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FILE: SHAPING ATTITUDES
SURVEY

a journal of East & West studies

published by Oxford University Press

George Agree,
President,
The American Political Foundation,
2100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 716,
Washington D.C. 20037

October 8th 1982

Dear George,

This is a summary of the ideas which we can discuss in Washington when we meet:

- 1) The problem: how best to conduct a programme of activities in Europe to counter the present trends and the climate of opinion which favours neutralist and Soviet propaganda and, however indirectly, facilitates Soviet policies of dividing the West, and of exploiting US-European differences.
- 2) The Western focus: the situation in Western Europe now differs fundamentally from that of the 1950s when NATO could count on European solidarity and the hope was for European unification. Today there is insecurity in Western Europe and the cohesion of NATO is undermined by fear and lack of solidarity. The prospect of unification has gone. There is little cooperation and a reluctance to face the dangers arising out of the increasing Soviet might and the increasing dangers which this implies. How can the resistance posture be revitalized? The old principles of the defence of freedom and Western civilization are of course as valid as they always were, but we must be more specific in the context of the European political struggles about not only what is desirable but how to go about it in individual European countries. We have to appeal to the new generation which has not had the experience of the last war, which is more parochial, more ignorant, and often concerned with issues which in a wider historical perspective and with better comparative knowledge are simply pseudo-issues. But this new generation must be reached to secure the basic continuity of Western policies for the survival of the West.
- 3) The Eastern focus: there is an astonishing decline in Western interest in what is happening in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This is clearly not true with regard to the news coverage. The Western press is generally very vigorous in reporting events there but it does so on a very superficial level. It focusses attention only on the dramatic and the moment the news is no longer sensational it quickly forgets about the country in question. In short, there is hardly any attention given to the ideological struggle, to the moral and political significance of the events in a wider context. But there is a difference between a "story" and an intellectually serious analysis of the meaning of the continuing East-West conflict underlying the events reported. As a result of this intellectual and ideological vacuum which is created by such disregard for these deeper perspectives, the field is left open to the shifting of the focus of Western attention away from the communist countries to Chile or Nicaragua. A sort of spurious equivalence is created between the oppression and

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repression in countries to the East and to the West of the Great Divide. But in practical terms it means that the indignation and critical fire are increasingly concentrated Westward rather than Eastward. This of course violates all the canons of moral and intellectual equity. It also ignores the historical experience of communist countries and its lessons for the West. The moral, political and economic bankruptcy of the utopian perspective which used to be the justification for all the repressions and sacrifices imposed on these countries is now increasingly obvious to their populations but also tends to be increasingly ignored in the West as a factor in the "ideological struggle". There is a curious discrepancy here. The West is not inclined to use the most important weapon in its armoury. In the best case, if it is not turning its head away from these problems it indulges in the old anti-communist clichés without realising that we are now facing the irony of the juxtaposition of, say, the continuing resistance in Poland with the crumbling spirit of resistance in Western Europe.

4) That is not to say that this observation applies to the totality or even majority of the population of Western European countries. But it is a question of the vigorous militant minorities who play havoc, and the passivity of the political elites and of large sections of the populations of Western European countries. Potentially there is quite a number of people in Europe who are dissatisfied with this situation and who can be "mobilized". The question is how best can we promote and stimulate cooperation with people who are basically on our side both East and West. There should be an interchange between people of ideas in order to help create a new climate of opinion in Western Europe in general, but taking into account the specific situation within individual Western European countries. It must be intellectually adequate to the present situation in these countries, and must try to influence the younger generation, some of whose activists are already undergoing the (usual) cycle of disillusionment with the radical utopianism (of the 1960s). Ideally, such effort should include all kinds of activities (articles, pamphlets, documentaries, protest on the European scale about single events). Cultural retrenchment in all the Western European countries and the growing inward-looking attitude there results in an increased parochialism and ignorance about developments in Eastern European countries and their attitude towards the US.

5) Specific operational ideas about what should be done: they include shorter- and longer-lasting issues and the development of methods and instruments of influence. Examples of the first category are, for instance,

- a) the forthcoming trial in Poland of the leaders of KOR. A vigorous campaign of protest and a counter trial should be launched in the West to compromise the perpetrators of this new juridical farce in Eastern Europe;
- b) the juxtaposition of the Russian submarines and of Swedish neutralist illusions;
- c) a proper effort to enlighten the public about the story of terrorism, its character, links and purposes. There is much sensational treatment of it but serious analyses of its significance are few and far between;
- d) the European public has been completely bamboozled about the question of the Yamal gas-pipeline. The argument against helping the Soviets to build it has hardly been voiced or adequately presented in the European press. Nor was there a proper analysis of the interests involved in the individual countries (USSR, Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy), except in the most general terms;

- e) the issue of nuclear pacificism. The case against unilateralism in Europe has never been properly argued or presented, although some poorly publicised attempts were made. In the USA there was a more vigorous debate between the advocates and the opponents of the "freeze", but in both cases the "anti"-arguments suffer from a certain degree of parochialism; for instance exposing the very difference between the tactics of the European and the American disarmers can indicate both the political significance of these parallel movements and their essential intellectual dishonesty. Because, although their essential motivation is the same, their arguments are in fact incompatible: a bona fide European unilateralist should logically be against the American freeze (even as a stop-gap) and a genuine American advocate of the freeze should by all logic condemn the stand-point of European unilateral disarmers. But it is not so. They go along together fabulously because in fact they basically share a common attitude which is tantamount to capitulation to the Soviet Union, and the differences in tactics are adapted to local political circumstances to facilitate and maximise their local influence. As it happens, they also facilitate the Soviet political exploitation of such movements. All these tricks and stratagems should be properly exposed and the systematic case against European nuclear pacificists should be stated in a basic text and published in a pamphlet of, say, 48 pages containing all the fundamental "anti"-arguments. The essence of the pamphlet should be summarized in the form of an article which can be placed in many journals and provide the stimulus for a general public debate on the subject in Europe;
- f) a similar thing should be done about the connected topic of European neutralism, exposing the fallacies of many arguments which are swallowed whole by a lot of people in Europe who are not genuinely neutralist at all.

These are examples of the current issues which should be handled. One can of course mention more and anyway new ones will emerge with the passage of time.

This leads me to the second specific operational category -- that of the development of methods and instruments of influence:

- a) the pamphlets I mention in the last two points should be made into a regular series of publications (called perhaps "Searchlight Papers") which will deal with the issues of the day in a systematic form providing basic arguments for the case we are making which can be used by writers, journalists, speakers etc. and which can anyway stimulate further public discussion by placing summaries in the press;
- b) a slightly different form of doing the same thing, sometimes in conjunction and sometimes separately, would be to commission articles, pamphlets and books in which the authors could produce somewhat more in-depth analyses than the usual ephemeral journalism, say for instance, sending a person to Sweden to carry out an investigation into Swedish-Soviet relations, Soviet submarines, and Scandinavian neutralism in historical perspective so as to neutralise Olaf Palme's neutralism. All these things, incidentally, may have wider repercussions as they tend to have a spill-over effect and if one consciously tries to maximise them by establishing a "multiplier effect" mechanism, one can have "feed-backs" in various countries (including the USA). Commissioning books and booklets of more permanent value on subjects of current significance

may often be money better spent than that on some of the specialist conferences which usually leave no trace. This can be done in conjunction with publishers and facilitated by a "fund for advanced royalties" as has been done in the past by the Philip Stern Foundation;

- c) another variation on the theme of a) and b) would be a series of what can be called "Truth Kits". As a concrete implementation of the idea of "Operation Truth" these should vary in length, but generally they would expose lies and distortions in the Soviet propaganda, including methods and tactics used by it, ~~so that not only are separate cases of such disinformation highlighted but the pattern of bamboozlement is shown.~~ They can range from a book giving the historical exposé of violations of international agreements by the Soviet Union, to shorter pamphlets dealing with, say, Soviet duplicity on the non-alignment movement;
- d) connected with it there should be a monthly bulletin covering in a snappy form the treatment of current events in the Soviet and communist press which would give an idea of the twists and turns of the various Party lines, and also point out their contradictions as well as convergences with the attitudes and arguments employed by the "liberal" and "progressive" press in the West and in the Third World;
- e) the next sphere is that of the press and the media in Europe. Here one should regularly expose bias and distortions, and sometimes even omissions and lies which often creep into them, but unlike in the context of the communist rule they can be exposed and nailed. For that one should have a bulletin like Reed Irvin's "Accuracy in Media" in individual European countries. It can have, however, a greater impact here; we have better access to some of the major European papers than Irvin can have vis-à-vis The Washington Post or The New York Times. Also no major European journal has such a commanding position as these two American papers and therefore one can always approach their competitors if a journal in question misbehaves through distortion of facts. Also to deal with these matters one can have regular, special seminars for journalists and broadcasters in various European countries;
- f) for the same purpose one should have groups of our friends who would regularly write Letters to the Editor on matters of current interest to different European newspapers -- a sort of "Committee of Correspondence". In doing this they can benefit from the proposed publications (mentioned above) but will react to issues, articles and editorials immediately, and will basically rely on their own wit and knowledge;
- g) for all these activities, groups in individual European countries should be established, carrying out their own analyses and investigations, and engaging in public debates. These local committees should join the general European and international protest campaigns and provide a mechanism facilitating mobilisation for such protest. They would also organise their own regular meetings, seminars and conferences to which they would occasionally invite participants from other European countries and the US (one such project, about which I will tell you when I see you, is a meeting on US-European relations which the Italian Social-Democrats want to organise /at their own expense/ and want some American and European participants to be sent to it by us /at our expense/).

h) for all these activities, autonomous in nature, a kind of "federal" clearing-house is needed in London with its own bulletin and facilities to coordinate to a certain extent local efforts, and to use the existing outlets (such as the magazines Encounter, Survey, Commentaire, and Tempo presente, or journals such as Il Giornale Nuovo, Neue Frankfurter Zeitung, and Neue Zurcher Zeitung, etc.). It will also have to deal on a general European basis with campaigns and occasional conferences. We are already organising, together with Gerald Frost, the Director of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, a regular meeting of our local group (I will show you a list of the participants when we meet) which will gather every month for a discussion on some topical subject (including those mentioned above) as well as to exchange ideas about what can be done and how best to do it. It is meant to be a combination of a "brain trust" for the proposed clearing-house in London and a "ginger group" to act on the British political-intellectual scene. Apart from "ideological" activities (i.e. the struggle of ideas) one must be involved with the general issues of freedom and human rights and cooperate with various existing organisations concerned with such questions as censorship, political prisoners, etc.

These are some of the specific operational ideas which I have discussed with Mel and which we would like to discuss with you, Walt Raymond and Mark Palmer. Of course not all of them can be launched at the same time. One has to proceed step by step according to the means available. But that is, we believe, what should be aimed at, however modest the beginning. In any case, one should begin somewhere and the sooner the better, because political morale in Europe has been crumbling for a long time and one should try to counteract it as effectively as possible.

I hope to see you soon.

Yours,

Leo

Leopold Labedz.

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PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

London, September 1982.

MEMO: Urgent "Feasibility Study" for a Program of Activities in Europe by the "European Political Foundation" for transatlantic solidarity.

1. First, the bad news. Never in the post-war period has the gulf been so dangerously wide between Western Europe and its major NATO ally, the USA. Differences and divisions mount. A mood of mutual hostility is on the rise. Relatively small deviations of attitude and policy have been twisted into major altercations over both military defense strategy and East-West trade. Whole areas of common ground (alarm over Afghanistan and Poland, recognition of the Soviet military build-up etc.) fail to appear important enough to maintain unity. The leaders in the Kremlin have publicly indicated how pleased they are. The friends of the United States throughout Europe have never been so dis-oriented and dispirited.

Now, for the good news. In London (President Reagan's Westminster speech calling for a rallying of Western spirits on the front of democratic ideas) and the follow-up in Washington (the practical efforts of the "American Political Foundation" to help democratic forces abroad): these were the hopeful indications that a new initiative was under way. Properly conceived this would mean not only that the Americans would recognize that substantially more had to be done in the field of information and ideas to make their -- and the Western -- case credible and persuasive, but also

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that elsewhere (especially in Europe) friends of mortally endangered transatlantic solidarity would be encouraged to come forward vigorously and courageously.

2. The basic approach of this European-American transatlantic movement -- it embraces in a dozen countries of free Europe a "core" of a hundred leading writers, editors, academics, broadcasters, and public figures -- has been outlined in two basic Memoranda: "Ideas, Ideology, and Information Policy in the 1980s" (Sept. 1981) and "Outline for a Vigorous Information Program" (Jan. 1982). They need not be repeated here. They are substantially at one with the plans and proposals formulated for the establishment of the new "Political Foundation" and its perspective of reinforcing the world-wide struggle on behalf of freedom and international security.

In brief: (a) to enable spokesmen for freedom, democracy, and human rights to take more vigorous initiatives; (b) to encourage, especially in a faltering, disoriented Europe, the need for unbroken cooperation with the United States in the traditional spirit (no matter what new issues and problems arise) of loyalty and solidarity (evinced in many crises from the Berlin Blockade of 1948 to the Falklands conflict of 1982); and (c) to recognize that the key to "mutual transatlantic understanding" of both hard military questions (arms, weapons, strategy) and economic-trade deals (the Soviet pipe-line) lies in the state of the climate of opinion. Ideas affect interests. Intellectuals formulate the arguments, pros and cons. What has been grievously neglected -- so much so that the European discussion of

vital issues is so one-sided as to be hardly recognizable on the other side of the Atlantic -- needs to be energetically and imaginatively repaired. The "European Political Foundation", embracing the continent-wide committee of supporters of the free world, needs to be activated. Americans can only do so much; the Europeans themselves must rally and do their job on behalf of shared values and interests. The solidarity of previous decades cannot be magically restored. Sentiments and slogans of yesteryear, no matter how lingeringly true in the abstract, cannot be repeated. The present danger remains the same, although the challenge is, in many important respects, new and different. It must be met appropriately.

3. First on the agenda, it is suggested, is a "feasibility study" as to what the European Political Foundation must do to get off the ground. The "core" of the Committee is already in place. It is registered, has a legal form, and will be recognized as an "educational trust", available for international grants and subventions. It has connections with various newspapers, magazines, institutes, and publishing houses throughout Western Europe (including the Northern and Southern continental regions from Scandinavia to Italy and Greece). An immediate grant will enable the Committee to explore how its contacts could best be organized and to launch an important first campaign.¹

¹Two urgent examples: (a) In Western Europe the opposition to the restoration of the regional balance in "The Theater Nuclear Defense" -- backed by left-wing political parties, "progressive" churchmen, and linked with all kinds of neutralists and nationalists -- needs to be countered; the anti-American campaign has gone unanswered for too long; and (b) The forthcoming trials of the Polish Kor intellectuals in the repressive campaign against Solidarity on the part of General Jaruzelski's regime. Here is an issue and indeed a cause to which Europe's (and the world's) intelligentsia can rally -- a burning human rights drama which could illuminate and clarify so much of the totalitarian danger we face and the "freedoms we may lose." The opportunity here for good men to rally must not be missed.

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4. What needs to be spelled out is the organization and the budget required to make an impressive and substantial beginning: and, from that point on, to expand in order to make a large-scale and effective impact. In this the European Political Foundation will be working not only with existing groups that are sympathetic, but will look forward to cooperating with new institutes, journals, seminars, and media centers, so to reflect more closely the attitudes of a new generation which, in many places, has revealed its spiritual dissatisfaction with the reigning ideologies that have been splashing about since 1968. The basic practical perspectives include:

- (a) A London Center, to maintain regular constructive contact with friends and supporters, especially in the media, from Stockholm and Helsinki to Madrid, Rome and Athens. Such an "umbrella" institution requires a number of experienced persons -- "editorial specialists" who were not "born yesterday", and have the know-how which prevents quick initiatives from degenerating into counter-productive propaganda ploys. What must be avoided here is preaching only to the converted, as well as a naivete which will inevitably run afoul of complex continental realities.

- (b) Out of this London Center should emerge a "European Exchange Service". This would be immediately launched to serve a thousand editors, broadcasters, parliamentarians, and other "elite" members of the Western public-opinion forming group. For this several professional editors will be required, and at their disposal a small

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staff able to use telex communications and computer printing.

- (c) Magazines, Books, Pamphlets. The program of publications to deal with the major polemical issues of the day need not necessarily be directly budgeted, which is to say, that it should be the "intellectual task" of the Foundation to commission the major contributions. Given the quality and pertinence of the material, it will have a "multiplier effect." Various magazines all over Western Europe are eager to cooperate, and although some are in financial trouble it will not be the function, in the first place, to fund them. First things first: a current of sharp-hitting material which can have a direct impact.
- (d) Conferences and Seminars. Shindigs are superfluous, and of blah-blah there is enough. But there are issues and occasions when international meetings, carefully (and thoughtfully) prepared, can "rally spirits" and give a new personal sense of confidence to leading public figures. These can produce texts which can be printed and reprinted. A number of conferences -- organized together with various European institutions -- should be planned for 1983-84.
5. The general European-American crisis is a fast-moving one. It is no longer the same as when we first addressed ourselves to the problem of countering "the other side" with its massive propaganda offensive on behalf of "Peace Fighters", pacifism,

neutralism, anti-Americanism, and the like. It is no longer a mere "rallying of spirits" who have been somewhat discouraged at the state of world affairs. The current malaise is worse. We need to find out who our friends are, to locate them, reassure them, encourage them. Evil ideas will prevail if sound and humane ideas do not find defenders of vigour and commitment.

Melvin J. Lasky

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SURVEY

a journal of East & West studies

published by Oxford University Press

Walt Raymond,
Executive Suite Building, Rm 300
National Security Council,
Washington DC,
USA

September 7th 1982

Dear Walt,

Mel told me about your conversation with him. The State Department asked me whether I would be able to come to the conference on October 18/19. Of course I will, and they said they would send me an invitation. So far Mel has not received a similar communication but I very much hope that he will be there too.

We have just composed a memo which I am sending to George Agree who asked me for it when I saw him on the day I left Washington (August 26th). I do not know whether you are in touch with him, but just in case I'm sending you a copy of my letter to him and of my memo. This is of course confidential, but I assume that you will keep it to yourself.

I plan to come to Washington a couple of days before the conference so that we will have a chance to talk beforehand.

I hope that everything is OK with you and some of our common preoccupations will come to fruition. If there is anything you need from me before my visit to Washington, give me a ring.

With best regards,



Leopold Labedz.

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SURVEY

a journal of East & West studies B

published by Oxford University Press

George E. Agree,
President,
American Political Foundation,
P.O. Box 37034,
Washington DC 20013,
USA

September 7th 1982

Dear George,

It was nice to see you again and to have a long conversation which I hope will be the beginning of a useful cooperation.

As you could see from the memos which I left for you with Roberta McCain (and I trust you collected them from her) our thoughts about "What Is To Be Done?" are very similar. I am now sending you a follow-up memo drawing practical conclusions from the two previous ones and from our conversation.

Once again I want to stress two points:

(1) The need for speedy action. Otherwise we lose by default; we miss not just the boat, but the whole bloody fleet.

(2) The need to avoid the twin fallacies in the strategy of the future propaganda effort:

- a) preaching just to the converted (although it is necessary to bolster morale in our own ranks);
- b) too much of a "popular front" technique (of which the old Congress of Cultural Freedom was often guilty -- "all bait and no hook," as Mel Lasby used to say).

It is with this consideration in mind that we have formulated the enclosed memo. I very much hope that you will read it carefully and that we can discuss all this when I come to Washington for the October 18/19 conference. I had a telephone call from the State Department asking me whether I could come and I assume that you must have been instrumental in this invitation (the only other person with whom I talked about it was Walt Raymond at the NSC. As you know I didn't have time after our conversation to contact Mark Palmer, but I hope to see him this time).

Two more things:

(1) Before my last visit to the States, I wrote a letter to Walt on the same subject, enumerating our European friends and contacts. I have not repeated this information in the current memo since I assume you can get it from him.

(2) I think that the first practical step towards the implementation of the ideas indicated in the memo would be a "feasibility study" of the projected European campaign. Only then can a realistic, detailed budgetary proposal be formulated, but the first thing to do would be for Mel and I (and possibly two other people) to go to the continent and establish links with our friends, gather up-to-date information about people in the media and public institutions, and have detailed assessments and proposals written about what can be done in various West European countries. I have already been in touch with different people in Europe and have a number of projects discussed with them which have been shelved for the time being. But they can easily be resuscitated and many of them will require only minimum financial assistance as they will be chiefly sponsored by local people and institutions. Only the participation of foreign guests will have to be financed by us (and I suppose the USIA can sponsor the American participants)

Such detailed reports are also indispensable because the political situation in each country is in a state of flux: in Denmark, the Conservatives have replaced the Socialists in government; in Germany, after the Hesse local elections, there is a chance that the Schmidt government may fall, particularly taking into account the present attitude of the FDP manifested in the speeches of Genscher and Lambsdorf; in Italy, Spadolini managed to retain the premiership but the attitude of Craxi and the killing of Generale della Chiesa indicate how precarious the political situation remains; in Britain, the forthcoming Labour Party Conference will indicate the position the party will take for the next election, and so on and so forth.

In this context, one has to have the most up-to-date premises and personal information on which to base one's political strategy.

I think therefore that such a groundwork is necessary before launching the proposed programme of activities. Something like a grant of around £25,000 would be sufficient to produce a solid preliminary "feasibility study".

I also think that we can discuss all these things in greater detail when I come to Washington. I will try to come earlier so as to have some time before the conference to meet you, Mr. Palmer and Walt Raymond to discuss various details.

I very much hope that Melvin Lasky can also be invited to attend

The Committee for the Free World

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*see page 8
in Walt
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"DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES"
Washington, D.C. Program
October 11 - 15, 1982

Prof. Jacques VANDAMME
Belgium

Prof. Louis BAECK
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Mr. Enzo CARRA
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Prof. Eduardo PALMA
Chile

office

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*Announce panel
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getting underway*

Accompanied by

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U.S. Escort/Interpreter

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October 11 - 15, 1982
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Catholic University of Louvain
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The "Democratic Initiatives" program participants are members of the Jacques Maritain International Institute. They will be coming to Washington, D.C. following a conference of the Institute in Ottawa. The Jacques Maritain International Institute was founded in 1974 and is headquartered in Rome, with chapters in numerous European, North American and Latin American countries. Among its purposes, the Institute "aims to promote research and studies on the problem of man, of culture and of society in the light of Jacques Maritain's thought...and carry out cultural, social and formative action consequent upon the results of its researches". Jacques Maritain was a French philosopher (1882-1975).

The group will be accompanied by U.S. Escort/Interpreter Harvey Cash.

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"Democratic Initiatives"
Washington, D.C. Program

Monday, October 11

9:17am

Arrival at Baltimore International Airport on
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U.S. Escort/Interpreter

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tel. 483-6000

As today is the observance of Columbus Day, a
national holiday, offices are closed. Your
day is free for sightseeing.

"Democratic Initiatives"
Washington, D.C. Program

Tuesday, October 12

9:30am

Meet with:

Mrs. Hannelore Starr, Program Officer
Ms. Leslee Miller, Program Assistant
Visitor Program Service
1776 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
2nd floor
tel. 822-8688

Ms. Sally Dupree, Program Coordinator
Voluntary Visitors Division
U.S. Information Agency
tel. 724-9800

11:15am

Appointment with:

Mr. Scott Thompson
Associate Director for Programs
U.S. Information Agency
1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Room 709
tel. 724-9349

2:00pm

Appointment with:

Dr. Howard Penniman* (**denotes biography on page 9*)
Co-Director of Political and Social
Processes Studies
American Enterprise Institute
1150 17th St. N.W.
Suite 1200
tel. 862-5940

"Democratic Initiatives"
Washington, D.C. Program

Wednesday, October 13

Please arrive at the Diplomatic entrance at 9:45am.

10:00am

Meet with:

Ambassador Gerald Helman
Deputy to the Undersecretary of State
for Political Affairs
U.S. Department of State
Diplomatic Entrance on C St. N.W. at 22nd St. N.W.
Room 3521
tel. 632-0721

Mr. Richard Hecklinger
Special Advisor to the Undersecretary
for Political Affairs

Mr. John Lenczowski
Special Advisor to the Undersecretary
for Political Affairs

Mr. Steven E. Steiner
Public Affairs Advisor
Bureau of European Affairs

11:30

Meet with:

Mr. Robert R. Reilly
Director
Office of Private Sector Programs
U.S. Information Agency
1717 H St. N.W.
Room 700
tel. 632-6716

4:00pm

Meet with:

Mr. George Agree*
President, American Political Foundation
Visitor Program Service Conference Room
1776 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
tel. 822-8688

"Democratic Initiatives"
Washington, D.C. Program

Thursday, October 14

10:00am

Meet with:

Father James Shall*
Department of Government
Georgetown University
Intercultural Center
Room 681
(enter through Healy Gate at 37th & O Sts. N.W.,
Main Campus...look for new red brick building)
tel. 625-4256

11:30am

Meet with:

Mr. Prosser Gifford
Deputy Director
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
1000 Jefferson Drive, S.W. Room 336
tel. 357-2185, arranged by Mrs. Paggioli

2:00pm

Simultaneous appointments with area officers:

Prof. Eduardo PALMA

Mr. Michael A. Kristula, Deputy Director
Office of American Republic Affairs, USIA
1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. Room 614
tel. 724-9242

Prof. Jacques VANDAMME
Prof. Louis BAECK
Mr. Enzo CARRA

Mr. Leonard J. Baldyga
Director, Office of European Affairs
U.S. Information Agency
1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. Room 822
tel. 724-9191

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"Democratic Initiatives"
Washington, D.C. Program

Handwritten notes:
Dennis Blain ✓ 5732
- Cary Lind or 4684
- Bill Stearnan 4974

Friday, October 15

10:00am

0930

Appointment with:

Mr. Walter Raymond
Senior Staff Member
National Security Council
Room 300, Old Executive Office Bldg.
17th St. & Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
tel. 395-4682, arranged by Rozanne Sigman

PLEASE BRING YOUR PASSPORTS FOR CLEARANCE INTO THE BLDG.

2:00pm

Meet with:

Mr. Philip Lawler*
Director of Studies
The Heritage Foundation
513 C St. N.E.
tel. 546-4400

Metro: Union Station

Saturday, October 16

Depart Washington, D.C.

BIOGRAPHIES

Dr. Howard PENNIMAN has been affiliated with the American Enterprise Institute since the early sixties, first as a consultant and since 1971 as an adjunct scholar. He is currently a resident scholar on leave from Georgetown University, where he has been professor of government since 1957. From 1948 to 1957, he served in the State Department and the U.S. Information Agency. He taught at Yale from 1942 to 1948. Dr. Penniman has served since 1968 as an election consultant to the American Broadcasting Company. He was a consultant to the Team of Observers sent to South Vietnam by President Lyndon B. Johnson for the 1967 elections. He was also an elected delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention in 1967-68. Dr. Penniman is co-director of political and social processes studies at AEI. He is editor of an ongoing series of studies of elections in democratic societies being published by AEI.

Mr. Philip F. LAWLER is Director of Studies at the Heritage Foundation. He coordinates the Distinguished Scholars Program and the Heritage Lectures Series. He is Managing Editor of *Policy Review* and has written articles for numerous journals and periodicals. Mr. Lawler is a graduate of Harvard University and has pursued graduate studies in political science at the University of Chicago.

Mr. George E. AGREE, President, American Political Foundation, spent ten years as President, Committee for the Democratic Process and three years as the Director, Twentieth Century Fund Study of Political Finance followed by three years as the Director, Freedom House Study of Transnational Interactions of Political Parties. He has served as Director of Campaign Funds in 1968, 1970, 1972, and 1974 and thereafter published the book Political Money. He has also written articles for prominent newspapers and publications and has given lectures on politics and world affairs for associations, universities and others.

Father James Shall is a Jesuit Priest and Professor of Political Philosophy at Georgetown University. Father Shall has taught at the Gregorian University in Rome and at the University of San Francisco. He has written the books Christianity and Politics and The Church, State, and Society in The Thought of John Paul II. among other books and articles.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 19, 1982

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Interagency Group on European Public Diplomacy

FROM: EUR/P - Steve Steiner *ses*

SUBJECT: Report on 10/14 Meeting and 10/21 Agenda

NOTE: John Kornblum, Director of the Office of Central European Affairs, will brief the group on the implications of the political changes in the FRG. Since he has just made some public appearances in the FRG, he will also discuss with us the state of German public opinion.

Results of 10/14 Meeting:

- Briefing on Poland. It was agreed that, at a minimum, there are several key themes we should be stressing in our public affairs activities regarding Poland. First, we should hammer away at the three Western criteria, including specific reference to Solidarity as part of the needed dialogue within Poland. Second, we should place considerable emphasis on the need to free Walesa and other Solidarity leaders. Third, we can continue to help strengthen indirectly the position of the Church through our humanitarian aid program. Fourth, we should pursue the labor track by keeping the AFL-CIO well briefed on Polish developments and by doing what we can to ensure that the Polish issue is high on the agenda of the ILO Governing Board meeting in November. We will also have senior Department officials make these points to ILO Secretary General Blanchard during his coming visit to Washington (November 4).
- CSCE Follow-Up. It was agreed that the questions in last week's memo following Ambassador Kampelman's briefing are indeed the right questions for trying to improve our public affairs effort regarding CSCE. USIA is working on these issues (EU-Perlman).
- Speaking Engagements in Europe. Gerry Kallas (USIA/REU) agreed to provide for us a list of speaking engagements already completed in and with regard to Europe.

Agenda for 10/21:

- Briefing on Germany (EUR/CE-Kornblum)
- Follow-up on NATO Force Comparison Paper and briefing on Airland Battle (EUR/RPM-Halgus)
- Forced labor in USSR (EUR/P-Clear)
- Any CSCE Follow-up? (USIA/EU-Perlman)

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Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
BY CW NARA, DATE 9/8/12

October 20, 1982

39.

MEMORANDUM FOR : P - Mr. Thompson

THROUGH : EU - Mr. Baldyga *W9H fal*

FROM : EU - Judy Jamison *JJ*

SUBJECT : NATO Information Conference Report

At the instigation of the British Foreign Office, the first NATO Information Symposium was held at Sunningdalé, England, October 14-16, 1982. Participants included ambassadors to the North Atlantic Assembly, members of parliaments in NATO countries, delegates from ministries of foreign affairs and defense and journalists. (See attached list of participants and conference agenda.)

The primary purposes of the symposium - the first of its kind in NATO's existence - were to:

- o encourage greater effort by NATO and by individual NATO member countries in promoting the Alliance, its policies and the common democratic values of member nations.
- o promote efforts to present, explain and counter the Soviet threat and to counter Soviet propaganda and disinformation.
- o strengthen the NATO information effort and ensure better coordination between NATIS and the NATO Press Office and between NATO Headquarters and individual capitals.
- o broaden national and Alliance-wide audiences on issues of importance to NATO.

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 BY *RW* NARA DATE *9/5/17*

The format and physical setting were not ideally conducive to the sort of informal discussions envisioned by the organizers (one large oval table and extra seats along the walls to accommodate the overflow, a strict schedule with little time, if any to discuss items informally between sessions and the necessity, in the NATO setting, for interpreters.) Still, after the initial predictable, set-piece, nationalistic presentations, the meeting settled down to a sensible and rather complete discussion of:

- o The state of the alliance, including a realistic appraisal of NATO assets and liabilities in the world today,

(2)

- 35
- o the problems posed by the peace movement,
 - o current issues, such as imminent Cruise and Pershing missile deployment, affecting public opinion,
 - o the tendency among European publics to identify NATO and NATO policies almost exclusively with the U.S.,
 - o current intra-Alliance difficulties and misunderstandings such as the pipeline and the economic crisis,
 - o NATO headquarters and NATIS information dissemination problems,
 - o the limitations on the dissemination of NATO information imposed by national policies, finances and custom, and, finally,
 - o suggestions as to what NATO, the Information Service and individual capitals could do to make NATO information policies more effective.

Specific suggestions, noted by the Chairman for inclusion in the report to the Secretary General on an instructed basis included:

- o producing a series of publications, including an update of this year's Force Comparison Paper
- o using expert's reports more extensively
- o inaugurating a training program for NATO briefers
- o increasing the participants in the visitors' program (now at 10,000 per annum)
- o improving programs for the above
- o using polling data on NATO-related questions more efficiently, perhaps creating a NATIS data bank
- o reaching students and teachers through speakers, text books, tours and seminars

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- o establishing a coordinating body for national information policy with assistance from individual capitals
- o establishing a clearing house for NGO information, which might also serve as a think tank for NATO issues
- o improving format and content of NATO documents
- o producing a brochure, or several, comparing and contrasting the systems of East and West
- o finding ways to improve relations with the press corps based at NATO and capital-based defense correspondents
- o holding, in a year's time, another information symposium to discuss NATO information policies
- o including more journalists, especially fast media in next year's conference
- o changing procedures for the Council and its sub-bodies to incorporate information planning in initial discussions of NATO policies
- o setting up regular background briefings prior to all major NATO meetings
- o establishing a NATIS branch office in the U.S., following the Euro-group example.

Many of the above suggestions have little chance of falling on fertile ground. No individual capitals are going to increase information efforts on NATO policies that conflict with their internal political exigencies as the result of the discussions. NATO, at least its positive, peace-keeping aspects, will not, suddenly become front-page news after all these years. The Alliance rationale for a nuclear deterrent will not suddenly preempt the emotional presentations of European and American peace groups.

The U.S. can expect to hear rather quickly from NATO (Gilbert Sauvage) regarding our suggestion to establish a NATO information office here. Other suggestions will have to pass through the NATO machinery: they may never emerge, at least not in their original form. However, regardless of specific actions,

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the symposium undoubtedly had a vital consciousness-raising effect. Perhaps the most important aspect of the symposium was that it was held at all - that a diverse group managed to discuss with a reasonable degree of frankness, the issues that affect the Alliance today and, for the first time ever, acknowledge the primary importance of a concerted and organized information effort on these issues.

NATO INFORMATION SYMPOSIUM

SUNNINGDALE, 14-16 OCTOBER 1982

PROGRAMME

Evening, Thursday 14 October 1982

Arrival of all participants by 16.00

17.00-17.15 Welcome and Keynote Address/Introduction

by the Rt. Hon. Douglas Hurd, MP
Minister of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs

17.15-17.30 The Operating Environment for NATO Information
(Information responsibility shared between
member governments and NATO offices; Tools
and channels employed by NATO information
offices; Recent public opinion poll results;
The "successor generation"; NATO's response
thus far to the information challenge.)

by Ambassador Dr F. Dannenbring,
Assistant Secretary General for Political
Affairs, NATO

17.30-19.00 Discussion by Participants

20.00 Dinner

Morning, Friday 15 October 1982

09.00-09.15 The Nature of the Alliance
(The original rationale for the Alliance --
is it still valid? Is NATO part of the peace
movement? The Alliance as the embodiment of
common Western values and the expression of
the transatlantic link; The non-military
dimensions of the Alliance; Does public opinion
share the same perception of the common threat?
If not, what should be done?)

Introduction: Mr James Dobbins, Deputy Assistant
Secretary of State for European Affairs

09.15-12.00 Discussion by Participants

13.00-14.30 Lunch (with presentation of the public education
activities of a national Atlantic Association,
by Mr Ellmann Ellingsen, Norwegian Atlantic
Committee)

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Afternoon, Friday 15 October 1982

- 15.00-15.15 The Public Presentation of Current Defence Issues
(What is the rationale for NATO defence doctrine, deterrence and détente, the role assigned to conventional and nuclear weapons, Alliance arms control and disarmament initiatives? Is public opinion aware of the facts? Does public opinion accept the rationale? If not, what should be changed -- the arguments? their presentation?)

Introduction: Mrs Grethe Vaernø, Member of Parliament
- 15.15-18.00 Discussion by Participants
- 20.00 Dinner. The guest of honour will be Mr Geoffrey Pattie, MP, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Defence

Morning, Saturday 16 October 1982

- 09.00-09.15 Are the Information Resources Equal to the Information Challenge?
(Is the information challenge to the Alliance in the 1980s fundamentally different from what it was? Are the resources of governments and of NATO most effectively engaged? The roles of parliaments, schools, research centres, and the media in informing the public.)

Introduction: Mr Julian Critchley, MP, Member of the North Atlantic Assembly
- 09.15-12.00 Discussion by Participants
- 13.00-14.30 Lunch (with comments on NATO public information activities, by Mr Emmanuele Gazzo, Agence Europe, Member of the Brussels Press Corps)

Afternoon, Saturday 16 October 1982

- 15.00-15.15 Suggestions for Information Activities by Member Governments and NATO in the months ahead.

Report by Ambassador Dr. Hans-Georg Wieck, Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the North Atlantic Council
- 15.15-17.30 Discussion by Participants
- 17.30-17.45 Summary by NATO Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs
- 20.00 Dinner, presided over by The Viscount Trenchard, MC, Minister of State, Ministry of Defence. Closing remarks by the Chairman of the Symposium, Sir Clive Rose, CCMG

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NATO INFORMATION SYMPOSIUM
SUNNINGDALE, 14-16 OCTOBER 1982

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIRMAN: Sir Clive Rose, GCMG
Former United Kingdom Permanent Representative
to the North Atlantic Council

BELGIUM Ambassador Juan Cassiers
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

CANADA Mr C.J. Marshall
Assistant Under Secretary for Information

Mr Gerald Wright
President, Atlantic Council of Canada

DENMARK Mr E. Lyrtoft-Petersen
Director, NATO Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

FRANCE Mr Jacques Andréani
Director General for Political Affairs
Ministry of External Relations

Mr Philippe Sanmarco
Member of Parliament

GERMANY Ambassador Hans-Georg Wieck
Permanent Representative to the North
Atlantic Council

GREECE Mr Spiros Vergos
Press Counsellor
Greek Embassy, Brussels

ITALY Mr Ruggiero Orlando
Member of Parliament

Mr Giancarlo Danovi
Ministry of External Affairs

LUXEMBOURG Mr André Claude
Head, Information and Press Service

NETHERLANDS Mr Eric Denig
Head, Information Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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NORWAY

Mrs Grethe Vaernø
Member of Parliament

Mr Chris Prebensen
Director General
Ministry of Defence

PORTUGAL

Dr José Ribeiro e Castro
Deputy Secretary of State to
the Vice Prime Minister

SPAIN

Mr Fernando Belloso
Deputy Director General, Information
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TURKEY

Ambassador Nazmi Akiman
Director General for Information and Spokesman
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

UNITED KINGDOM

The Rt.Hon. Douglas Hurd, MP
Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth
Affairs

Mr David Gillmore, CMG
Assistant Under Secretary
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Mr Neville Taylor
Chief of Public Relations
Ministry of Defence

UNITED STATES

Mr James Dobbins
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for European Affairs

Mr John Kelly
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for Public Affairs

Mr Scott Thompson
Associate Director for Programs
USIA

Mr Steven Steiner
Public Affairs Advisor
Bureau of European Affairs
Department of State

MEDIA AND EXPERTS

General Bennecke (FRG)

President, Gesellschaft fur
Wehrkunde

Miss Briget Bloom (UK)

Journalist (Financial Times)

Mr Lode Bostoën (B)

Chief Editor (De Standaard)

Mr J.U. Colchero (S)

Journalist (Ya and Agencia Logos)

Mr Peter Corterier (FRG)

President, Atlantic Treaty
Association

Mr Julian Critchley (UK) Member of Parliament and of
the North Atlantic Assembly

Mr A. Jacomet (F) North Atlantic Assembly

Mr Ellmann Ellingsen (N) Director, Norwegian Atlantic
Association

Mr Gregory Flynn (USA) Deputy Director, Atlantic Institute

Mr Emmanuele Gazzo (I) Journalist (Agence Europe)

Mr M. Getler (USA) Journalist (Washington Post)

Mr Niels-Jørgen Haagerup (DK) Member of European Parliament
Journalist (Berlingske Tidende)

Mr Yves Laulan (F) Financial Adviser and Lecturer

Mr Simon Lunn (UK) Member of the President's Cabinet,
European Parliament

Mr Pierre O'Neill (Can) Radio Canada

Mr A.S. Spoor (NL) Journalist (NRC/Handelsblad)

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

Mr N. Antas de Campos (P) Head, Press Service

Ambassador F. Dannenbring (FRG) Assistant Secretary General,
Political Affairs

Lt.Gen. T. Huitfeldt (N) Director, International Military
Staff

Mr A. Halle (FRG) Director of Information

Dr A. Hoffman (US) Assistant Director of Information,
Planning & Budget

Professor G. Sauvage (F) Assistant Director of Information,
External Relations

Colonel G. Schurig (FRG) Public Information Adviser,
International Military Staff

Mr H. Verykios (Gr) Head, Visits and Seminars, NATO
Information Service

Mrs S. Vranckx (UK) Secretary

Mr M. Ramsay (UK) Interpreter

Mrs C. Lipman (F) Interpreter

Mrs E. Parot-van Dievoet (B) Interpreter

WEEKLY REPORT FOR P

FROM: W. Scott Thompson

October 8, 1982

ARMS CONTROL PROGRAMS SEPTEMBER 28- OCTOBER 7

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The past week marked the re-opening of the INF and START talks in Geneva. Programming in Washington and overseas highlighted these arms control efforts and the President's Peace Initiatives. Secretary of State Shultz's address to the United Nations General Assembly emphasized the U.S. commitment to meaningful nuclear arms reductions. The speech was offered via satellite to European and other television broadcasters around the world. The Voice of America carried the speech live and the Wireless File carried the full text. The major events in Washington included the briefing by Ambassador Rowny at the Foreign Press Center on September 29, and two telepress conferences: ACDA Director Rostow with the Sued Deutsch Zeitung in Munich on October 4 and Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle with the NRC-Handelsblad in Rotterdam on October 1.

Amparts who dealt with arms control subjects this week included Richard Pipes from the National Security Council Staff, who is in Bonn, Cologne and Paris this week; R. Lucas Fischer, ACDA, who is in Japan, September 25- October 5; Kenneth N. Waltz from the University of California at Berkley who is in India, Korea and Japan until mid-December; and Ellen Laipson from the Congressional Reasearch Service will be in Turkey October 1-16 to to speak on NATO affairs and Congress and foreign policy. Amparts planned for the coming weeks included Helmut Sonnenfeldt from the Brookings Institution (Germany, Finland and Sweden); Jack L. Kangas from the Washington Defense Research Group (Australia, Japan, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Port Moresby); and Werener Feld from the University of New Orleans (Austria). Additionally discussions were started to arrange for a number of the U.S. officials who will attend the Special consultative Group meeting and the NATO ministerials in Brussels later this fall to make several days available for USIS programming following their meetings.

The Foreign Press Center sponsored a tour October 4-8 by influential Dutch and British journalists to U.S. military headquarters and to Washington for briefings on defense and arms control matters. Final preparations are underway for another major tour by journalists from NATO countries next week in preparation for the NATO December ministerial meetings. The President's meeting at the White House with the three top U.S. arms control negotiators, Ambassadors Rowny, Nitze and Staar, on Septmber 28 was featured by USIA media to highlight the continued U.S. concern for arms control questions. Wireless File and VOA stories featured the President's statement and the comments by negotiators following the meeting. A photo packet covering the meeting has been sent to all European and other concerned posts.

Wireless File coverage provided texts of statements by the President and negotiators, Secretary Shultz's speech at the United Nations General Assembly and the text of an article from New Republic "Deterrence vs. the Freeze" supporting U.S. arms control and modernization programs. A number of scenesetters and backgrounders re-emphasized the U.S. proposals before the INF, START and MBFR negotiations.

The Voice continued its series (seven since August 16) of editorials on the Soviet Military buildup and the history of U.S. arms control proposals. Additionally there were backgrounders and correspondent's reports on the reopening of the talks.

SECRETARY REGAN BRIEFS PACKED HOUSE

More than 60 foreign correspondents attended a Washington Foreign Press Center briefing by Treasury Secretary Regan on October 5. He discussed anticipated financial aid to Mexico; the dollar's growing value; current U.S. economic prognosis views in Congress; the Indian IMF loan request; Brazil's economy; IDA Six; and the Japanese yen's decline. The latter point was misunderstood by a Japanese correspondent and reported incorrectly by him in his newspaper. To correct this error, the transcript was sent to USIS Tokyo and Secretary Regan's press affairs officer explained the remarks correctly to the correspondent.

IKLE BRIEFS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

Dr. Fred Ikle, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, briefed at the Washington Foreign Press Center on October 8 on "U.S. Defense Posture in Europe." Ikle's on-the-record briefing answered questions on the proposed troop reduction in Europe; Middle East Peace proposals; and the recently released IISS report.

C.S.C.E. BRIEFING KEEPS ^{? Poland?} POPE ISSUE BURNING

Spencer Oliver, Staff Director, General Counselor, also Deputy Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the C.S.C.E., briefed in Washington on the "Madrid meeting from the perspective of the commission." He said that "flagrant violations" of the Helsinki accords by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have greatly harmed prospects for progress in Madrid. An attentive group of 25 correspondents heard his 50-minute briefing.

BRIEFING ON CBI OUTLOOK

Ambassador Robert Ryan, Director, Office of Regional Economic Policy, ARA, and CBI Coordinator, briefed in Washington October 7 on the current status of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

Department of State

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

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DASD/ISP: RLEBMAN
EUR/CE: JKORNEBLUM
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NLRRM 443/5 # 14297
BY RW NARA DATE 12/18/17

DEEP AS 300 KMS. THE DEEP INTERDICTION OF ENEMY FOLLOW-ON FORCES INCLUDES OPERATIONS BY LARGE GROUND MANEUVER FORCES.

--EMPHASIZES DEEP ATTACKS IN ORDER TO STRIKE THE ENEMY'S FOLLOW-ON FORCES BEFORE THEY CAN EXPLOIT THE BATTLEFIELD SITUATION WITH THEIR SUPERIOR NUMBERS.

--PLACES GREAT EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO IMPROVE THE ARMY'S ABILITY TO FIGHT ON A CONVENTIONAL, NUCLEAR, ELECTRONIC OR CHEMICAL BATTLEFIELD, EITHER SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION.

--EMPHASIZES TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY AND SPEED AS WELL AS MISSION ORDERS AND INITIATIVE AMONG SUBORDINATES.

4. AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH THE AIRLAND BATTLE 2000 CONCEPT WHICH PROJECTS THE STRUCTURE, TECHNOLOGY AND DOCTRINE FOR THE ARMY OF THE 21ST CENTURY. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE AIRLAND BATTLE 2000 CONCEPT IN DETAIL WITH OUR NATO ALLIES.

5. TO INSURE THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING WITH RESPECT TO AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE AND NATO STRATEGY FOR EMPLOYMENT OF CHEMICAL OR NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE FOLLOWING LEAD PARAGRAPH IS CONTAINED IN THE PREFACE OF FM 100-5 AND MAY BE DRAWN UPON AS NECESSARY:

"THE FUNDAMENTAL MISSION OF THE US ARMY IS TO DETER WAR. SHOULD CONFLICT OCCUR, FM 100-5 IS THE ARMY'S KEYSTONE HOW-TO-FIGHT MANUAL. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH NATO DOCTRINE AND STRATEGY. THE MANUAL EMPHASIZES THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. HOWEVER, THE US

ARMY MUST BE CAPABLE OF OPERATING IN ANY ENVIRONMENT INCLUDING THE NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL BATTLEFIELD. NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS CAN ONLY BE USED AFTER AUTHORIZATION HAS BEEN GRANTED BY THE NATIONAL COMMAND AUTHORITY. FM 100-5 PROVIDES OPERATIONAL GUIDANCE FOR USE BY COMMANDERS AND TRAINERS AT ALL ECHELONS. IT FORMS THE FOUNDATION OF ARMY SERVICE SCHOOL CURRICULA AND SERVES AS THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPING ARMY DOCTRINE, TRAINING, AND MATERIAL SYSTEMS AND ORGANIZATIONS."

6. THE FOLLOWING CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFINGS (TO BE USED IN RESPONSE TO QUERY ONLY):

Q. IS FM 100-5 AIMED AT THE EUROPEAN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS?

A. NO. FM 100-5 IS THE ARMY'S WORLDWIDE FIELD MANUAL FOR OPERATIONS. IT IS, HOWEVER, DIRECTED FOR USE IN AREAS OF THE WORLD WHERE THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF RELATIVELY MODERN, WELL-EQUIPPED FORCES WHICH USE SOVIET OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS AND TACTICS AS TYPIFIED BY THE WARSAW PACT IN CENTRAL EUROPE, LARGE AGGREGATIONS OF MECHANIZED FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, OR THE THREAT FROM NORTH KOREA.

Q. DOES THE FIELD MANUAL CONTAIN AN INCREASED EMPHASIS ON THE USE OF CHEMICAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

A. NO. SUCCESS OF THE DOCTRINE IS NOT DEPENDENT UPON NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL MEANS. CLEARLY, HOWEVER, THE DOCTRINE ESTABLISHES A REQUIREMENT FOR CONTINUOUS PLANNING FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF SUCH WEAPONS IN AREAS WHERE ENEMY NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL CAPABILITIES POSE A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER. THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE WELL-ESTABLISHED US AND NATO PROCEDURES GOVERNING

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E.O. 12356: DNG: 9/16/88
;AGS: NATO, MPOL
SUBJECT: DISTRIBUTION OF US ARMY OPERATIONS FIELD MANUAL

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE US ARMY WILL RELEASE ITS NEW FIELD MANUAL FOR OPERATIONS, FM 100-5, ON OR ABOUT SEPTEMBER 20, 1982. THE MANUAL CONTAINS NUMEROUS REFERENCES TO NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WARFARE BECAUSE OF THE EXISTING POTENTIAL FOR HAVING TO FIGHT IN THAT ENVIRONMENT. EVEN THOUGH THE MANUAL CONTAINS CHANGES IN DOCTRINE, TACTICAL NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS EMPLOYMENT PROCEDURES REMAIN UNCHANGED. HOWEVER, THESE REFERENCES TO CHEMICAL & NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD BE MISCONSTRUED IF USED OUT OF CONTEXT. CRITICS MAY INTERPRET THE AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE AS ADVOCATING CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS IN EUROPE AND QUICK EMPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS. THIS CABLE PROVIDES UNCLASSIFIED BACKGROUND MATERIAL AND Q'S AND A'S TO BE USED ON AN IF-ASKED BASIS. END SUMMARY (C)

3. FM 100-5 IS THE ARMY'S FIELD MANUAL FOR OPERATIONS. "AIRLAND BATTLE" IS THE NAME GIVEN TO THE

DOCTRINE WHICH OUTLINES FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDE THE ACTION OF MILITARY FORCES, OR ELEMENTS THEREOF, IN SUPPORT OF OBJECTIVES. THIS DOCTRINE FORMS THE NUCLEUS OF FM 100-5. THE NEW AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE:

--POSTULATES THAT IN TODAY'S BATTLEFIELD, "OPPOSING FORCES WILL RARELY FIGHT ALONG ORDERLY, DISTINCT LINES... WITH MASSIVE TROOP CONCENTRATIONS... AND THAT DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN REAR AND FORWARD AREAS WILL BE BLURRED."

--CALLS FOR A MORE OFFENSIVE APPROACH TO DEFEATING AN ENEMY ATTACK BY ENGAGING THE ENEMY TO THE FULL DEPTH OF HIS FORMATIONS, EXTENDING FROM THE POINT OF CLOSE COMBAT AT THE FRONT TO ENEMY FORCES APPROACHING FROM AS

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EMPLOYMENT OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE EVENT OF WAR, AND HOWE IS CONTEMPLATED.

Q. HAS THE US DISCUSSED THE AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE WITH ITS NATO ALLIES?

Q. IS THE US EMPHASIZING OPERATIONS ACROSS THE INNER-GERMAN BORDER?

A. YES. THE US ARMY HAS CONSULTED WITH NATO ALLIES AND HAS PRESENTED BRIEFINGS ON THE DOCTRINE AT NATO. SHULTZ

A. NO. A TIMELY AND WELL-CONSIDERED DEEP ATTACK AGAINST VULNERABLE ENEMY FORCES IS AN IMPORTANT ADJUNCT TO AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE. WHILE THE DOCTRINE CALLS FOR USE OF MANEUVER FORCES AS AN OPTION IN THE DEEP ATTACK, THESE FORCES WILL BE EMPLOYED IN STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH EXISTING POLITICAL AND MILITARY GUIDELINES. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER THE

STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE (MC 14/3) GOVERNS; IN ALL CASES, THE DOCTRINE WILL BE APPLIED IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRESCRIBED RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. DEEP ATTACK OF ENEMY FORCES IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY TACTICAL AIR FORCES AND LONG-RANGE ARTILLERY AS IS CURRENTLY PLANNED BY NATO.

Q. DOES FM 100-5 ADVOCATE A CHANGE TO NATO STRATEGY?

A. NO. AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE AS DESCRIBED IN FM 100-5 IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH NATO'S STRATEGY OF FORWARD DEFENSE AND FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND WITH THE ALLIANCE'S LONG-STANDING PROCEDURES REGARDING USE OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE EVENT OF WAR.

FOR NATO'S STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE TO BE CREDIBLE, IT MUST BE BACKED UP BY A CREDIBLE FORCE POSTURE. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE MUST HAVE THE CAPABILITY AND WILL TO USE THE FORCE POSTURE, IF NECESSARY, AND MUST CONVINCe ANY POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR OF THAT FACT. KNOWING "HOW TO FIGHT" IS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH AN "INTENT TO FIGHT" -- HAVING THE CAPABILITY TO EMPLOY EFFECTIVELY THE FULL RANGE OF FORCES AT OUR DISPOSAL IS THE BEST WAY TO ENSURE THEY NEVER WILL HAVE TO BE USED.

Q. WHAT IS THE "INTEGRATED BATTLEFIELD" THAT HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE?

A. THE INTEGRATED BATTLEFIELD CONCEPT REFLECTS AN INCREASED AWARENESS OF THE GROWING SOVIET CAPABILITY TO EMPLOY MASSIVE CONVENTIONAL ATTACKS SUPPORTED BY NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS. IT IS EMBODIED IN OFFICIAL ARMY DOCTRINE DESCRIBED IN FM 100-5, BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THE IDEA THAT US FORCES WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO FIGHT IN AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE SOVIETS MIGHT USE THE FULL RANGE OF WEAPONS AT THEIR DISPOSAL. THE INCREASED FOCUS ON THE INTEGRATED BATTLEFIELD IS SIMPLY A RECOGNITION OF THAT REALITY. BY BETTER PREPARING ITSELF TO FIGHT ON THE INTEGRATED BATTLEFIELD, THE US ARMY IS IMPROVING ITS READINESS TO SUCCEED AGAINST ANY THREAT AND INCREASING ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONTINUING DETERRENCE OF WAR.

Q. WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT OF THE CHANGES INCORPORATED IN THE AIRLAND BATTLE DOCTRINE?

A. CONVENTIONAL FORCES WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVE AGAINST SOVIET-STYLE TACTICS. TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES HAVE BEEN

IMPROVED, NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED, AND ORGANIZATIONS ARE BEING RESTRUCTURED TO BETTER EMPLOY THE NEW WEAPONS AND TACTICAL CONCEPTS. THE OVERALL RESULT IS INCREASED CONVENTIONAL DETERRENCE DUE TO AN IMPROVED CAPABILITY TO FIGHT ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

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Keeping Focus on Solidarity 10/22 yx

- Nov 10 - Solidarity has called for 4 hr. work stoppage
- Dale H. thinks gov't can handle it
- Dec 13 - More explosive potential
- "Solidarity's organization seems to be on the ropes"
- Dale H. thinks the conflict may shift from gov't - Solidarity to gov't - Church.
- Mark tends towards emphasizing Dec. 13th, rather than Nov. 10th.
- Jack S. agrees - esp. in view of European dimension
- Labor Issues: Dimension
ICFTU will file a new complaint on Poland and

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push the old complaints
(Probably will happen on the
8 Nov. meeting of the WCFTA
governing board)

Notes generated?

- But sez the allies are ready to "structure the CSCC meetings around the Polish issue"
- Helman - U.N. in its normal committee work will address Poland, but little likelihood of something big in UNGA
- How to dramatize Dec. 13?
 - Pres. statement
 - Statements by other leaders
 - AFL-CIO to sponsor a "Free Lech Walusa" campaign

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- "Cross of Flowers" as the symbol

- Brian Carlson in Jock's office will be coordinating the action. 49

- What to do in case of large-scale bloodshed

- Overview:

- Default

- Grain embargo

- Sanctions / study



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United States Department of State 50

Washington, D.C. 20520

FILE:
PUBLIC
DIPLOMACY

October 25, 1982

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TO: Interagency Group on European Public Diplomacy
FROM: EUR/P - Steve Steiner SES
SUBJECT: Report on 10/21 Meeting and 10/28 Agenda

NOTE: Deputy Assistant Secretary John Kelly (PA), and possibly DAS Jim Dobbins (EUR), will brief the group on Thursday 10/28 at 10:00 on the special NATO Information Symposium hosted by the UK on October 14-16. Messrs. Kelly and Dobbins, along with Judy Jamison of USIA/EU, represented the US at this meeting. We have rescheduled John Kornblum's briefing on Germany for 10:30 this Thursday. Looking ahead, we will try to provide a briefing on November 4 on the information bilaterals being held with Italy and the FRG. We will also ask Dr. Gerald Hursh-Cesar, Acting Director of USIA's Office of Research, to brief the group on efforts to form a public transAtlantic consensus on defense issues.

Report on 10/21 Meeting

1. CSCE Follow-Up. Perlman (USIA/EU) reported that the following actions are being taken as a follow-up to the discussion with Ambassador Kampelman earlier this month: a) a USIA officer will be assigned to the US Delegation at Madrid; b) a USIA Wireless writer will be assigned; and c) a VOA stringer will also be asked to cover the Madrid meeting. It is hoped that these three actions, along with programming official travelers in Europe who are knowledgeable on CSCE, will help us to get our case across better in Western Europe.
2. NATO Force Comparison Paper. Lt. Col. Halgus (EUR/RPM) reported that while the Department will support an update in 1983, there is apparently some reluctance at NATO (DRC) to do an up-date so soon because of time pressures. He pointed out, however, that there is considerable military support at NATO and in capitals, for an update. It was also noted that this question was discussed favorably at the NATO Information Symposium in the UK. It was agreed within the group that the Force Comparison has given us continuing public affairs benefits, particularly in helping to support the case for a US and NATO defense build-up. Col. Halgus also reported that we have supported the Dutch suggestion for two versions of the Force Comparison, one for the general public and one for experts, and that we are analyzing the Soviet rebuttal to the Force Comparison.

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3. AirLand Battle. Lt. Col. Halgus also briefed on the public affairs implications of our AirLand Battle doctrine. He distributed the press guidance on this issue, emphasizing that it is strictly for contingency use. Points we should stress in public handling are that the doctrine advocates no change in NATO strategy, in nuclear release procedures or in the political consultations needed for cross-border actions, and that the inherent goal of the doctrine is to strengthen conventional defense. Col. Halgus undertook to keep the group briefed on this issue.

4. Forced Labor in the USSR. Steiner and Clear briefed on our proposed response to the request made by the Senate, which is due by 10/29. The Department of Labor (Kucherov) agreed to provide more information to clarify how we should approach the issue of forced labor on the part of prisoners, including political prisoners. It was agreed that in our response to the Senate we would not submit any intelligence material but will simply point out that this can be obtained through the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. This issue will be pursued further at a special meeting on Monday, 10/25, 3:00-4:30 pm in the EUR Conference Room (6226).

Agenda for 10/28

1. Briefing on NATO Information Symposium (Kelly, Dobbins, Jamison)
2. Briefing on FRG Political Changes and Public Opinion (Kornblum)
3. Update on Repression in USSR and GDR
4. Update on Forced Labor in USSR (Clear)

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