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NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
FORT GEORGE G. MEADE, MARYLAND 20755-6000

FOIA Case: 104979A
10 December 2018

JOHN GREENEWALD
27305 W LIVE OAK ROAD
SUITE #1203
CASTAIC CA 91384

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

This responds to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request of 19 August 2018, for Intellipedia pages on "Bilderberg". As stated in our initial response to you dated 23 August 2018, your request was assigned Case Number 104979. For purposes of this request and based on the information you provided in your letter, you are considered an "all other" requester. As such, you are allowed 2 hours of search and the duplication of 100 pages at no cost. There are no assessable fees for this request. Your request has been processed under the provisions of the FOIA.

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We conducted a search across all three levels of Intellipedia and located documents that are responsive to your request. Some of the documents are enclosed. Certain information, however, has been deleted from the documents.

This Agency is authorized by statute to protect certain information concerning its activities (in this case, internal URLs), as well as the names of its employees. Such information is exempt from disclosure pursuant to the third exemption of the FOIA, which provides for the withholding of information specifically protected from disclosure by statute. The specific statute applicable in this case is Section 6, Public Law 86-36 (50 U.S. Code 3605). We

have determined that such information exists in this record, and we have excised it accordingly.

In addition, personal information regarding individuals has been deleted from the enclosure in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 552 (b)(6). This exemption protects from disclosure information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy. In balancing the public interest for the information you requested against the privacy interests involved, we have determined that the privacy interests sufficiently satisfy the requirements for the application of the (b)(6) exemption.

Since these deletions may be construed as a partial denial of your request, you are hereby advised of this Agency's appeal procedures. If you decide to appeal, you should do so in the manner outlined below.

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National Security Agency
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Fort George G. Meade, MD 20755-6932

The facsimile number is (443)479-3612.

The appropriate email address to submit an appeal is FOIARSC@nsa.gov.

- It must be postmarked or delivered electronically no later than 90 calendar days from the date of this letter. Decisions appealed after 90 days will not be addressed.
- Please include the case number provided above.
- Please describe with sufficient detail why you believe the denial was unwarranted.
- NSA will endeavor to respond within 20 working days of receiving your appeal, absent any unusual circumstances.

For further assistance and to discuss any aspect of your request, you may contact our FOIA Public Liaison at foialo@nsa.gov. You may also contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at the National Archives and Records Administration to inquire about the FOIA mediation services they offer. OGIS contact information is: Office of Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, MD 20740-6001; e-mail: ogis@nara.gov; main: 202-741-5770; toll free: 1-877-684-6448; or fax: 202-741-5769.

Please be advised that records responsive to your request include material containing other government agencies' information. Because we are

unable to make determinations as to the releasability of the other agencies' information, the subject material has been referred to the appropriate agencies for review and direct response to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul H. Chapman".

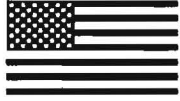
for
JOHN R. CHAPMAN
Chief, FOIA/PA Office
NSA Initial Denial Authority

Encls:
a/s

(U) Warren Christopher

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Warren (Chris) Minor Christopher (born October 27, 1925) is an American diplomat, lawyer, and public servant. During Bill Clinton's first term as President, Christopher served as the 63rd Secretary of State. He also served as Deputy Attorney General in the Lyndon Johnson administration, and as Deputy Secretary of State in the Jimmy Carter administration.

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Early life, education

Born in Scranton, North Dakota, Christopher graduated from Hollywood High School, and attended the University of Redlands, before transferring to the University of Southern California. He is a member of the college fraternity Kappa Sigma Sigma. He graduated from the University of Southern California magna cum laude in February 1945. From July 1943 to September 1946, he served in the United States Naval

Reserve, with active duty as an ensign in the Pacific Theater. He attended Stanford Law School from 1946–1949, where he was the founder and President of the Stanford Law Review and was elected to the Order of the Coif.

Legal career, Deputy Attorney General for Johnson

From October 1949 to September 1950, Christopher served as law clerk to Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court. He practiced law with the firm of O'Melveny & Myers from October 1950 to June 1967, becoming a partner in 1958. Christopher served as Deputy Attorney General of the United States from June 1967 until January 20, 1969, after which he rejoined O'Melveny & Myers.

Deputy Secretary of State for Carter

Christopher was sworn in on February 26, 1977, as the Deputy Secretary of State and served in that position until January 20, 1981. As Deputy Secretary, he was involved in negotiating the release of 52 American hostages in Iran. He also spearheaded the Sino-American relations with the People's Republic of China, helped to win ratification of the Panama Canal treaties, and headed the first interagency group on human rights. President Jimmy Carter awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award, on January 16, 1981.

Professional work and achievements

Christopher's professional activities have included service as President of the Los Angeles County Bar Association, 1974–1975; Chairman of the Standing Committee on the Federal Judiciary of the American Bar Association, 1975–1976; member of the Board of Governors of the State Bar of California 1975–1976; and Special Counsel to California Governor Edmund G. Brown in 1959.

Christopher's civic activities have included the following: member and President of the Board of Trustees of Stanford University; Chairman, Carnegie Corporation of New York Board of Trustees; Director and Vice Chairman, Council on Foreign Relations; Director, Trilateral Commission, Bilderberg Group, Los Angeles World Affairs Council; Vice Chairman of the Governor's Commission on the Watts riots in 1965–1966; President, Coordinating Council for Higher Education in the State of California; Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and Co-Chairman, Pacific Council on International Policy.

In 1991, Christopher served as Chairman of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, which came to be known as the Christopher Commission. The Commission proposed significant reforms of the Los Angeles Police Department in the aftermath of the Rodney King incident (see 1992 Los Angeles riots), which were approved overwhelmingly by a public referendum. In 1992, Christopher headed the vice presidential search for Governor Bill Clinton and served as the Director of the Presidential Transition.

Secretary of State for Clinton

Serving as Secretary of State from January 20, 1993 until January 17, 1997, Christopher's main goals were expanding NATO, establishing peace between Israel and its neighbors, and using economic pressure to force China's hand on human rights practices. Major events of his tenure include the Oslo Accords, the

Dayton Agreement, normalization of relations with Vietnam, the Rwandan Genocide, Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti, and the Khobar Towers bombing.

Assassination Attempt on George H. W. Bush, April 1993

On April 13, 1993, eleven Iraqi intelligence agents smuggled a car bomb into Kuwait with the intent of killing former President George H.W. Bush as he spoke at Kuwait University. The plot was foiled when Kuwaiti officials found the bomb and arrested the suspected assassins.^[1] Christopher, among others, urged President Clinton to make a retaliatory strike against Iraq.^[2] On June 26, 1993, the U.S. launched twenty-three Tomahawk missiles against the Baghdad intelligence headquarters.^[3]

Oslo Accords, September 1993

In August 1993, Israeli and Palestinian negotiators meeting in Norway drew up the Oslo Accords, which created the Palestinian Authority in exchange for Palestinian recognition of Israel's right to exist. Secretary Christopher accepted Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's offer to host the signing ceremony. The ceremony took place in Washington D.C. on 13 September 1993, with Yasser Arafat signing for the Palestine Liberation Organization and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signing for the State of Israel. It was witnessed by Secretary Christopher for the United States and Andrei Kozyrev for Russia, in the presence of US President Bill Clinton.

China: Delinking Human Rights and Trade Status, May 1994

During the 1992 presidential campaign, then-candidate Clinton blasted President H. W. Bush for coddling the "butchers of Beijing" and giving China low-tariff trading privileges despite its human rights abuses. Secretary Christopher agreed with this view and believed that the US should use economic pressure to force China to improve its human rights record. However, on May 26, 1994, President Clinton renewed China's low-tariff trading privileges, effectively delinking the human rights issue from China's trade relations with the US. Relations improved as a result, with President Jiang visiting the U.S. in November 1997 and President Clinton visiting China in June 1998.^[4]

Partnership for Peace NATO Expansion, January 1994

In order to initiate further enlargement of NATO with minimal backlash from Russia, Secretary Christopher promoted the Partnership for Peace program as a stepping-stone into full NATO membership. Against protests from the Pentagon, Christopher avidly supported NATO expansion as a means of protecting Eastern Europe against a possible Russian resurgence. President Clinton supported the program and Partnership for Peace was launched January 10, 1994. The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland signed on as Partnership members that year and became full NATO members in 1999.

Rwandan Genocide, April 1994

In what is recognized as Christopher's greatest foreign policy failure, the US and UN failed to react quickly enough to the unrest in Kigali which eventually exploded into the Rwandan Genocide. Over the course of approximately 100 days, from the assassination of Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April up until mid July, at least 500,000 Tutsis were killed by Hutu militia.^[5]

Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti, September 1994

On September 19, 1994, a US-led coalition returned Haiti's popularly-elected President Jean-Bertrande Aristide to power after a coup had unseated him. The US military effort, known as Operation Uphold Democracy, was largely the product of Colin Powell's diplomatic efforts, with little role played by Christopher.

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty, October 1994

In the wake of the 1993 Oslo Accords, Secretary Christopher encouraged Jordan's King Hussein to make a peace treaty with Israel. Christopher eventually offered Hussein \$200 million in military equipment and \$700 million in debt forgiveness to sweeten the deal. On October 27, 1994, in the Arava valley of Israel, Prime Minister Rabin and Prime Minister Abdelsalam al-Majali signed the Israel-Jordan peace treaty. The signing was witnessed by President Clinton and Secretary Christopher. Christopher sought to obtain a similar treaty between Rabin and Syrian President Hafiz Assad, but to no avail. [6]

Vietnam: Normalizing Relations, July 1995

Working with Senator John McCain, in 1994 Secretary Christopher began actively promoting the normalization of United States-Vietnam relations. At the time, the U.S. had not had an embassy in Vietnam since 1975. The main obstacle to normalization came from veterans and POW/MIA support groups who were convinced that Hanoi was not fully cooperating in the search for the remains of US soldiers in Vietnam. However, after Secretary Christopher convinced President Clinton that the Vietnamese government was fully cooperating in these searches, the President announced the formal normalization of diplomatic relations with Vietnam on July 11, 1995.

Dayton Agreement, November 1995

In Dayton, Ohio, Secretary Christopher--working with Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke--negotiated peace talks between President of Serbia Slobodan Milošević, President of Croatia Franjo Tudman, and President of Bosnia Alija Izetbegović. The result was the November 1995 Dayton Agreement, which put an end to the Bosnian War.

Khobar Towers Bombing, June 1996

In the wake of the Khobar Towers bombing, Secretary Christopher traveled to Saudi Arabia to witness the site of the attack. In Dhahran (the home of the Khobar Towers), Foreign Minister Prince Saud al Faisal allegedly promised Christopher that the FBI would have the full cooperation of the Saudi government. Eventually, however, the Saudi government and the FBI repeatedly conflicted during the course of the investigation.

1997--present

In addition to several honorary degrees, Christopher has received the following awards: the Jefferson Award from the American Institute for Public Service for the Greatest Public Service Performed by an Elected or Appointed Official; the UCLA Medal; the Harold Weill Medal from New York University; the

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James A. Garfield Baller Award; the Thomas Jefferson Award in Law from the University of Virginia Law School; and the Louis Stein Award from Fordham Law School.

Christopher's picture hangs in the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City, near pictures of John Kerry, Robert McNamara, Elmo Zumwalt, and other American dignitaries, in commemoration of his visit to Vietnam, after normalization of relations between the two countries. (see^[7])

At the 1999 unveiling of his portrait at the Department of State, attended by President Clinton, Christopher remarked: "To anyone who has served in Washington, there is something oddly familiar about [having your portrait painted]. First, you're painted into a corner, then you're hung out to dry and, finally, you're framed."

He was sent to supervise the contested Florida recount for Al Gore in the U.S. presidential election, 2000.

Christopher is a member of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP) Board of Advisors.

He is an Advisory Board member for the Partnership for a Secure America, a not-for-profit organization dedicated to recreating the bipartisan center in American national security and foreign policy.

Christopher is married to the former Marie Wyllis. They have four children: Lynn, Scott, Thomas, and Kristen. He has written *In the Stream of History: Shaping Foreign Policy for a New Era* (1998), and *Chances of a Lifetime* (2001). Warren Christopher is a recipient of the state of North Dakota's Roughrider Award.

Notes

1. "The Bush assassination attempt" (<http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/doj/oig/fbilab1/05bush2.htm>)
2. Christopher, Warren. *Chances of a Lifetime*. Page 234.
3. "Cruise Missile Strike - June 26, 1993. Operation Southern Watch" (http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/strike_930626.htm)
4. Christopher, Warren. *Chances of a Lifetime*. Page 242.
5. Des Forges, Alison (1999). *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (<http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda>). Human Rights Watch. URL accessed 2007-01-12.
6. Christopher, Warren. *Chances of a Lifetime*. Page 214.
7. <http://daily.nysun.com/Repository/getmailfiles.asp?Style=OliveXLib:ArticleToMail&Type=text/html&Path=NYS/2004/08/16&ID=Ar00100>

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(U) Missile Defense News Digest - June 2008

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From Intellipedia



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US to press NATO allies on missile defence options *Agence France Presse June 12*

Defense Secretary Robert Gates will press NATO ministers to agree on options for a missile system capable of protecting all allies against Iranian missile strikes, a senior US official said Thursday. Gates arrived in Brussels Thursday for a two-day meeting of defence ministers that also will include discussions on Kosovo, Afghanistan, relations with Pakistan, and other security issues facing the 26-nation alliance.

No major decisions were expected except on options for a NATO missile defence system that would extend coverage to countries not under the umbrella of a US system, the US defence official said. "That may be one of the few areas where there will be a decision," said the official who briefed reporters travelling with Gates on condition of anonymity.

The planned deployment of US interceptor missiles in Poland and a radar in the Czech Republic would protect most of Europe against a missile launched from Iran, but not Turkey or portions of Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. Acknowledging a growing missile threat to Europe, allied leaders meeting in Bucharest in April called for options for a complementary NATO system to be developed before the 2009 NATO summit.

The official said a number of options already have been developed, but several fall short of extending coverage to all NATO countries. "Which means you have to kick a couple off because they don't meet (the tasking), and now you want further focused progress on those options that meet it so that those will be developed in time for the 2009 summit," the official said.

European Missile Defense

- Press Guidance & Statements
- Missile Defense & Russia
- U.S.-NATO Missile Defense
- Congressional Testimony
- InfoCentral (includes MLD resources)

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- State/DoD Missile Defense Brochure (PDF)
- Archives
- Calendar of Events (FBI)
- Talking Points (Not Yet Available)

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The United States has still not finalised agreements with Poland and the Czech Republic for them to host the US missile defence installations. The Czech Republic has agreed in principle to hosting a radar, but is still negotiating a parallel status of forces agreement. The US official said Washington expects to sign both agreements by the end of the summer. "With the Poles we are not as far along as we are with the Czechs, although we hope to be able to sign something before the end of the summer," he said. The US missile shield plans have drawn the vehement opposition of Russia, which is sending its defence minister to Brussels on the second day of the meeting. "We do not have any indications what the Russians will come and say at this meeting," the US official said.

Czechs, USA to sign radar accord in July *BBC Monitoring European June 11*

US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has confirmed that she will fly to Prague to sign the two US-Czech treaties on the installation of a radar base, a part of the US anti-missile defence shield, on Czech soil, the daily Pravo writes today, quoting Czech Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg.

"The date for signing the treaties will be determined later this week," Schwarzenberg told Pravo in Washington.

He said that Rice has confirmed that she would come to Prague in early July as previously planned. Czech Deputy Prime Minister Alexandr Vondra recently mentioned mid-July as the date for the signing.

Rice reportedly confirmed her plans to Schwarzenberg at the Bilderberg conference in Chantilly, Virginia, last week.

The Bilderberg Club, also called the "Group of the Powerful," is an informal invitation-only organization of politicians, representatives of the military and industrial complex, bankers and businessmen. Schwarzenberg was the only Czech participant in this year's forum.

Asked by Pravo on Monday [9 June] whether he tasked Schwarzenberg with holding talks with Rice, Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek said that he had no clue that Schwarzenberg was attending a conference of global elites. He said he did task Schwarzenberg to do this.

The US radar project, to be installed in the Brdy military district southwest of Prague, is opposed by two-thirds of Czechs and the political opposition.

Topolánek's centre-right government has completed its talks with the USA on the main radar treaty and it is reportedly close to completing negotiations on the complementary SOFA treaty, dealing with US soldiers' status on Czech territory.

Once signed, the treaties will be submitted to parliament for ratification. For the moment, the government seems to be short of a few votes in the lower house for the treaties to be passed.

A Free Ride For Tehran's Missiles? *The Washington Times* By Peter Huessy **June 9**

The next American president will face the continued threat from Iranian ballistic missiles and their associated nuclear program. However, the election of Barack Obama would destroy a chance for the United States and Europe to be protected from such threats. This would undermine future associated diplomacy undertaken to change the course of Iranian behavior in the Middle East and beyond.

Consider: Mr. Obama has called for the elimination of billions in missile defense spending. His Senate colleague, New York Democrat Charles Schumer, has called for the U.S. to stop deploying interceptors in Europe in return for Russian support of economic sanctions against Iran. An Obama adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, has actively pushed the Polish government, in whose country the interceptors would be deployed, to stonewall any deployment during the remaining months of the Bush administration. European missile defense opponents, including past Clinton administration officials, have negotiated with Greenpeace on how to stop these deployments.

Whether economic sanctions would bring down the Iranian mullahs is unclear. And while Mr. Schumer says we could pay Russia \$3 billion a year to make up for its loss of Iranian trade, who else would line up for such bribes? He assumes that China will join the effort as well - but without mention of what price tag that entails. Yet even if such a deal is plausible, in the meantime, Iranian ballistic missiles, already modernized and deployed, would continue to threaten U.S. interests. Why give up these defenses?

This leads us back to the presidential race. To negotiate with an adversary one must carefully "set the table" to acquire leverage to secure a deal that would protect U.S. security. But the Iranian regime has laid out no "deal" in which such U.S. security concerns would be met. Its stance has echoed that of North Korea: Guarantee Pyongyang the unfettered right to take over South Korea and it will "think about" giving up its nuclear arms. So too, Tehran: its nuclear weapons, once mated with its ballistic missiles, give it the leverage to provide top cover for its terrorist activities. Eliminating one key factor in defending the West - missile defenses - would be utter folly.

Mr. Schumer appears to be of two minds on this. He says the U.S. should "cease building ineffective" missile defenses - without explaining why such "ineffective" defenses would drive Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin to "apoplexy." Then he says - correctly - that missile defenses "strengthen the relationship between Eastern Europe and NATO, with real troops and equipment on the ground. It mocks Mr. Putin's dream of eventually restoring Russian hegemony over Eastern Europe."

Peter Huessy is president of GeoStrategic Analysis.

Gates, Chinese defense official spar over military

Trend News Agency June 2

The Pentagon chief and a top Chinese defense officer tangled over Beijing's military growth and U.S. plans for a missile defense system in Asia. AP reported.

The back-and-forth between Defense Secretary Robert Gates and Lt. Gen. Ma Xiaotian, deputy chief of the General Staff for the People's Liberation Army, was evidence of the countries' awkward transition to a more open and improved relationship.

Gates took on Ma's claims that China wants only to defend itself with intercontinental ballistic missiles and is focused on defensive systems.

"I don't know what you use them for if it's not for offensive capabilities," Gates told reporters Sunday. While that kind of system might be considered a deterrent for other countries, Gates said it is "clearly for use in an offensive way."

He also dismissed China's protests about U.S. plans for an anti-missile defenses with Japan, as well as the deployment of missile defense sites in Poland and the Czech Republic.

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Ma did not mention the United States by name, but said there are concerns in Pacific about the expansion of missile defense that could create instability in the region.

Asked about Ma's comments, Gates said, "I think that it's more of a political statement than it is one about military strategy."

U.S. and Chinese officials have taken slow but measurable steps to improve relations, including establishing a hot line between the countries' defense agencies. The Chinese also have offered thanks for U.S. aid after the recent earthquake in Sichuan province.

Tensions remain, however, leading to concerns the countries will build up their militaries in an effort to counteract and compete with each other.

In recent weeks China and Russia issued a joint statement condemning U.S. missile defense plans. Washington has struggle to convince both countries that the missile interceptors are not a threat to them.

The U.S. system, Gates said, is designed to defend against a small number of incoming missiles and would be overwhelmed easily "should a country with scores, if not hundreds of missiles, launch an attack."

Gates said the U.S. was concerned about China's expanding military. Officials are watching developments closely and "we will make our own adjustments as necessary," he said.

Ma said China's military spending was "limited and proportional."

"China's defense expenditure is at a low level in contrast to some developed countries in the world," Ma said during an international security conference in Singapore over the weekend. "We are military threat to no other country."

Amid all the rhetoric, Gates said he is pleased with recent meetings between the two countries, including a private session with Ma on Saturday.

"Our hope is that over the next year or two this dialogue will develop in a way that enables us both to avoid unnecessary military expenditures," Gates said.

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(U) William Bundy

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Intelligence History Portal

William Putnam "Bill" Bundy (24 September, 1917 - 6 October, 2000) was a member of the CIA and foreign affairs adviser to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. He had a key role in planning the Vietnam War. After leaving government service he became a historian.

Early Years

Raised in Boston, Massachusetts he came from family long involved in politics. His father, Harvey Hollister Bundy, was a diplomat who helped implement the Marshall Plan. Bundy was raised in a highly accomplished, highly intellectual family. After attending the Groton School and Yale University, where he was one of first presidents of the Yale Political Union, he entered Harvard University Law School but left to join the Army Signal Corps during World War II. During this time he worked at Bletchley Park in Britain as part of the top secret ULTRA operation to break Nazi codes.

Career

During the 1950's Bundy worked as an analyst for the CIA. During the Kennedy years he was deputy to Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs Paul Nitze and worked for the Secretary of the Navy. During much of the LBJ era he was an Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs. After resigning from the executive branch in 1969 Bundy taught at MIT and then edited the influential journal of the Council on Foreign Relations (of which he was a member), *Foreign Affairs*, from 1972 to 1984, after declining the offer of the Council's chairman, David Rockefeller, to be the Council's president.

His brother, McGeorge Bundy, was also an integral part of both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Bundy was somewhat left of his brother politically, and was a spirited opponent of Joseph McCarthy. He was also considered one of the administrations' more dovish members on Vietnam.

Bundy's most noted work is *Tangled Web* which explores the foreign policy of the Nixon administration. He was Honorary American Secretary General of the Bilderberg Meetings from 1975 to 1980. His papers are held by the Seely G. Mudd Library at Princeton University.



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Categories: History | United States personalities | Yale University alumni | 1917 births | 2000 deaths

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(U) Summary

Ahmed Abdel Hadi Chalabi^[1] (Arabic: أحمد الجبلي 'Ahmad al-Jalabi) (born October 30, 1944) was interim oil minister in Iraq^[2] in April-May 2005 and December-January 2006 and deputy prime minister from May 2005 until May 2006. Chalabi failed to win a seat in parliament in the December 2005 elections, and when the new Iraqi cabinet was announced in May 2006, he was not awarded a post. Once dubbed the "George Washington of Iraq" by some Americans, he has fallen out of favor and is currently under investigation by several U.S. government sources. He is also wanted for embezzling nearly \$300 million through a bank he created in Jordan.

Chalabi was also part of a three-man executive council for the umbrella Iraqi opposition group, the Iraqi National Congress (INC), created in 1992 for the purpose of fomenting the overthrow of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Although the INC received major funding and assistance from the United States, it never had any influence or any following to speak of in Iraq after the 2003 invasion. The INC's influence gradually waned until the December 2005 elections, in which it failed to win a single seat in Parliament.

Chalabi is a controversial figure for many reasons. In the lead-up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, under his guidance the INC provided a major portion of the information on which U.S. Intelligence based its condemnation of Saddam Hussein, including reports of weapons of mass destruction and alleged ties to al-Qaeda. Chalabi subsequently boasted about the impact that their falsifications had in an interview with the British Sunday Telegraph, which led to a falling out between him and the United States.

Initially, Chalabi enjoyed close political and business relationships with some members of the U.S. government, including some prominent officials within the Pentagon. Chalabi is said to have had political contacts within the Project for the New American Century, most notably with Paul Wolfowitz, a student of nuclear strategist Albert Wohlstetter and Richard Perle who was introduced to Chalabi by Wohlstetter in

Ahmed Chalabi



Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq

Nationality:	Iraq
Surname:	Chalabi
Given Name:	Ahmed
Addressed As:	
Pronunciation:	
Date of Birth:	October 30, 1944
Place of Birth:	Khadamiya, Iraq
Languages:	

Doc ID: 6643448 1985. He also enjoyed considerable support among politicians and political pundits in the United States, most notably Jim Hoagland of *The Washington Post*, who held him up as a notable force for democracy in Iraq. Chalabi's opponents, on the other hand see him as a charlatan of questionable allegiance, out of touch with Iraq and with no effective power base there.^[3]

(U) History

Chalabi is the scion of a prominent Shi'a family, one of the wealthy power elite of Baghdad, where he was born. Chalabi left Iraq with his family in 1956 and spent most of his life in the United States and the United Kingdom. He studied mathematics with cryptographer Whitfield Diffie at MIT in the mid-1960s^[4] and, in 1965, he received a Bachelor of Science degree in Mathematics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1969, he earned a Ph.D. in Mathematics from the University of Chicago under the direction of George Glauber^[5], after which he took a position in the mathematics department at the American University of Beirut. He published 3 mathematics papers between 1973 and 1980, one being "Modules over group algebras and their application in the study of semi-simplicity."^[6] His Erdős number is 6.

In 1971, Chalabi married Leila Osseiran, daughter of Lebanese politician Adil Osseiran. They have four children.^[7]

In 1977, he founded the Petra Bank in Jordan. In the late 1980s, the Jordanian government issued a decree ordering all banks in the country to deposit one fifth of their reserves with the Central Bank. Petra Bank was the only bank that was unable to meet this requirement, and so Chalabi fled the country before the authorities could react. Chalabi was convicted and sentenced in absentia for bank fraud by a Jordanian military tribunal. He faces 22 years in prison, should he again enter Jordan. Chalabi maintains that his prosecution was a politically motivated effort to discredit him. In May 2005, it was reported that King Abdullah II of Jordan had promised to pardon Chalabi, in part to ease the relations between Jordan and the new Iraqi government of which Chalabi was a member. According to one report, Chalabi proposed a 32 million dollar compensation fund for depositors affected by Petra Bank's failure. The Web site for Petra Bank contains a press release stating that Chalabi would refuse the pardon.^[8] Although he has always maintained the case was a plot to frame him by Baghdad, the issue was revisited later when the State Department raised questions about the INC's accounting practices. According to the *New York Times*, "Chalabi insisted on a public apology, which the Jordanians refused to give."^[7]

He was involved in organizing a resistance movement among Kurds in northern Iraq in the mid-1990s. When that effort was crushed and hundreds of his supporters were killed, Chalabi fled the country. Chalabi lobbied in Washington for the passage of the Iraq Liberation Act (passed February 1998), which earmarked US\$97 million to support Iraqi opposition groups, virtually all of which was funneled through the INC.

Chalabi has been accused by some opposition figures of using the INC to further his own ambitions.

(U) Invasion of Iraq

As U.S. forces took control during the 2003 Invasion of Iraq, Chalabi returned under their aegis and was given a position on the Iraq interim governing council by the Coalition Provisional Authority. He served as president of the council in September 2003. He denounced a plan to let the UN choose an interim government for Iraq. "We are grateful to President Bush for liberating Iraq, but it is time for the Iraqi people to run their affairs," he was quoted as saying (*NY Times*)^[citation needed].

(U) Falling out with the U.S.

As Chalabi's position of trust with the Pentagon crumbled, he found a new political position as a champion

of Iraq's Shi'ites. Beginning January 25, 2004, Chalabi and his close associates promoted the claim that leaders around the world were illegally profiting from the Oil for Food program. These charges were around the same time that UN envoy Lakhdar Brahimi indicated that Chalabi would likely not be welcome in a future Iraqi government. Up until this time, Chalabi had been mentioned formally several times in connection with possible future leadership positions. Chalabi contends that documents in his possession detail the misconduct, but he has yet to provide any documents or other evidence. The U.S. has criticized Chalabi's Oil for Food investigation as undermining the credibility of its own.

Additionally, Chalabi and other members of the INC have been being investigated for fraud involving the exchange of Iraqi currency, grand theft of both national and private assets, and many other criminal charges in Iraq. On May 19, 2004 the U.S. government discontinued their regular payments to Chalabi for information he provided. Then on May 20, Iraqi police supported by U.S. soldiers raided his offices and residence, taking documents and computers, presumably to be used as evidence. A major target of the raid was Aras Habib, Chalabi's long-term director of intelligence, who controls the vast network of agents bankrolled by U.S. funding.

In June 2004, it was reported that Chalabi gave U.S. state secrets to Iran in April, including the fact that one of the United States' most valuable sources of Iranian intelligence was a broken Iranian code used by their spy services. Chalabi allegedly learned of the code through a drunk American involved in the code-breaking operation. Chalabi has denied all of the charges, and nothing has ever come of the charges nor do the Iraqi or U.S. governments currently seemed very interested in pursuing them.^[9]

An arrest warrant for alleged counterfeiting was issued for Chalabi on August 8, 2004, while at the same time a warrant was issued on murder charges against his nephew Salem Chalabi (at the time, head of the Iraqi Special Tribunal), while they both were out of the country. Chalabi returned to Iraq on August 10 planning to make himself available to Iraqi government officials, but he was never arrested. Charges were later dropped against Ahmed Chalabi, with Judge Zuhair al-Maliki citing lack of evidence.

On September 1, 2004 Chalabi told reporters of an assassination attempt near Latifiya, a town south of Baghdad. Chalabi was said to be returning from a meeting with Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani in Najaf, where a few days earlier a cease fire had taken effect, ending three weeks of confrontations between followers of Muqtadah al-Sadr and the U.S. military.

He regained enough credibility to be made deputy prime minister on April 28, 2005. At the same time he was made acting oil minister^[10], before the appointment of Mohammed Bahr al-Uloun in May 2005. On protesting IMF austerity measures, Al-Uloun was instructed to extend his vacation by a month in December 2005 by Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari, and Chalabi was reappointed as acting oil minister. Al-Uloun returned to the post in January 2006 but now may or may not be "resigning" again.^[11]

In November 2005, Chalabi traveled to the U.S. and met with top U.S. government officials, including Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, Vice President Dick Cheney, Robert Zoellick, the deputy secretary of state, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and Stephen Hadley, President Bush's national security adviser. At this time Chalabi also traveled to Iran to meet with controversial Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

(U) Political activity in Iraq 2005-2007

The Iraqi National Congress, headed by Ahmed Chalabi, was a part of the United Iraqi Alliance in the Iraqi legislative election, 2005. After the election, Chalabi claimed that he had the support of the majority of elected members of United Iraqi Alliance and staked claim to be the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Iraq.^[12] However, Ibrahim al-Jaafari later emerged as the consensus candidate for prime minister.^[13]

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Prior to the December 2005 elections, the Iraqi National Congress left the United Iraqi Alliance and formed the National Congress Coalition, which ran in the elections but failed to win a single seat in Parliament, gaining less than 0.5% of the vote. Other groups joining the INC in this list included: Democratic Iraqi Grouping, Democratic Joint Action Front, First Democratic National Party, Independent List, Iraqi Constitutional Movement, Iraqi Constitutional Party, Tariq Abd al-Karim Al Shahd al-Budairi, and the Turkoman Decision Party.

Chalabi attended the 2006 Bilderberg Conference meeting outside of Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

In October 2007, Chalabi was appointed by Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki to head the Iraqi services committee, a consortium of eight service ministries and two Baghdad municipal posts tasked with the "surge" plan's next phase, restoring electricity, health, education and local security services to Baghdad neighborhoods.^[14] "The key is going to be getting the concerned local citizens — and all the citizens — feeling that this government is reconnected with them.... [Chalabi] agrees with that," said Gen. David Petraeus. Chalabi "is an important part of the process," said Col. Steven Boylan, Petraeus' spokesman. "He has a lot of energy."^[14]

(U) Personal Data

- Married to Leila Chalabi

(U) Curriculum Vitae

(U) Awards

(U) Education

- 1965: received an Bachelor of Science degree in Mathematics from MIT
- 1969: earned a Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Chicago

(U) Titles

- Deputy prime minister
 - From April 28, 2005 to December 15, 2005
- Oil Minister
 - From April 2005 to May 2005
 - From December 2005 to January 2006
- Leader of Iraqi National Congress
 - From 1992 to Present

(U) Languages Spoken

(U) Political Affiliation

- Party: Iraqi National Congress

(U) Religion

(U) Physical Data

(U) Meeting Notes

(U) Attachments

Preceded by:
Mohammed Bahr al-Uloum

Oil Minister
December-January 2006

Succeeded by:
Hussain al-Shahristani

Preceded by:
Thamir Ghadhban

Oil Minister
April-May 2005

Succeeded by:
Mohammed Bahr al-Uloum

Preceded by:
Mohammed Bahr al-Uloum

President of Iraq
September 2003

Succeeded by:
Iyad Allawi

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(b) (3) - P.L. 86-36

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Ahmed Chalabi

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(U) Turkish Islamic Television

UNCLASSIFIED

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Turkey has three Islamic television stations--stations with links to Islamic institutions that carry programming apparently designed to appeal to a conservative Islamic audience. Kanal 7, Samanyolu, and Mesaj have links with Islamic newspapers, which are evident in the television appearances of columnists from the papers -- Yeni Safak commentators on Kanal 7, Zaman columnists on Samanyolu, and Yeni Mesaj analysts on Mesaj. According to the left-wing website www.solmeclis.net, Kanal 7 is controlled by Yimpas Holding, an Islamic company.^[1] Samanyolu is owned by Samanyolu Yayincilik Hizmetleri A.S., which is alleged to have close ties with the Fethullah Gulen community, and Feza Yayincilik, which publishes the daily, Zaman, and Aksiyon magazine. Samanyolu and Zaman occasionally carry Fethullah Gulen's sermons and articles.^[2] Mesaj TV is reportedly owned or controlled by Haydar Bas, leader of the Independent Turkey Party (BTP) and the Kadiri sect, according to www.medyaline.com/haberler, which includes detailed information about Bas's background.^[3]



Turkey Portal

Kanal 7, Samanyolu, and Mesaj each carry a number of programs focusing on moral and religious issues. Unlike non-Islamic TV stations, they do not broadcast reality game shows or programs about celebrities, and they avoid comments and scenes that could disturb conservative audiences.

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KANAL 7 TV

Kanal 7 broadcasts news, talk shows, and programs on business and finance and religion as well as music, sports, and other entertainment programming, including movies, cooking and travel shows, cartoons, and children's programs. The station also broadcasts several drama series focusing on social issues, the lives of ordinary people, familial problems, traditions (such as honor killings), and moral values. The station's website provides information about the station and live broadcasts. The station is owned by "Yeni Dunya Iletisim A.S" whose chairman of the board is Zekeriya Karaman. According to www.el-aziz.com^[4], Karaman was appointed chairman when the company was formed, in line with the instructions of National View founder, long-time pro-Islamic politician, and former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, who is still alleged to influence Karaman.

Kanal 7's primary target audience consists of conservatives with deep-seated family and religious traditions. Verses of the Koran are recited before daily programs start at 0700.

Programming

News: News is broadcast four times each day: **Kanal 7 de Sabah** (Morning on Kanal 7, 0730-0900) includes the main highlights in the Turkish press read by the newscaster; **Ogle Haberleri** (Noon News, 1200-1215); **Haber Saati** (News Hour, 1830-1930) is the prime time newscast; and **Haber Maratonu** (News Marathon, 0130). On some occasions, the newscaster gets live updates from reporters and interviews Yeni Safak columnist Fehmi Koru about major news items. Kanal 7 news programming has a pro-government slant; it usually highlights statements made by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and rarely reports comments made by the leaders of opposition parties.

Talk shows: Talk shows avoid sexual innuendos and female hosts do not wear dresses that could be described as sexy--unlike those on mainstream television stations--but they do not cover their heads.

- **Sozun Ozu** (The Gist of the Matter): Bugun columnist Nazli Ilıcak interviews journalists about current political and economic issues. She recently interviewed Sabah columnist Asli Aydinbas about the next presidential election and Fehmi Koru about the Bilderberg conference. (Wednesdays, 2345)
- **Iskele Sancak** (Port and Starboard): Yeni Safak columnist Mustafa Karaalioglu moderates discussions among politicians, academics, journalists, and experts about current political and economic issues. On 23 June, a group of businessmen and academics focused on recent fluctuations in Turkish financial markets and the appreciation of hard currencies against the Turkish Lira, and criticized the fiscal policies of the government and the Central Bank. On 30 June, Karaalioglu and a group of journalists, including Cengiz Candar, Eser Karakas, Mehmet Altan, and Omer Lutfi Mete, discussed international issues, including relations between Turkey and the EU. (Fridays, 2330-0130)
- **Yasayan Ekonomi** (Living Economy) highlights various companies and economic issues. (Saturdays, 1330-1430)

Religious programs

Kanal 7's three religious programs focus on Prophet Muhammad's life and teachings, interpretation of Koranic verses, and how Muslims should worship.

- **Hayat Dersleri** (Life Lessons) is hosted by Professor Cevat Aksit, who speaks about Prophet

Muhammad's life and teachings and responds to questions from viewers over the phone. (weekdays, 0700-0730)

- **Islam ve Hayat** (Islam and Life) is presented by Professor Faruk Beser, who gives advice about religious issues and responds to questions . (Saturdays, 0900-0945)
- On **Asr-i Saadet'ten Tablolar**(Snapshots from the Time of Happiness), Deputy President of the Presidency of Religious Affairs Necmettin Nursacan focuses on various aspects of Islam and moral and cultural values. His show is interspersed with religious poems. A group of men and women, including women wearing headscarves, are invited to this program. (Sundays, 1130 - 1300; Thursdays, 2330-0130)

Entertainment

Kanal 7 airs three live entertainment programs, mostly featuring local folk singers: **Nur Erturk'le Her Sabah** (Every Morning with Nur Erturk) (0930-1200); **Paylastikca** (Sharing) hosted by Sebnem Kisaparmak, who also reads letters from soldiers and their families; and a folk music program, **Mahmut Tuncer Show**(Mondays, 2300; Wednesdays, 0145).

Soray Uzun on the Road features actor Soray Uzun chatting with locals and making jokes during trips to various towns and villages in different parts of Turkey. It focuses on local food and traditions. (Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, 2000-2200)

Turksoy'la Ipekyolu (Turksoy on the Silk Road"), which is hosted by Turksoy, features Turkish communities living along the route of the ancient Silk Road. (Saturdays, 1230-1330)

Deniz Feneri (Lighthouse) raises donations for needy or homeless people. (Tuesdays, 2315-0115; Thursdays, 0145-0345)

Fikralarla Turkiye"(Turkish Anecdotes), which consists of short episodes based on Turkish folktales, is presented by Ismail Turut, a folk singer. (Tuesdays, 2145-2345; Fridays, 1945-2130)

Films: Kanal 7 frequently broadcasts Turkish films but rarely airs foreign films.

Children's Programs : Kanal 7's only programs for children are two cartoon shows: One broadcasts Western cartoons, such as Bugs Bunny, Road Runner, Tom and Jerry, Tweety, and Pokemon. (weekdays, 1200-1330) The other airs educational Turkish cartoons, mainly about historical events and figures. (weekdays, 1430-1630)

Commercials mostly feature consumer goods. The only difference between advertisements on Kanal 7 and mainstream television stations is that the former also broadcasts commercials for a hotel (Hotel Caprice) that has separate beaches for male and f e male guests and for religious publications on prophets (mostly Prophet Muhammad) and Islamic scholars.

Samanyolu (STV)

Samanyolu broadcasts news, talk shows, and religious programs as well as music, sports, cartoons, movies, dramas, children's programs, and shows on cooking and travel. It was established on 13 January 1993, allegedly by the Fethullah Gulen community, according to nationalist Hurriyet columnist Emin Colasan.^[5] It is now owned by "Samanyolu Yayıncılık Hizmetleri A.Ş." The station's website^[6] provides information about the station and its programming and broadcasts live over the Internet. The homepage contains links to a video

documentary of the Gulenist movement and videos of interviews with Fethullah Gulen. Its programs can be viewed in the Central Asian republics, Europe, Africa, and the United States via satellite.

Samanyolu's primary target audience consists of conservatives with deep-seated family and religious traditions. Verses of the Koran are recited before Samanyolu's daily programs start at 0730. The motto on its masthead is "Change the course of your life."

Programming

News: News is broadcast three times each day --at 0730, 1300, and 1845--the latter is a one-hour prime time newscast. News items are reported by an in-studio announcer over video.

Ozel Gundem(Special Agenda) is hosted by Hidayet Karaca , the general coordinator of Samanyolu, and Ahmet Boken, its news coordinator. On 4 July 2006, they interviewed Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat (Tuesdays, 2330)

Pazar Sohbeti (Sunday Chat) is hosted by Zaman columnist Huseyin Gulerce. On 9 July, he interviewed Felicity Party leader Recai Kutan. (Sundays, 1130- 1300)

Religious Programs

Inancin Golgesinde(Under the Shadow of Faith) highlights pious people who make sacrifices to help others and Islamic scholars who traveled to other countries to spread Islam in the past. Ahmet Sahin and Davut Ayduz, who write for the daily Zaman, respond to questions about religious issues. (Daily, 0800-0845)

Entertainment & Other Programming

Samanyolu airs no live or recorded entertainment or comedy programs. It devotes much of its prime time to television series focusing on moral values, respect for parents and elders, the fear of God, and punishments in the next world for those who have committed sins. The channel shows Turkish and foreign films.

Actor Cem Kurdoglu interviews celebrities in "Yakamoz" (Phosphorescence). (Thursdays , 1100)

Kimse yok mu? (Is Anybody out There?) finds families willing to donate funds for the poor families and takes them to needy families in the same cities. (Saturdays, 1130 - 1300)

Buyuk Bulusma (Great Encounter) depicts an angel appearing as an old bearded man wearing a white robe and turban, who questions people in the next world before they are sent to Hell for sins they committed before death. (Wednesdays and Sundays; 2000-2130)

Subat Sogugu (February Chill), a popular television series until it ended on 27 June, featured a police chief and his struggle against a secret group consisting of businessmen, journalists, bureaucrats, and leaders of crime syndicates, who hatched conspiracies against patriotic and idealist people in order to maintain their influence. The name of the series seems to allude to what is known as the 28 February process, which led to the downfall of a coalition government in 1997. (formerly Tuesdays, 2200, currently replaced by movies)

Children's programs: Samanyolu broadcasts cartoons and puppet shows. (Daily, 1000 -1700)

Reality Shows:

- **Davetsiz Misafi** (An Uninvited Guest) features local traditions and food in different Turkish cities,

towns, and villages. (Daily, 0300)

- **Ayna**(Mirror) is a travel program featuring trips made by Saim Orhan to different countries. (Saturdays, 2300)
- **Kasif**(Explorer) is a similar travel program highlighting Muslim countries and countries where Turkish schools have been established. (Sundays, 2300)

Samanyolu airs commercials similar to those broadcast by secular television stations, but there is one ad for a package containing religious CDs about the lives of prophets.

Mesaj TV

Mesaj TV broadcasts news, talk shows, and programs on religion and business and finance, as well as music, sports, cartoons, movies, children's programming, and shows on cooking and travel. It targets religious people who also have strong nationalist sentiments. It is critical of the ruling Justice and Development Party.

Mesaj TV can be viewed on cable TV and via satellite. The station's website (<http://www.mesajtv.com>) provides limited information about the station and its programming (and was showing only the station name and no other content on 14 December). Mesaj TV's programming is unpredictable because it frequently replaces programs on its website without prior notice. Its broadcasts are occasionally interrupted--probably due to technical failures.

Mesaj TV also airs some programs previously broadcast by Bas's Meltem TV^[7], which suggests there is a strong relationship between the two channels. Mesaj TV's website does not contain any information about its owner, but it is reportedly owned or controlled by Haydar Bas, leader of the Independent Turkey Party (BTP), and the Kadiri sect.^[8]

Programming

News: Mesaj TV broadcasts news three times each day -- at 1300, 1900, and 0030. News items are usually reported by an in-studio announcer over video. There is an obvious anti-Western slant in its newscasts. On 25 September the prime newscast announcer said that comments by the Pope, who he described as the "leader of the Crusaders," revealed a major plot targeting Muslims because the announcer regards such dialogue as a tool aimed at spreading Christianity. In the second news item, the announcer noted that a statement by an EU official showed that Turkish accession to the EU was only a fantasy despite major concessions given by the government.

Talk shows: Talk shows and studio debates broadcast by Mesaj TV are mostly moderated by columnists who write for the daily Yeni Mesaj. They reflect an anti-Western stance and highlight Haydar Bas' "national economy model."

- **Diyalog** (Dialogue) is hosted by Yeni Mesaj columnist Muharrem Bayraktar. The 2 July program focused on education policies in Turkey and criticism of Christian missionaries. (Sundays, 2230)
- On **Haftanin Sohbeti** (Weekly Chat), Yeni Mesaj columnist Emin Koc moderates a studio debate among a group of journalists, primarily from Yeni Mesaj. (Tuesdays, 2100)
- Yeni Mesaj broadcasts **Dusunce Cemberi** (The Circle of Thought). The host of the program, who is not identified on the program but is featured on Yeni Mesaj's site, interviews an unidentified political analyst about current issues. (Daily, 1800-1900)

- **Perde Arkasi** (Backstage) highlights commentaries by columnists and political analysts. Allegations that a teenager who killed a Catholic priest in Trabzon had been influenced by statements made by Haydar Bas were denied in the program aired on 7 July. (Fridays, 2030-2120)
- **Kum Saati** (Hourglass) focuses on current economic and political developments. (Fridays, 1200)
- **Koridor**(Corridor), anchored by Yeni Mesaj columnist Ahmet Erimhan, is a one-hour studio debate. (Sundays, 1500-1600)
- A recorded talk show, **Tuna Boylari** (Banks of the Danube), highlights eastern European cities with substantial numbers of immigrants of Turkish origin. This program is a Meltem TV production.
- Mesaj TV broadcasts different sessions of an international congress entitled **National Economy Model**, which was held in Baku in 2006. Guest speakers from Turkey, Russia, and Azerbaijan praise Bas's national economy model. Its daily programming also includes programs on the economy, which mostly feature trade fairs in Turkey. (2030)

Religious Programs

Mesaj TV broadcasts recitations of the Koran with Turkish subtitles and videos of Islamic hymns requested by its viewers. (Daily, 0700-0900 and 1700-1800)

- On **Kuran Ogreniyorum** (I Learn the Koran), Muslim clergyman Recep Sahin gives advice on religious issues and teaches the Koran. (Daily, 1600-1700)

Entertainment

Mesaj TV broadcasts three entertainment programs featuring local folk singers, especially from the Black Sea region: the "Ferhat Saglam Show" (Fridays, 2130); "Kervan" (Caravan, Mondays, 0900); and "Yildirim'la Turku Kervani" (Caravan of Folk Songs with Yildirim, Thursdays, 2100).

Children's programs -- Mesaj TV broadcasts Western cartoons and documentaries for children. (Daily, 1000-1300)

Commercials --Mesaj TV airs commercials featuring consumer goods in addition to some religious publications.

References

1. Yimpas Holding has recently come under investigation by the Capital Market Board for financial irregularities and its owner is reportedly wanted in Germany for fraud.
2. In addition, the television station Kanalturk alleged that Nurettin Veren, a leading figure in the Fethullah Gulen community, is one of the shareholders of Samanyolu and Zaman <http://www.basinkonseyi.org.tr/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=674>.
3. Detailed information about the shareholders of these companies may be found in Turkish Companies Registration Gazette, which is published by the Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB), and can be obtained by subscription. But there are allegations that the real owners of the companies owning some television stations and newspapers are not named in their share register, according to Hikmet Bila writing on 10 June 2001 in the secular Cumhuriyet.

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4. This website was established by a group of journalists who previously worked for the Elazig bureau of Milli Gazete and were allegedly fired as a result of pressure from Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his aides after circulating copies of a supplement of Milli Gazete criticising Erdogan's aides in the National Assembly
5. 12 November 2004
6. <http://www.stv.com.tr>
7. According to a Milliyet report, (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2002/04/07/guncel/gun01.html>), Meltem TV is owned by Haydar Bas. Its website (www.meltemtv.com.tr) is not active. It also broadcasts through a Turksat satellite Turksat 1C 42 Doou 11874 V 3400. It can be viewed by standard antennas and is not available by cable TV.
8. For information about Haydar Bas's sect, see <http://www.haber3.com/> and <http://www.yuruyus.com/>. His sect is also called Icmal or Kasiye. He is said to enjoy strong support in Trabzon and neighboring provinces. A fundamentalist website (http://63.231.71.139/forum_posts.asp?TID=1935&PN=1) highlights an allegation that Bas received special training in the National Security Academy for two years. According to an unidentified disciple, there are retired generals in Bas's organization, and he is known as an arch enemy of Fethullah Gulen and National View founder Necmettin Erbakan). The daily Hurriyet reported in April 2002 that Bas was interrogated by a public prosecutor in connection with allegations about the Kadiri sect (<http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2002/04/29/118782.asp>)

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(U) Zbigniew Brzezinski

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Zbigniew Kazimierz Brzezinski (Template:Lang-pl['zbignev bzɛ'zijski]) : (March 28, 1928, Warsaw, Poland - May 26 2016) was a Polish-American political scientist, geostrategist, and statesman who served as United States National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1981. Known for his hawkish foreign policy at a time when the Democratic Party was increasingly dovish, he was a foreign policy realist and considered by some to be the Democrats' response to Republican realist Henry Kissinger.^[1]

See the Wikipedia article
Zbigniew Brzezinski

Major foreign policy events during his term of office included the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China (and the severing of ties with the Republic of China), the signing of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), the brokering of the Camp David Accords, the transition of Iran to an anti-Western Islamic state, encouraging reform in Eastern Europe, emphasizing human rights in U.S. foreign policy, the arming of the mujaheddin in Afghanistan to fight against the Soviet-friendly Afghan government and later to counter the Soviet invasion, and the signing of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties relinquishing U.S. control of the Panama Canal after 1999.

He was a professor of American foreign policy at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, a scholar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and a member of various boards and councils. He appeared frequently as an expert on the PBS program *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*.

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Biography

Early Years

Zbigniew Brzezinski was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1928. He was the son of Tadeusz Brzeziński, a Polish diplomat who was posted to Germany from 1931 to 1935; Zbigniew Brzezinski thus spent some of his earliest years witnessing the rise of the Nazis. From 1936 to 1938, Tadeusz Brzeziński was posted to the Soviet Union during Stalin's Great Purge.

In 1938, Tadeusz Brzeziński was posted to Canada. In 1939, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was agreed to by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union; subsequently the two powers invaded Poland. The 1945 Yalta Conference between the Allies allotted Poland to the Soviet sphere of influence, meaning Brzezinski's family could not safely return to their country.

Rising Influence

Brzezinski entered McGill University in Montreal, Quebec, in 1945 to obtain both his BA and MA degrees (received in 1949 and 1950 respectively). His Master's thesis focused on the various nationalities within the Soviet Union.^[2] Brzezinski's plan for doing further studies in Great Britain in preparation for a diplomatic career in Canada fell through, principally because he was ruled ineligible for a scholarship he had won that was only open to persons with British subject status. Brzezinski then went on to attend Harvard University in the

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United States to work on a PhD, focusing on the Soviet Union and the relationship between the October Revolution, Lenin's state, and the actions of Stalin. He received his doctorate in 1953; the same year, he traveled to Munich and met Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, head of the Polish desk of Radio Free Europe. He later collaborated with Carl J. Friedrich to develop the concept of "totalitarianism" and apply it to the Soviets in 1956.

For historical background on these periods of history, see:

As a Harvard professor he argued against Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles's policy of rollback, saying that antagonism would push Eastern Europe further toward the Soviets. The Polish strike and Hungarian Revolution in 1956 lent some support to Brzezinski's idea that the fundamentally non-communist Eastern Europeans could gradually counter Soviet domination. In 1957, he visited Poland for the first time since he left as a child, and it reaffirmed his judgment that splits within the Eastern bloc were profound.

For historical background on major events during this period, see:

- History of Poland: The failure of reform Communism (1956-70), and
- 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

- History of Poland (1918-1939), and
- Second Polish Republic;
- Weimar Republic, and
- Nazi Germany;
- History of the Soviet Union (1927-1953), and
- Great Purge.

In 1958 he became a United States citizen, although he probably also continued to be considered a Polish citizen under Polish law. Despite his years of residence in Canada and the presence of family members there, he never became a Canadian citizen.

In 1959 Brzezinski was not granted tenure at Harvard, and he moved to New York City to teach at Columbia University. Here he wrote *Soviet Bloc: Unity and Conflict*, which focused on Eastern Europe since the beginning of the Cold War. He also became a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York and attended meetings of the Bilderberg Group.

During the 1960 presidential elections, Brzezinski was an advisor to the John F. Kennedy campaign, urging a non-antagonistic policy toward Eastern Europe. Seeing the Soviet Union as having entered a period of stagnation, both economic and political, Brzezinski predicted the breakup of the Soviet Union along lines of nationality (expanding on his master's thesis).^[2]

Brzezinski continued to argue for and support détente for the next few years, publishing "Peaceful Engagement in Eastern Europe" in *Foreign Affairs*,^[3] and supporting non-antagonistic policies after the Cuban Missile Crisis. Such policies might disabuse Eastern European nations of their fear of an aggressive Germany and pacify Western Europeans fearful of a superpower condominium along the lines of Yalta.

In 1964 Brzezinski supported Lyndon Johnson's presidential campaign and the Great Society and civil rights policies, while on the other hand he saw Soviet leadership as having been purged of any creativity following the ousting of Khrushchev. Through Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, Brzezinski met with Adam Michnik, the future Polish Solidarity activist.

Brzezinski continued to support engagement with Eastern Europe, while warning against De Gaulle's vision of a "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals." He also supported intervention in Vietnam to counter Chinese leader Mao Zedong's claim that the United States was a paper tiger. From 1966 to 1968, Brzezinski served as a member of the Policy Planning Council of the U.S. Department of State (President Johnson's 7 October 1966 "Bridge Building" speech was a product of Brzezinski's influence).

Events in Czechoslovakia further reinforced Brzezinski's criticisms of the right's aggressive stance toward Eastern Europe. His service to the Johnson administration, and his fact-finding trip to Vietnam made him an enemy of the New Left, despite his advocacy of de-escalation.

For the 1968 presidential campaign, Brzezinski was chairman of Hubert Humphrey's Foreign Policy Task Force. He advised Humphrey to break with several of President Johnson's policies, especially concerning Vietnam, the Middle East, and condominium with the USSR.

Brzezinski called for a pan-European conference, an idea that would eventually find fruition in 1973 as the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe.^[4] Meanwhile he became a leading critic of both the Nixon-Kissinger detente condominium, as well as McGovern's pacifism.^[5]

In his 1970 piece *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*, Brzezinski argued that a coordinated policy among developed nations was necessary in order to counter global instability erupting from increasing economic inequality. Out of this thesis, Brzezinski co-founded the Trilateral Commission with David Rockefeller, serving as director from 1973 to 1976. The Trilateral Commission is a group of prominent political and business leaders and academics primarily from the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Its purpose is to strengthen relations among the three most industrially advanced regions of the free world. Brzezinski selected Georgia governor Jimmy Carter as a member.

Government

Jimmy Carter announced his candidacy for the 1976 presidential campaign to a skeptical media and proclaimed himself an "eager student" of Brzezinski. Brzezinski became Carter's principal foreign policy advisor by late 1975. He became an outspoken critic of the Nixon-Kissinger over-reliance on detente, a situation preferred by the USSR, favoring the Helsinki process instead, which focused on human rights and peaceful engagement in Eastern Europe. Carter beat Ford in foreign policy debates by contrasting the Trilateral vision with Ford's detente.

After his victory in 1976, Carter made Brzezinski National Security Adviser. Earlier that year, major labor riots broke out in Poland, laying the foundations for Solidarity. Brzezinski began by emphasizing the "Basket III" human rights in the Helsinki Final Act, which inspired Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia shortly thereafter.^[6]

Brzezinski had a hand in writing parts of Carter's inaugural address, and this served his purpose of sending a positive message to Soviet dissidents.^[7] The Soviet Union and Western European leaders both complained that this kind of rhetoric ran against the "code of detente" that Nixon and Kissinger had established.^{[8][9]} Brzezinski ran up against members of his own Democratic Party who disagreed with this interpretation of detente, including Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Vance argued for less emphasis on human rights in order to gain Soviet agreement to Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), whereas Brzezinski favored doing both at the same time. Brzezinski then ordered Radio Free Europe transmitters to increase the power and area of their broadcasts, a provocative reversal of Nixon-Kissinger policies.^[10] West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt bitterly objected to Brzezinski's agenda, even

For historical background on events during this period, see:

- Six-Day War;
- Prague Spring, and
- Socialism with a human face;
- Tet offensive.



Jimmy Carter standing with Zbigniew Brzezinski

calling for the removal of Radio Free Europe from German soil.^[11]

The State Department was alarmed by Brzezinski's support for East German dissidents and strongly objected to his suggestion that Carter's first overseas visit be to Poland. He visited Warsaw, met with Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński (against the strong objection of the U.S. Ambassador to Poland), recognizing the Roman Catholic Church as the legitimate opposition to Communist rule in Poland.^[12]

By 1978, Brzezinski and Vance were more and more at odds over the direction of Carter's foreign policy. Vance sought to continue the style of detente engineered by Nixon-Kissinger, with a focus on arms control. Brzezinski believed that detente emboldened the Soviets in Angola and the Middle East, and so he argued for increased military strength and an emphasis on human rights. Vance, the State Department, and the media criticized Brzezinski publicly as seeking to revive the Cold War.

Brzezinski advised Carter in 1978 to engage the People's Republic of China and traveled to Beijing to lay the groundwork for the normalization of relations between the two countries. This also resulted in the severing of ties with the United States' longtime anti-Communist ally the Republic of China. Also in 1978, Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyła was elected Pope John Paul II—an event which the Soviets believed Brzezinski orchestrated.

1979 saw two major strategically important events: the overthrow of U.S. ally the Shah of Iran, and the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR. The Iranian Revolution precipitated the Iran Hostage Crisis, which would last for the rest of Carter's presidency. Brzezinski anticipated (some have claimed^[13] he even engineered) the Soviet invasion, and, with the support of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and the PRC, he created a strategy to counter the Soviet advance. See below under "Major Policies — Afghanistan."

For historical background on this period of history, see:

- Iranian Revolution;
- Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; and
- Solidarity.

Using this atmosphere of insecurity, Brzezinski led the U.S. toward a new arms buildup and the development of the Rapid Deployment Forces—policies that are both more generally associated with Ronald Reagan now. In 1980, Brzezinski planned Operation Eagle Claw, which was meant to free the hostages in Iran using the newly created Delta Force and other Special Forces units. The mission was a failure and led to Secretary Vance's resignation.

Brzezinski was criticized widely in the press and became the least popular member of Carter's administration. Edward Kennedy challenged President Carter for the 1980 Democratic nomination, and at the convention Kennedy's delegates loudly booed Brzezinski. Hurt by internal divisions within his party and a stagnant domestic economy, Carter lost the 1980 presidential election in a landslide.

Brzezinski, acting under a lame duck Carter presidency, but encouraged that Solidarity in Poland had vindicated his preference for engagement and evolution in Eastern Europe, took a hard-line stance against what seemed like an imminent Soviet invasion of Poland. He even made a midnight phone call to Pope John Paul II—whose visit to Poland in 1979 had foreshadowed the emergence of Solidarity—warning him in advance. The U.S. stance was a significant change from previous reactions to Soviet repression in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

After Power

Brzezinski left office concerned about the internal division within the Democratic party, arguing that the dovish McGovernite wing would send the Democrats into permanent minority.

He had mixed relations with the Reagan administration. On the one hand, he supported it as seemingly the only

alternative to the Democrats' pacifism, but he also strongly criticized it as seeing foreign policy in overly black-and-white terms.

He remained involved in Polish affairs, critical of the imposition of Martial Law in Poland in 1981, and more so of Western European acquiescence to the imposition in the name of stability. Brzezinski briefed Vice President George Bush before his 1987 trip to Poland that aided in the revival of the Solidarity movement.

In 1985, under the Reagan administration, Brzezinski served as a member of the President's Chemical Warfare Commission. From 1987 to 1988, he worked on the NSC-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy. From 1987 to 1989 he also served on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

In 1988, Brzezinski was co-chairman of the Bush National Security Advisory Task Force and endorsed Bush for president, breaking with the Democratic party (coincidentally hurting the career of his former student Madeleine Albright, who was Dukakis's foreign policy advisor). Brzezinski published *The Grand Failure* the same year, predicting the failure of Gorbachev's reforms and the collapse of the Soviet Union in a few more decades. He said there were five possibilities for the Soviet Union: successful pluralization, protracted crisis, renewed stagnation, coup (KGB, Military), or the explicit collapse of the Communist regime. He called collapse "at this stage a much more remote possibility" than protracted crisis. He also predicted that the chance of some form of communism existing in the Soviet Union in 2017 was a little more than 50% and that when the end did come it would be "most likely turbulent". In the event, the Soviet system collapsed totally in 1991 following Moscow's crackdown on Lithuania's attempt to declare independence, the Nagorno-Karabakh War of the late 1980s, and scattered bloodshed in other republics. This was a less violent outcome than Brzezinski and other observers anticipated.

In 1989 the Communists failed to mobilize support in Poland, and Solidarity swept the general elections. Later the same year, Brzezinski toured Russia and visited a memorial to the Katyn Massacre. This served as an opportunity for him to ask the Soviet government to acknowledge the truth about the event, for which he received a standing ovation in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Ten days later, the Berlin Wall fell, and Soviet-supported governments in Eastern Europe began to totter.

Strobe Talbott, one of Brzezinski's long-time critics, conducted an interview with him for *TIME* magazine entitled "Vindication of a Hardliner."

In 1990 Brzezinski warned against post-Cold War euphoria. He publicly opposed the Gulf War, arguing that the U.S. would squander the international goodwill it had accumulated by defeating the Soviet Union and that it could trigger wide resentment throughout the Arab world. He expanded upon these views in his 1992 work *Out of Control*.

However, in 1993 Brzezinski was prominently critical of the Clinton administration's hesitation to intervene against Serbia in the Yugoslavian civil war. He also began to speak out against Russian oppression in Chechnya. Wary of a move toward the reinvigoration of Russian power, Brzezinski negatively viewed the succession of former KGB agent Vladimir Putin to Boris Yeltsin. In this vein, he became one of the foremost advocates of NATO expansion.

After 9/11 Brzezinski was criticized for his role in the formation of the Afghan mujaheddin network, some of which would later form the Taliban and would shelter Al Qaeda camps. He asserted that blame rightfully ought to be laid at the feet of the Soviet Union, whose invasion he claimed radicalized the relatively stable Muslim society.

Brzezinski also became a leading critic of the Bush administration's "war on terror." Some painted him as a neoconservative because of his links to Paul Wolfowitz and his 1997 book *The Grand Chessboard*. Brzezinski

wrote *The Choice* in 2004 which expanded upon *The Grand Chessboard* but sharply criticized the Bush administration's foreign policy. He has defended the paper *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. He has been outspoken in his criticism of the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the subsequent conduct of the war.

Brzezinski spent his last years in suburban Washington, D.C.^[14] He was married to internationally recognized sculptor Emilie Anna Benes (grandniece of Czechoslovakia's former president Edvard Beneš). They had three children. One was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Europe and NATO; another is a partner in McGuire Woods LLP, Washington, D.C., and was foreign policy advisor to the Kerry campaign; his daughter Mika is a reporter and occasional anchor for MSNBC. In 2006, the *Washington Post* reported on a land dispute (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/04/08/AR2006040801133.html>) that involved Brzezinski and his neighbors.

Brzezinski endorsed the presidential campaign of Barack Obama in 2008.

As National Security Advisor

Main article: History of the United States National Security Council 1977-1981

President Carter chose Zbigniew Brzezinski for the position of National Security Adviser (NSA) because he wanted an assertive intellectual at his side to provide him with day-to-day advice and guidance on foreign policy decisions. Brzezinski would preside over a reorganized National Security Council (NSC) structure, fashioned to ensure that the NSA would be only one of many players in the foreign policy process.

Brzezinski's task was complicated by his (hawkish) focus on East-West relations in an administration where many cared a great deal about North-South relations and human rights.

Initially, Carter reduced the NSC staff by one-half and decreased the number of standing NSC committees from eight to two. All issues referred to the NSC were reviewed by one of the two new committees, either the Policy Review Committee (PRC) or the Special Coordinating Committee (SCC). The PRC focused on specific issues, and its chairmanship rotated. The SCC was always chaired by Brzezinski, a circumstance he had to negotiate with Carter to achieve. Carter believed that by making the NSA chairman of only one of the two committees, he would prevent the NSC from being the overwhelming influence on foreign policy decisions it was under Kissinger's chairmanship during the Nixon administration. The SCC was charged with considering issues that cut across several departments, including oversight of intelligence activities, arms control evaluation, and crisis management. Much of the SCC's time during the Carter years was spent on SALT issues.

The Council held few formal meetings, convening only 10 times, compared with 125 meetings during the 8 years of the Nixon and Ford administrations. Instead, Carter used frequent, informal meetings as a decision-making device, typically his Friday breakfasts, usually attended by the Vice President, the secretaries of State and Defense, Brzezinski, and the chief domestic adviser. No agendas were prepared and no formal records were kept of these meetings, sometimes resulting in differing interpretations of the decisions actually agreed upon. Brzezinski was careful, in managing his own weekly luncheons with secretaries Vance and Brown in preparation for NSC discussions, to maintain a complete set of notes. Brzezinski also sent weekly reports to the President on major foreign policy undertakings and problems, with recommendations for courses of action. President Carter enjoyed these reports and frequently annotated them with his own views. Brzezinski and the NSC used these Presidential notes (159 of them) as the basis for NSC actions.

From the beginning, Brzezinski made sure that the new NSC institutional relationships would assure him a major voice in the shaping of foreign policy. While he knew that Carter would not want him to be another Kissinger, Brzezinski also felt confident that the President did not want Secretary of State Vance to become

another Dulles and would want his own input on key foreign policy decisions.

Brzezinski's power gradually expanded into the operational area during the Carter Presidency. He increasingly assumed the role of a Presidential emissary. In 1978, for example, Brzezinski traveled to Beijing to lay the groundwork for normalizing U.S.-PRC relations. Like Kissinger before him, Brzezinski maintained his own personal relationship with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin. Brzezinski had NSC staffers monitor State Department cable traffic through the Situation Room and call back to the State Department if the President preferred to revise or take issue with outgoing State Department instructions. He also appointed his own press spokesman, and his frequent press briefings and appearances on television interview shows made him a prominent public figure, although perhaps not nearly as much as Kissinger had been under Nixon.

The Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 significantly damaged the already tenuous relationship between Vance and Brzezinski. Vance felt that Brzezinski's linkage of SALT to other Soviet activities and the MX, together with the growing domestic criticisms in the United States of the SALT II Accord, convinced Brezhnev to decide on military intervention in Afghanistan. Brzezinski, however, later recounted that he advanced proposals to maintain Afghanistan's "independence" but was frustrated by the Department of State's opposition. An NSC working group on Afghanistan wrote several reports on the deteriorating situation in 1979, but President Carter ignored them until the Soviet intervention destroyed his illusions. Only then did he decide to abandon SALT II ratification and pursue the anti-Soviet policies that Brzezinski proposed.

The Iranian revolution was the last straw for the disintegrating relationship between Vance and Brzezinski. As the upheaval developed, the two advanced fundamentally different positions. Brzezinski wanted to control the revolution and increasingly suggested military action to prevent Khomeini from coming to power, while Vance wanted to come to terms with the new Khomeini regime. As a consequence, Carter failed to develop a coherent approach to the Iranian situation. In the growing crisis atmosphere of 1979 and 1980 due to the Iranian hostage situation, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and a deepening economic crisis, Brzezinski's anti-Soviet views gained influence but could not end the Carter administration's malaise. Vance's resignation following the unsuccessful mission to rescue the American hostages in March 1980, undertaken over his objections, was the final result of the deep disagreement between Brzezinski and Vance.

Major policies

During the 1960s Brzezinski articulated the strategy of peaceful engagement for undermining the Soviet bloc and persuaded President Johnson, while serving on the State Department Policy Planning Council, to adopt in October 1966 peaceful engagement as U.S. strategy, placing detente ahead of German reunification and thus reversing prior U.S. priorities.

During the 1970s and 1980s, at the height of his political involvement, Brzezinski participated in the formation of the Trilateral Commission in order to more closely cement U.S.-Japanese-European relations. As the three most economically advanced sectors of the world, the people of the three regions could be brought together in cooperation that would give them a more cohesive stance against the communist threat.

While serving in the White House, Brzezinski emphasized the centrality of human rights as a means of placing the Soviet Union on the ideological defensive. With Jimmy Carter in Camp David I, he assisted in the attainment of the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty. He actively supported Polish Solidarity and the Afghan resistance to Soviet invasion, and provided covert support for national independence movements in the Soviet Union. He played a leading role in normalizing U.S.-PRC relations and in the development of joint strategic cooperation, cultivating a relationship with Deng Xiaoping, for which he is thought very highly of in mainland China to this

day.

In the 1990s he formulated the strategic case for buttressing the independent statehood of Ukraine, partially as a means to ending a resurgence of the Russian Empire, and to drive Russia toward integration with the West, promoting instead "geopolitical pluralism" in the space of the former Soviet Union. He developed "a plan for Europe" urging the expansion of NATO, making the case for the expansion of NATO to the Baltic states. He also served as U.S. Presidential emissary to Azerbaijan in order to promote the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline. Further, he led, together with Lane Kirkland, the effort to increase the endowment for the U.S.-sponsored Polish-American Freedom Foundation (info) (<http://www.pafw.pl/strony/english/main.htm>) from the proposed \$112 million to an eventual total of well over \$200 million.

He consistently urged a U.S. leadership role in the world, based on established alliances, and warned against unilateralist policies that could destroy U.S. global credibility and precipitate U.S. global isolation.

On February 2, 1979, Brzezinski wrote a memo to the president claiming that Islamic fundamentalism was not an imminent threat and would not gain prominence in the Middle East.

Afghanistan

Brzezinski, known for his hardline policies on the Soviet Union, initiated a campaign supporting mujaheddin in Pakistan and Afghanistan, which were run by Pakistani security services with financial support from the CIA and Britain's MI6. This policy had the explicit aim of promoting radical Islamist and anti-Communist forces to overthrow the secular communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan government in Afghanistan, which had been destabilized by coup attempts against Hafizullah Amin, the power struggle within the Soviet-supported parcham faction of the PDPA and a subsequent Soviet military intervention.

June 13, 1997, in a CNN/National Security Archive interview, Brzezinski detailed the strategy taken by the Carter administration against the Soviets:

We immediately launched a twofold process when we heard that the Soviets had entered Afghanistan. The first involved direct reactions and international sanctions focused on the Soviet Union, and both the State Department and the National Security Council prepared long lists of sanctions to be adopted, of steps to be taken to increase the international costs to the Soviet Union of their actions. And the second course of action led to my going to Pakistan a month or so after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for the purpose of coordinating with the Pakistanis a joint response, the purpose of which would be to make the Soviets bleed for as much and as long as is possible; and we engaged in that effort in a collaborative sense with the Saudis, the Egyptians, the British, the Chinese, and we started providing weapons to the Mujaheddin, from various sources again—for example, some Soviet arms from the Egyptians and the Chinese. We even got Soviet arms from the Czechoslovak communist government, since it was obviously susceptible to material incentives; and at some point we started buying arms for the Mujaheddin from the Soviet army in Afghanistan, because that army was increasingly corrupt. Full Text of Interview (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/interviews/episode-17/brzezinski1.html>)

Milt Bearden wrote in *The Main Enemy* that Brzezinski, in 1980, secured an agreement from the Saudi king to match American contributions to the Afghan effort dollar for dollar and that Bill Casey kept that agreement going through the Reagan administration.^[15]

January 18, 1998, Brzezinski was interviewed by the French newspaper *Nouvel Observateur* on the topic of Afghanistan. He revealed that CIA support for the mujaheddin had started before the Soviet invasion and was indeed designed to prompt a Soviet invasion, leading them into a bloody conflict comparable to America's

experience in Vietnam. This was referred to as the "Afghan Trap". Brzezinski viewed the end of the Soviet empire as worth the cost of strengthening militant Islamic groups. Full Text of Interview (<http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/BRZ110A.html>)

In his 1997 book *The Grand Chessboard*, Brzezinski says that assistance to the Afghan resistance was a tactic designed to bog down the Soviet army while the United States built up a deterrent military force in the Persian Gulf to prevent Soviet political or military penetration farther south (see: the Carter Doctrine).

In a footnote in his 2000 book *The Geostrategic Triad*, Brzezinski notes:

The full story of the productive U.S.-China cooperation directed against the Soviet Union (especially in regard to Afghanistan), initiated by the Carter Administration and continued under Reagan, still remains to be told.

A memo from Zbigniew Brzezinski to President Carter (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/20/documents/brez.carter/>) on December 26, 1979, discusses the implications of a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on U.S. foreign policy, especially regarding Iran.

Iran

Facing a revolution, the Shah of Iran sought help from the United States. Iran occupied a strategic place in U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East, acting as an island of stability and a buffer against Soviet penetration into the region. The Shah was pro-American, but domestically oppressive. The U.S. ambassador to Iran, William H. Sullivan, recalls that Brzezinski "repeatedly assured Pahlavi that the U.S. backed him fully." These reassurances would not, however, amount to substantive action on the part of the United States. On November 4th, 1978, Brzezinski called the Shah to tell him that the United States would "back him to the hilt." At the same time, certain high-level officials in the State Department decided that the Shah had to go, regardless of who replaced him. Brzezinski and Energy Secretary James Schlesinger (former Secretary of Defense under Ford) continued to advocate that the U.S. support the Shah militarily. Even in the final days of the revolution, when the Shah was considered doomed no matter what the outcome of the revolution, Brzezinski still advocated a U.S. invasion to stabilize Iran. President Carter could not decide how to appropriately use force and opposed a U.S. coup. He ordered the aircraft carrier *Constellation* to the Indian Ocean but ultimately supported a regime change. A deal was worked out with the Iranian generals to shift support to a moderate government, but this plan fell apart when Khomeini and his followers swept the country, taking power on February 12, 1979.



The Iranian Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi meeting with Arthur Atherton, William H. Sullivan, Cyrus Vance, President Jimmy Carter, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, 1977

China

Shortly after taking office in 1977, President Carter again reaffirmed the United States' position of upholding the Shanghai Communique. The United States and People's Republic of China announced on December 15, 1978, that the two governments would establish diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. This required the severing of relations with the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. Consolidating U.S. gains in opening China was a major priority stressed by Brzezinski during his time as National Security Advisor.

The most important strategic aspect of the invigorated U.S.-Chinese relationship was in its effect on the Cold War. China was no longer considered part of a larger Sino-Soviet bloc but instead a third pole of power due to the Sino-Soviet Split, helping the United States to balance against Russia. A notable example, discussed above, is Chinese assistance in Brzezinski's efforts to draw Russia into a Vietnam-style conflict in Afghanistan. This strategy, initiated under Nixon and Kissinger, and consolidated under Carter and Brzezinski, is really the first instance of statesmen altering the world's polarity by design.

File:Brzezinski with Deng
Xiaoping.jpg

Deng Xiaoping and Zbigniew
Brzezinski meeting in 1979

In the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations dated January 1, 1979, the United States transferred diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing. The U.S. reiterated the Shanghai Communiqué's acknowledgment of the Chinese position that there is only one China and that Taiwan is a part of China; Beijing acknowledged that the American people would continue to carry on commercial, cultural, and other unofficial contacts with the people of Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act made the necessary changes in U.S. domestic law to permit such unofficial relations with Taiwan to flourish.

In addition the severing relations with the ROC, the Carter administration also agreed to unilaterally pull out of the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty (made with the ROC), pull out U.S. military personnel from Taiwan, and gradually reduce arms sales to the ROC. There was widespread opposition in Congress, notably from Republicans, due to the Republic of China's status as an anti-Communist ally in the Cold War. In *Goldwater v. Carter*, Barry Goldwater made a failed attempt to stop Carter from terminating the mutual defense treaty.

Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's January 1979 visit to Washington, D.C., initiated a series of high-level exchanges, which continued until the spring of 1989. This resulted in many bilateral agreements, especially in the fields of scientific, technological, and cultural interchange and trade relations. Since early 1979, the United States and China have initiated hundreds of joint research projects and cooperative programs under the Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology, the largest bilateral program.

On March 1, 1979, the United States and People's Republic of China formally established embassies in Beijing and Washington. During 1979, outstanding private claims were resolved, and a bilateral trade agreement was concluded. Vice President Walter Mondale reciprocated Vice Premier Deng's visit with an August 1979 trip to China. This visit led to agreements in September 1980 on maritime affairs, civil aviation links, and textile matters, as well as a bilateral consular convention.

As a consequence of high-level and working-level contacts initiated in 1980, U.S. dialogue with the PRC broadened to cover a wide range of issues, including global and regional strategic problems, political-military questions—including arms control—UN and other multilateral organization affairs, and international narcotics matters.

Nuclear weapons

Nuclear strategy

Presidential Directive 59, "Nuclear Employment Policy" (PDF), dramatically changed U.S. targeting of nuclear weapons aimed at the Soviet Union. Implemented with the aid of Defense Secretary Harold Brown, this directive officially set the U.S. on a countervailing strategy.

Arms Control



President Jimmy Carter and Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev sign the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) treaty, 16 June 1979, in Washington D.C. Zbigniew Brzezinski is directly behind President Carter and is the only person smiling in the picture.

Arab-Israeli peace

See also: Camp David Accords (1978)

NPR interview with Brzezinski on Camp David (<http://www.npr.org/programs/totn/transcripts/2003/sep/030916.conan.html>)

On Oct 10, 2007 Brzezinski along with other influential signatories sent a letter to President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice titled 'Failure Risks Devastating Consequences'" (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/20750>). The letter was partly an advice and a warning of the failure of an upcoming US-Sponsored Middle East conference (http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2007-07-15-us-mideast_N.htm) scheduled for Nov 2007 between Israelis and Palestinians. The letter also suggested to engage in "a genuine dialogue with [Hamas]" than to isolate it further.

Poland, the Pope, and Solidarity

Ending détente

Presidential Directive 18 on U.S. National Security (PDF), signed early in Carter's term, signalled a fundamental reassessment of the value of détente, and set the U.S. on a course to quietly end the stability and accommodation associated with Kissinger's strategy.

Academia

Brzezinski was on the faculty of Harvard University from 1953 to 1960, and of Columbia University from 1960 to 1989 where he headed up the Institute on Communist Affairs. He later became a professor of foreign policy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C.

As a scholar he has developed his thoughts over the years, fashioning fundamental theories on international relations and geostrategy. During the 1950s he worked on the theory of totalitarianism. His thought in the 1960s focused on wider Western understanding of disunity in the Soviet Bloc, as well as developing the thesis of intensified degeneration of the Soviet Union. During the 1970s he propounded the proposition that the Soviet system was incapable of evolving beyond the industrial phase into the "technetronic" age.

By the 1980s, Brzezinski argued that the general crisis of the Soviet Union foreshadowed communism's end. After the fall of the Soviet Union, he spent the 1990s warning that global discord may get out of control and formulating a geostrategy for U.S. global preponderance.

Geostrategy

Brzezinski laid out his most significant contribution to post-Cold War geostrategy in his 1997 book *The Grand Chessboard*. He defined four regions of Eurasia and in which ways the United States ought to design its policy toward each region in order to maintain its global primacy. The four regions are:

- Europe, the Democratic Bridgehead
- Russia, the Black Hole
- The Caucasuses and Central Asia, the Eurasian Balkans
- East Asia, the Far Eastern Anchor

In his subsequent book, *The Choice*, Brzezinski updates his geostrategy in light of globalization, 9/11, and the intervening six years between the two books.

Public life

Brzezinski was a past member of the board of directors of Amnesty International, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Atlantic Council, and the National Endowment for Democracy.

He was formerly a director of the Trilateral Commission (see[1] (<http://www.trilateral.org/about.htm>)), now serving only on the executive committee, and was formerly a boardmember of Freedom House.

He was a trustee and counselor for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a board member for the American Committee for Peace in the Caucasus (see [2] (<http://www.peaceinthecaucasus.org/>)), on the advisory board of America Abroad Media (see [3] (<http://www.americaabroadmedia.org/about.php>)), and on the advisory board of Partnership for a Secure America (see[4] (<http://www.psaonline.org/>)).

His son, Mark Brzezinski, is a lawyer who served on President Clinton's National Security Council as an expert on Russia and Southeastern Europe. His daughter, Mika Brzezinski, is a television news journalist and a regular anchor on MSNBC.

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See also

- Promethean project: a project directed at breaking up the Russian empire into its ethnic constituents, formulated by Polish statesman Józef Piłsudski. Compare above with Brzezinski's master's thesis and the aims of his policies in office.
- Jan Karski: influential Polish-American emigre professor of political science.
- Cold-War groups which predicted the collapse of the USSR.
- Zbigniew Brzezinski in pop culture: Brzezinski has been portrayed in the novel *The Fifth Internationale* by Jack King, as Zbigniew Penskie. He also appeared alongside the Muppets in the 1978 Christmas special, *A Muppet Christmas with Zbigniew Brzezinski* (1978).

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