



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
HONORING DANTE B. FASCELL  
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

Washington, D.C.

May 18, 1987

It is a privilege for me to join all of you this afternoon in this enthusiastic expression of praise for Dante Fascell. Our task is a delicate one, because Dante is a hard-bitten, no nonsense politician who can cut through the frequent emptiness of words and intuitively distinguish between the phoney and the real. Indeed, I would not be surprised if this skepticism were honed by his own participation in events that honored money and power and not necessarily quality. You and I know, however, that it is the character, the quality and the deeds of this outstanding public servant that lead us to be enthusiastic about the tribute to him today.

Dante and I met more than thirty years ago. He was much thinner then, but during that period of time he has also grown immensely and more profoundly in stature, respect, statesmanship, admiration and recognition. It was Hubert Humphrey who brought us together and I have ever since identified this extraordinarily capable Member of Congress with the idealism, liberalism and integrity of that outstanding giant of American public service. [I hasten here to add that

at least one difference now comes to mind as I discipline myself to keep within the five minutes allocated to me. That difference is defined by a comment I once heard Muriel make when she said: "Hubert, a speech does not have to be eternal to be immortal."]

Dante, like Hubert, feels deep to his marrow that government in a democracy must be motivated by compassion. Hubert used to quote Matthew: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." This has been the guiding light of Dante Fascell in the 33 years he has served in the Congress and we are proud of him for this commitment.

The compassion which guides Dante Fascell includes not only compassion toward Americans but also toward those in other parts of the world deprived of their liberties by totalitarian governments. Chairman Fascell and I worked very closely together during my three years as Head of the U.S. Delegation at the Madrid talks on the Helsinki Final Act where he served as head of the Helsinki Commission. No official government body in the world has been as effective, as thorough, as committed to helping the victims of Soviet totalitarianism as this Commission, which Dante Fascell helped create and lead for so many years.



Dante is a great American patriot -- unabashed, he can proudly say "I love America." It is time that we renew and proclaim this spirit of patriotism for our country and the principle of democratic liberty which it successfully represents and symbolizes. Dante Fascell knows that the true meaning of liberty must encompass the understanding that its mortal enemy is the totalitarian philosophy, right and left, which seeks to deny the dignity of the human being. If there is to be any future for the American dream, there can be no illusion about the nature of that threat to our values and security. We must not give up our support for freedom in Cuba, in Nicaragua, in Chile, in Paraguay or any place else in the world. We cannot tolerate the use of guns and subversion to spread Communism within our hemisphere. Dante Fascell understands the urgent need for this commitment.

I recall an afternoon session in Hubert Humphrey's Senate office during the Eisenhower administration. A delegation of our liberal friends came to see him and to criticize him for giving so much support to the President's foreign policy. I remember his response: "In our system of government, we have only one President at a time. And he is my President!"

Dante understands that American interests are undermined by growing divisiveness and partisanship in foreign policy. There can regrettably be no effective foreign

policy or effective diplomacy in our country, which carries the burden of leadership for the free world, without the realistic availability of military strength as a deterrent. But the hard reality of our day is that this means our foreign policy cannot be stabilized by a 51-49 vote. Support for that policy requires a form of consensus -- not unanimity, but broad bipartisan support. That means extensive and intensive meaningful consultations between the President and the Congress during the full decision-making phase of foreign policy formulation.

The lack of this close relationship -- no fault of Dante Fascell -- coupled with a growing unwillingness to consider force as an option in foreign policy is the most serious international crisis we face today. The Soviet Union, our adversary, does not face that crisis and, indeed, smugly believes that this "advantage" to them will prove the inability of political democracy historically to survive. Dante understands we cannot permit this to happen and I know he is ready to help achieve the strength that will come to us from the unity we seek.

This brings me, in conclusion, to the National Endowment for Democracy which unites us here today. No single human being is more responsible for this vital instrument of democracy -- its life, its energy, its support, its inspiring programs -- than the man we honor today. It was Dante Fascell



who, in 1967, had the vision. It was Dante Fascell who, in 1983, helped forge the non-partisan movement to bring it into being, building on President Reagan's impressive London speech and splendid initiative. This is not a Republican program; it is not a Democratic program. It is an American program that brings together on an international scale those values and practical commitments to democracy that characterize Dante Fascell's career and work.

I close by asking you to join with me in tribute to a great American, Congressman Dante Fascell.

5/19

OK

*The Board of Directors  
of the National Endowment for Democracy  
requests the pleasure of your company  
at a luncheon  
honoring  
Dante B. Fascell  
for his contribution  
to advancing the cause of democracy  
throughout the world  
Tuesday, the nineteenth of May, 1987  
twelve-thirty o'clock  
The Sheraton Grand on Capitol Hill  
Ballroom West  
525 New Jersey Avenue Northwest  
Washington, D.C.*

*R.S.V.P.*

*Please Present Invitation at the Door*

*On the occasion of the  
National Endowment for Democracy  
Conference on "The Challenge of Democracy"  
the Endowment Board of Directors  
is proud to pay tribute to*

***The Honorable Dante B. Fascell***

*Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs  
U.S. House of Representatives*



*Tuesday, the nineteenth of May  
nineteen hundred and eighty-seven*



*Washington, D.C.*



No American has done more to advance what is commonly called "Public Diplomacy" than **Dante B. Fascell**. During a congressional career that has spanned more than thirty years, Dante has adhered to the view that international relations and the advancement of American democratic ideals and interests in the world cannot be based solely upon diplomacy and defense. Our country requires the capability to communicate its views clearly and persuasively, to reach out to peoples as well as governments, and to engage effectively in the battle of ideas.

Through congressional hearings, studies, reports—covering such subjects as "Building a World of Free Peoples," "Modern Communications and Foreign Policy," and "Public Diplomacy and the Future"—Dante has systematically laid the intellectual and political foundation for a more vigorous public diplomacy by the United States. He has also played a decisive role in fashioning the institutional foundation for this effort: a stronger U.S. Information Agency, the Inter-American Foundation, the Board for International Broadcasting, Radio Marti and, most recently, the National Endowment for Democracy.

The origins of the Endowment can be traced to hearings he conducted two decades ago on "Encouraging Private Participation in International Activities." This theme eventually became the basis for the National Endowment for Democracy Act, which President Reagan signed into law in 1983. Today the Endowment exists as the symbol and embodiment of the U.S. commitment to assist courageous individuals abroad who are struggling to build democratic systems.

For his commitment to democracy, and for his contribution to strengthening America's ability to advance democracy throughout the world, we are proud to honor Dante B. Fascell.

*May 19, 1987*

*Washington, D.C.*

The *National Endowment for Democracy* is a private nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world. Through its worldwide grant program, the Endowment assists those abroad who are working for democratic goals. In this effort, it seeks to enlist the energies and talents of private citizens and groups in the United States to work in partnership with democrats abroad.

Under the guidance of its bipartisan Board of Directors and in concert with its four core grantees (the Center for International Private Enterprise, the Free Trade Union Institute, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs), the Endowment assists democrats in many critical situations.

- In Argentina, the Philippines and many other new democracies, the Endowment assists those working to consolidate democratic gains;
- In Chile, Haiti, Paraguay, South Korea, among other countries, the Endowment supports groups working for a stable, peaceful transition to democracy;
- In the closed societies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the Endowment is helping those working for greater openness and pluralism; and
- In countries wracked by violence and conflict, such as South Africa, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Northern Ireland, the Endowment is assisting those struggling peacefully to sustain the possibility of a democratic future.

In all its programs, the Endowment is guided by the following principles:

- That democracy involves the right of the people freely to determine their own destiny;

- That the exercise of this right requires a system that guarantees freedom of expression, belief and association, free and competitive elections, respect for the inalienable rights of individuals and minorities, free communications media, and the rule of law;
- That a democratic system may take a variety of forms suited to local needs and traditions, and therefore need not follow the U.S. or any other particular model;
- That the existence of autonomous economic, political, social, and cultural institutions is the foundation of the democratic process and the best guarantor of individual rights and freedoms;
- That private institutions in free societies can contribute to the development of democracy through assistance to counterparts abroad;
- That such assistance must be responsive to local needs and seek to encourage—but not to control—indigenous efforts to build free and independent institutions; and
- That the partnership envisaged between those who enjoy the benefits of democracy and those who aspire to a democratic future must be based upon mutual respect, shared values, and a common commitment to work together to extend the frontiers of democracy for present and future generations.

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*President*

This conference is being funded out of private contributions. The National Endowment for Democracy is a tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation as defined in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.



FASCELL  
LUNCHEON

E

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

DANTE B. FASCELL  
FLORIDA

Map—

No one has ever better explained and captured my feelings, thoughts and actions regarding my service in public life.

Thanks for sending me a copy of your remarks. Since I was unable to attend the luncheon I welcomed the opportunity to read your outstanding statement.

Your remarks brought to mind a rush of wonderful memories of years gone by and challenges yet to be faced.

Also - I am once again

reminded of the many things you  
do and do so well for our country.  
Years of dedicated public service  
at the highest levels of this  
government should be and are,

I know, a great source of  
satisfaction to you and your family.

Take care of yourself and  
care for the country will follow!

Again many thanks

Cordially

Wente

June 4, 1987

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Department of State  
S/DEL Room 7208  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

I thought you might like to have the enclosed photo with Jim Wright taken at our recent luncheon. Thanks, again, for making such fine remarks on such short notice.

I hope we'll have a chance to see each other again soon.

Best regards,

*Carl*

Carl Gershman

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(F)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

DANTE B. FASCELL  
FLORIDA

May 19, 1987

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

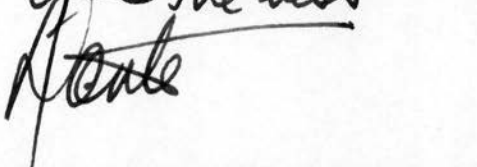
Dear Max:

Jeanne-Marie and others have told me of your eloquent and kind words at the NED luncheon today. I am so sorry that legislative business made it impossible for me to be there and express to you my deep appreciation for your friendship and support. It means a great deal to me that such a distinguished and dedicated champion of human rights and democracy as you participated in a tribute to my efforts. I look forward to being able to express my gratitude to you in person in the near future.

With much appreciation and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
Dante B. Fascell

*I'm so pleased you're  
doing so well. All the best*  




May 12, 1987

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Max:

I'm delighted that you'll be able to speak  
at the luncheon next week honoring Dante.

Enclosed is the text of the luncheon program --  
brief statements about Dante and the Endowment. I've  
also enclosed the conference program. For your interest,  
I'm including a copy of testimony I delivered recently  
which gives an overview of what the Endowment has been  
doing and how we approach the question of helping democratic  
organizations and efforts abroad. I believe this should  
be enough for the purposes of preparing brief remarks.

You should bear in mind that the luncheon will  
be taking place approximately five years since the  
President addressed the British Parliament at Westminster.  
The Endowment is the bipartisan realization of the vision  
expressed there, as well as the product of Dante's labors,  
and of the labors of others as well.

Please let me know if you need any other information.  
I'm happy to know that you're recovering so well.

Sincerely,



Carl Gershman

1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 203, Washington, D.C. 20005

(202) 293-9072

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*President*



5/18

SEND FOLM - ADD P.S. - "THE CONFERENCE YOU WROTE ME  
ABOUT IS MOST IMPESSIVE. CONGRATULATIONS! I'LL TRY TO  
ATTEND THE RECEPTION AND THE DANTE LUNCHEON IF I'M  
*National Endowment for Democracy*  
NOT IN GENEVA AND UP TO IT. THANKS!!  
m "

April 9, 1987

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
U.S. Department of State  
S/DEL, Room 7208  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

I wanted you to know that I've been thinking about you and hoping for your full and speedy recovery. You're in the rather uncommon position where your health is a matter of importance to the nation as well as of concern to your friends. I hear that you're doing well and that you'll be back in the fray before too long.

*Probably  
I'LL BE IN  
GENEVA BUT I  
LOVE IN NY  
BOOK !!*

If it happens that you'll be in town in May, I'd like to invite you to a luncheon we're holding on Tuesday, May 19th honoring Dante and to a reception the Secretary is giving the preceding evening on the occasion of a major conference we're putting on. The enclosed schedule describes the conference, which should give people in this town an accurate picture of what we're trying to accomplish. We'll be sending out formal invitations shortly.

In any event, I wanted to let you know that I'm quietly rooting -- and praying -- that you'll be back with us at full steam. We need you and miss you.

Warm regards,



Carl Gershman

Enclosure

1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 203, Washington, D.C. 20005

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Carl Gershman  
*President*



*National Endowment for Democracy*

May 28, 1987

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Max:

I want to thank you for being gracious enough to make remarks at our luncheon on such short notice. I was very pleased that you were able to participate, and was delighted to see you looking so well.

The conference was a great success and marks an important milestone in the development of the Endowment. The political clarity of your remarks added something very special to the whole event. Everyone has come to expect that from you, but don't for a moment think that it's taken for granted. It's profoundly appreciated.

With best regards,

*Carl*

Carl Gershman

1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 203, Washington, D.C. 20005

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Carl Gershman  
*President*





Dante B. Fascell  
*of Miami (19th Dist.)*

REPRESENTATIVE DANTE B. FASCELL (D-FLORIDA)

Representative Fascell was born in March 9, 1917 in Bridgehamton, New York. He received a J.D. degree from the University of Miami in 1938. He was in the Army between 1941 and 1946, and served in the Florida House of Representatives between 1951 and 1954.

Representative Fascell was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954. He is an active and highly regarded Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and is also Chairman of HFAC's Arms Control Subcommittee. In the past, he served as Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee (his district has a substantial Hispanic -- primarily Cuban -- population), and the International Operations Subcommittee (which has jurisdiction over the State Department). He is also a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics, a member of the House Delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly, and a member of the Canadian-U.S. Interparliamentary Group. He has served as Chairman of the Helsinki Commission Group, and maintains a continued interest in CSCE matters.

Representative Fascell is married to Jeanne-Marie Pelot; they have two daughters. His only son was killed in a car accident in 1984.



STATEMENT OF CARL GERSHMAN  
PRESIDENT  
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY  
TO THE  
SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, JUSTICE, & STATE

March 18, 1987

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

The National Endowment for Democracy has now entered its fourth year of operation. The establishment of a new institution is never an easy task, and this is especially true for an institution with so bold and difficult a mission as that of the Endowment. In retrospect, the Endowment's first three years have been a period of remarkable accomplishment. The start-up operational tasks -- establishing sound organizational procedures, mapping out a grant strategy, launching a program for democracy-building around the world -- have now largely been completed. Much remains to be done, and the Endowment will continue to evolve and grow in response to changing circumstances. But the Endowment is now an established international presence that has begun to fulfill the immense hopes that people in the United States and around the world have placed in it.

The Endowment has come along at just the right moment. Nineteen hundred and eighty six was a year of historic significance which saw major democratic gains in many countries. The stunning events of February in the Philippines not only constituted a great victory for

democracy in that country, but gave inspiration and encouragement to the democratic cause throughout the world. In Haiti, too, the downfall of a dictator offers the prospect of democratic evolution, despite that country's awesome economic and social problems.

The developments in the Philippines and Haiti have not been isolated events. In Guatemala, a new democratically-elected civilian government was inaugurated in 1986, continuing the historic trend toward democracy elsewhere in Central and South America. In other countries, even where change has been blocked, the pressures for change have been evident. Such pressures have continued to grow in South Africa and Chile, to name but two of the more prominent cases. The on-going crisis in Poland, and recent developments in the Soviet Union and China, show that the pressures for change are being felt even within the communist world.

These developments confirm the view, expressed in a recent survey of freedom in the world, that the growth of democracy appears "irresistable and worldwide... It is the only ideology or intellectual stance capable of accommodating the pace of technological change with its ever-changing moral and social requirements. Communist and authoritarian governments are faced with increasingly resentful, sullen, and restive populations.

Growing segments of these populations no longer accept one arbitrary outmoded ideology used to justify their oppression."\*

The Endowment symbolizes the commitment of the American people to the democratic cause throughout the world. Even more importantly, it offers a means whereby concrete assistance can be given to those who are struggling without violence to secure a democratic future for their countries. Beyond this, it enables private U.S. institutions, including labor, business, the two major political parties, youth and women's organizations, and many others to help their counterparts abroad achieve democratic goals.

Though the Endowment is still a very young organization, it has already begun to make important contributions in a wide variety of situations.

#### Supporting Democratic Transitions

One of the most important categories of Endowment work is support for the process of democratic transition. Democratic transition is not a short or easy process for any country. Where it is derailed and taken over by anti-democratic elements -- as

\* Raymond D. Gastil, Freedom in the World: 1984-1985, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1985 pg. 266-267.

happened, for example, in Iran and Nicaragua almost a decade ago -- the effect can be devastating both for the countries involved and for United States national interests. Where it succeeds, as it apparently has in the Philippines and in many Latin American countries, the people benefit and the democratic cause around the world is strengthened.

Endowment programs recognize the diversity of transitional situations. Where the process has not begun, or is in a very early stage (Chile and Paraguay, for example), the programs seek to encourage, assist and unify all those working for a stable transition. Where there have been transfers of power without clear scenarios for transition, as in Haiti, the Endowment has assisted those who are working to mold a new democratic consensus and to build the infrastructure for a democratic order. Where the transfer has brought to power a government with legitimacy and democratic commitment, the Endowment supports those working to build and consolidate a new democratic system.

Endowment programs are supporting the process of democratic transition in:

-- the Philipppines, where the Endowment, through its four core grantees (the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute, the Center for International Private Enterprise, the National

Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs) and also in cooperation with the YMCA, has made a vital contribution to the process of democratic transition before, during and now after the momentous events of February 1986. In the period leading up to and including these events, this support included large-scale assistance to the democratic labor movement which was under attack from both left and right, and the organization of an international observer delegation to the February 1986 elections which helped turn the tide of opinion in favor of respecting the democratically expressed will of the Philippine people.

-- Guatemala, where the Endowment supported the efforts of a group of Guatemalan professionals and businessmen to develop a nonpartisan political forum where politicians and emerging political groups could find a neutral ground to discuss political issues. With Endowment support, this group also made an invaluable contribution to the 1985 Guatemalan elections by encouraging voter participation through a highly effective nonpartisan get-out-the-vote campaign;

-- Haiti, where support has been given to an emerging free trade union movement, to an umbrella organization of five business associations, and for the establishment of a center to promote research, civic education and democratic cooperation for the consolidation of a new democracy in the post-Duvalier era.



In addition, NDI has convened discussions of the potential party leaders and political candidates on the requirements for a free and fair election;

-- Grenada, where labor and the NRI promoted a successful civic education program that contributed to broad participation in the 1984 election of a new democratic government;

-- Chile, where urgently needed support is being given to a broad group of political and social forces working for a peaceful transition to democracy;

-- Paraguay, where assistance is being given to labor, business, and intellectual organizations working for democratic change, and to Radio Nanduti, which is struggling against severe government harrassment to remain the only genuinely independent communications medium in the country;

-- South Korea, where NDI is working with both government and opposition political parties on activities to encourage the process of peaceful transition to democratic civilian rule; and

-- Taiwan, where NDI is also working in a spirit of non-partisanship to encourage the process of peaceful change and enhanced political participation that is now underway.

## Strengthening New Democracies

In new or fragile democracies, the goal of the Endowment is to assist those who are working to build the infrastructure of democracy. This involves helping to build strong independent private-sector institutions, especially trade unions and business associations, and including as well civic and women's organizations, youth groups and cooperatives. It also entails efforts to promote strong, stable political parties that are committed to the democratic process, as well as programs that promote the rule of law, respect for human rights, dialogue among different sectors of society to advance solutions to national problems, and a strong democratic civic culture.

Endowment programs are strengthening new democracies in:

- the Philippines, where efforts are underway to strengthen the free trade union movement, assist the development of regional chambers of commerce to enable them to take a more active part in the political process, and promote democratic civic education for high-school youth;
  
- Guatemala, where the Endowment has supported the efforts of a nonpartisan research institute to examine critical economic

and sociopolitical problems confronting that nation. This institute is now playing an important role in Guatemala's National Educational Reform Plan through its development of a nationwide program of democratic civic education;

-- Argentina, where the Endowment has made possible the rapid expansion of a major women's program of civic education, Conciencia, as well as a multi-party discussion of ways to strengthen the Argentine legislature and a range of initiatives to encourage non-statist solutions to economic problems;

-- Peru, where the Institute for Liberty and Democracy, with CIPE support, is promoting the economic rights and political participation of the small entrepreneurs who make up the vast informal sector;

-- Dominica, where NRI and the Committee for Progress in Democracy are promoting democratic education of youth;

-- Uruguay, where the NDI and the NRI are engaged in a joint project of civic education and technical assistance with the two major Uruguayan political parties -- the Blancos and the Colorados -- through their respective party foundations.

## Opening Closed Societies

One of the most challenging goals of the Endowment is to encourage a process of opening closed societies where independent institutions are prohibited or severely restricted. Here, the immediate objective is to enlarge whatever possibilities exist for independent thought, expression, and cultural activity. This can be accomplished by supporting efforts to further the freer flow of information to and from the people of such countries, by making available outside sources of information and ideas and by assisting in the publication and dissemination of independent scholarly or artistic works produced within. A panel of experts convened in December to review Endowment programs in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union concluded that our work is as significant today as was the founding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in the 1950s.

Among the countries where the Endowment is working to "open" closed societies are:

-- Poland, where support is being given to Solidarity, to the Committee for Independent Culture, and to other groups struggling within the framework of a totalitarian system to establish the independent institutions of civil society;

-- Czechoslovakia, where support is being provided to strengthen the independent cultural and intellectual movement symbolized by Charter 77;

-- the Soviet Union, where the Endowment, taking advantage of the communications revolution that is affecting the closed societies of the entire Soviet bloc, is promoting the free flow of information and ideas, religious freedom, and respect for human rights;

-- China, where the magazine The Chinese Intellectual has established a bridge between the reformers and the democratic world;

-- Cuba, where those struggling for human rights are now receiving the solidarity of a broad international coalition of committees organized by Armando Valladares, the distinguished Cuban poet and former prisoner of conscience.

#### Countries in Crisis: Sustaining Democratic Possibilities

Perhaps the most difficult area of all is the Endowment's efforts to sustain democratic possibilities in countries wracked by conflict and violence. Here the goal is to strengthen the

possibility of democracy as a solution to pressing problems, and to support those who are working to build a commitment to democratic values and goals. Whether democracy is seen as an alternative to violent conflict or the kind of system that must be built once the violence subsides, the objective is to assert the relevance of democracy in a variety of different and critical situations. These include:

- South Africa, where support is being given to lawyers, business groups, journalists, church leaders and community groups working for human rights and for the peaceful dismantling of apartheid;
- Afghanistan, where the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance has launched a massive education program, including the preparation of sixty textbooks, opening thirty educational centers inside Afghanistan, and training Afghans in the use of minicameras to provide a visual record of the war;
- Northern Ireland, where NDI is helping the efforts of the Social Democratic and Labour Party to find a peaceful and democratic solution to the communal conflict;
- Nicaragua, where the Endowment has supported the CUS labor federation, the newspaper La Prensa, and others within the non-violent democratic civic opposition.



In carrying out this broad, bold program, the Endowment and its grantees have been guided by three principles: openness, responsiveness, and consistency. These principles answer questions that some have had about Endowment procedures, and they help define a coherent operating philosophy in a range of diverse, often sensitive political situations.

The issue of openness raises difficult questions. Some of the most worthy and needy democratic groups in the world must function within closed or authoritarian political systems where governments strongly oppose the kind of support provided by the Endowment. Some, like Solidarity in Poland, are not legal organizations but maintain a perilous underground existence.

Such situations present genuine dilemmas which the Endowment has had to grapple with during its start-up phase. Not surprisingly, it was decided that the Endowment must be open in its policies and procedures, with all grants being a matter of public record. This was what Congress expected and desired, and it was also how the Endowment Board interpreted its mission, which is to be open and forthright in support of democratic forces.

In reality, this policy protects grantees because they enter into a grant relationship openly. The choice is theirs to make, and rightly so, because they know the risks and must live with the consequences.

The second principle that characterizes Endowment grantmaking policy is responsiveness. The Endowment does not seek to fashion solutions to problems in far off countries, or to impose programs developed in the U.S. on foreign democratic groups, but rather to respond to their initiatives and requests for assistance. At the same time, the Endowment is not a passive funding source. Inevitably, the relationship between the American and foreign groups is marked by dialogue, cooperation, counsel, technical assistance and other forms of active support. The Endowment and its U.S. grantees also have to make judgments regarding the democratic credentials of foreign applicants, their track record and capabilities, and the quality of their program and whether it seems likely to encourage or strengthen the democratic prospect in the country in question.

With that said, however, the Endowment's approach is to encourage the indigenous democratic groups to define their needs and set forth their priorities and goals. This approach is based on the view that internally generated change is far preferable to change that is artificially imposed from the outside. Democratic assistance should seek to encourage positive trends, but it cannot create them. If it is properly responsive and supportive, the change it engenders will be more meaningful, more lasting, less costly, and less open to the charge of interference than more ambitious programs to "export democracy."

The last principle is consistency. A program of support for democratic pluralism cannot indulge in political bias but must pursue a consistently democratic course irrespective of the ideological character of particular regimes. Naturally, this entails support for democratic trends and groups within systems that are leftist and rightist -- in Cuba as well as in Chile, in Poland and Nicaragua as well as in South Africa and Paraguay.

This does not mean, however, that programs are designed according to some artificial parallelism, with identical projects being supported in very different circumstances. On the contrary, programs are tailored to specific conditions and differing levels of democratic development and opportunity. A country undergoing democratic transition requires an entirely different approach from one where a transition has not yet begun. A country that is not democratic but is sufficiently open to permit the existence of independent social and economic institutions calls for a range of initiatives that would not be possible in a closed society, where a very different kind of activity is needed. What is crucial is that each effort be calculated to foster democratic developments that are relevant to each circumstance, whether they be consolidating democratic gains, or stimulating a democratic transition, or nurturing democratic and independent forms of expression.

Mr. Chairman, the Endowment has launched a bold, imaginative program of vast scope. We believe profoundly in its importance both to the future of our own country and the future of democracy in the world.

You are aware that the Administration's budget contains a request for a \$10 million increase for the Endowment -- from \$15 million to \$25 million. The requested figure is less than four-fifths of the \$31.3 million that Congress authorized when the Endowment was in its start-up phase.

Because the Endowment had the bad fortune to come along precisely when budgets became so tight, we never had the chance to reach our potential or even to come close to the approved start-up figure. The highest appropriation was in FY 85, \$18.5 million, when we were prohibited from funding the National Democratic and Republican Institutes for International Affairs. Both are happily now eligible for funding, but the appropriation has been reduced to \$15 million. This has caused a tremendous strain on our resources, stymied the development of new initiatives, and forced the abandonment of important programs. The Administration's request is simply a modest attempt to put the program on a sound foundation.

I believe that this is important not only for the Endowment, but for the country. In creating the Endowment, the United States raised the hopes of brave democrats in the Third World -- and in the communist world as well -- that our country was about to make an important new commitment to the democratic cause. A failure to provide the resources needed to support this effort in even a minimal fashion undermines this hopeful message and casts doubt on the seriousness of U.S. resolve to help our democratic friends abroad.

Moreover, the Endowment is one of the most cost effective programs imaginable. The dedicated people who receive our support, whether they are fighting for racial justice in South Africa or intellectual and trade union freedom in Poland, make the most out of whatever limited help we can offer. Would that it were more.

I am convinced that if we had had such a program underway in Nicaragua during the decades preceeding 1979, there would have been a viable democratic alternative to Somoza. Think of how much we could have saved ourselves -- in money and in grief -- if we had pursued the path of timely democratic commitment instead of neglect and complacency. The conclusion of Shirley Christian's careful study of the Nicaraguan revolution is relevant here: "Only by promoting democratic political development on a long-term basis can the United States hope to avoid the hard choices between sending

troops and accepting a regime that overtly opposes its interests." We cannot guarantee that a sustained program of democratic political development will avoid future Nicaraguas. But I feel confident in saying that the likelihood of similar setbacks in the future is greater if we leave the job of political development entirely to those who are devoutly opposed to democracy.

Mr. Chairman, you are, no doubt, aware of the story that appeared last month in The New York Times which alleged that the Endowment was the "public arm" of a covert program called "Project Democracy." We are delighted that The New York Times, in a rare retraction, has recognized that there is no such link, even if this correction followed by more than two weeks the Tower Commission's unequivocal statement to that effect.

The original Times story created great confusion here and abroad. We are trying to repair the damage that was done. As we do so, we should not overlook the real lesson here -- that the Endowment is the right way to undertake a program of democratic assistance. In its openness, its commitment to bipartisanship, and its consistent and responsive support for our democratic friends, it shines by contrast with other efforts that employed very different methods but paraded under a similar name. The so-called "Project Democracy" controversy underlines the need to redouble our commitment to a sound program which uses means appropriate to the democratic ends it seeks to promote.



Mr. Chairman, for your information, I would like to submit for the Record some documents on this controversy, including a column by Vice President Mondale and Frank Fahrenkopf and the recent Times editorial which attempts to set the record straight.

In a world of advanced communications and exploding knowledge, it is no longer possible to rely solely on force to promote stability and defend the national security. Persuasion is increasingly important, and the United States must enhance its capacity to persuade by developing techniques for reaching people at many different levels. The importance of communications and political competition is further enhanced by the circumstance of global nuclear stalemate that characterizes world politics in the contemporary era.

Though the U.S. has only recently begun to appreciate the importance of ideas in world politics, it is in an excellent position to benefit from a period of enhanced political competition. The democratic idea is increasingly attractive at a time when communism, as Leszek Kolakowski has pointed out, "has lost its ability to mobilize culturally active forces." And as the tumultuous era of decolonization recedes in the Third World, along with the ideological radicalism that accompanied it, there is a new receptiveness to Western democratic values.

The challenge for the United States is to reach out in a spirit of cooperation and respect to different cultures, and to do so with a readiness to work over time to encourage democratic development. Though the resources that will be needed for this effort are modest, we will richly benefit from the investment if, in fact, the climate of opinion and the vitality of cultural and political forces have any impact on history. Simply to state the issue in these terms indicates why we have no choice but to make the effort.