanding



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records for serious human rights problems. International and regional human rights organizations are also taking a more active part in investigating and monitoring individual cases, and seem to be eliciting favorable responses and cooperation from many governments. Overall improvement, albeit with some relapses, is likely in the months ahead, particularly as some military governments begin bringing civilians into the political process.

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In Argentina the human rights issue continues to cause strains with the US. Senior Argentine officials view human rights abuses as an unfortunate but inevitable consequence of intense efforts to eradicate leftist terrorism, and under these circumstances resent efforts by foreign critics to portray the Argentine Government as an oppressive dictatorship. Now that the terrorist threat seems to be abating, the government is attempting to wind down its massive security operations and to exercise tighter controls over police and military units. It has ordered release of many prisoners to their relatives during daylight hours. The Interior Minister recently warned police chiefs to stop bullying the public and to restore normal procedures and the government has strengthened requirements for proper police identification. In an effort to appease its critics, the government has published several lists of those arrested and under detention and is making a more concerted effort to locate missing persons. Nevertheless, thousands of prisoners are still being held under state of siege provisions which deny them benefits of trial and due process. The fact that there are still occasional reports of disappearances, torture, and death indicates that the government is either unable or unwilling to bring all elements of the security forces under full control.

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