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P/DoD Conference.

HRA INC.

HAROLD ROSENBAUM ASSOCIATES, INC.

111 South Bedford Street, Burlington, MA 01803 (617) 273-1964

15 November 1984
HR/84/3424

Mr. Walter Raymond, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Walt:

Thanks so very much for taking the time to meet with us yesterday. As promised I am enclosing copies of both the agendas and lists of participants from our first three conferences. I also enclose the message received from Norway which outlines the suggested agenda for that upcoming conference.

I am, as I indicated, quite sensitive to the need to extract more public diplomacy effort from our conferences. We have managed to build an excellent base. We are trusted by both the U.S. embassies and the host country think tanks. In fact, they are, with our encouragement, arranging co-sponsored events amongst themselves and between themselves and private foundations. That is an important byproduct if we want to have a lasting effect but still more needs to be done.

The format of the Norway conference is a step in the right direction. Even more so since it was "initiated" by an embassy and a Norwegian think tank that were initially quite hesitant to become involved at all. We have taken pains to ensure that the English, Dutch, Germans, Danes and the Norwegians are now part of our network and it has paid off. After seeing the kind of high level work we presented in Denmark the Norwegians endorsed our proposal for a conference in their country. This is a direct result, I think, of presenting military threat data in a technically accurate as opposed to rhetorical way.

Still more needs to be done. And here the suggestion you made about bringing some of the participants of the past conferences to the U.S. both for a meeting and speaking tours is an excellent idea. I have shared your thoughts with my DoD public diplomacy colleagues and they too were enthusiastic. I would like very much to pursue your idea when we next meet.

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One of the challenges we face in our program is to achieve a sustaining effect. Conferences are spasmodic events that create instant publicities and then disappear. Your idea is one way to sustain interest and we have started on an additional approach. Our notion, which has had some effect to date, involves the use of European based personnel who act as consultants to us, attend our conferences, and then prepare various articles for publication in host nation newspapers. We expect some op-ed pieces in London papers and have the prospect of BBC TV program devoted to the subject of the conference. By no means have we done enough of this and it is our hope to do more in the coming year.

I will be contacting you next week to try to arrange the meeting you suggested. Your help and advice is greatly appreciated and quite frankly, necessary if we are to take advantage of all we have done. Thanks again for your help.

Sincerely,



Harold Rosenbaum
President

HR/cs

Enclosures

DEUTSCHES STRATEGIE-FORUM

Südstraße 125
5300 Bonn 2
Telefon (0228) 31 17 12

TEILNEHMERLISTE

(List of ATTENDEES)

der

KONFERENZ

"AIR SUPERIORITY and THE OPERATIONAL MANEUVER in
SOVIET WAR PLANNING"

am 27./28. Juni 1984 im Rheinhof Dreesen
Bonn-Bad Godesberg

Durchgeführt vom DEUTSCHEN STRATEGIE-FORUM
in Verbindung mit
The BOSTON FOREIGN AFFAIRS GROUP

✓ ALTENBURG, Wolfgang, General, Generalinspekteur der Bundeswehr

BAHNEMANN, Jörg, Brigadegeneral, Luftflottenkommando

✓ BEARD, Jr., Robin L., Asst. Secretary General for Defense Support U.S.NATO

BARKLEY, Richard C., Political Counselor, U.S. Embassy

BECKER, Kurt, Staatssekretär a.D.

BERGER, Markus, MdB

BERNAU, Joachim,

BLUM, Eberhard, Präsident des Bundesnachrichtendienstes

BRANDT, Jürgen, General a.D.

✓ BRECKENRIDGE, Robert, Senior Analyst, Harold Rosenbaum Assoc. Inc.

Cay Graf BROCKDORFF

Dr. v. BOLOW, Andreas, Bundesminister a.D., MdB

BROWN, James R., Major General, SHAPE

BELL, Wolf, Journalist

✓ CASSIDY, Paul, USAF European Deputy Political Advisor, London

CESSOTTI, Roderich, Generalmajor a.D.

✓ Dr. CORTIER, Peter, MdB

✓ CLARK, John, Major, Intelligence Manager, USAF Electronic Combat
Intelligence Group

✓ CLARK, Robert, Col. U.S. Mission to NATO

COUZY, Hans, Oberst i.G., Vorsitzender des "Koninklijke Vereniging ter
Beoefening van de Krijgswetenschap"

CHRISTIAN, Jan-Lothar, Brigadegeneral a.D.

DAVEY, PIO, Sqn Ldr, HQ RAF Germany

DENKER, Jürgen, Oberst, MilGeoAmt

DOERTER, Rolf, Oberstleutnant d.R.

✓ DOMROSE, Lothar, Generalleutnant a.D., Präsident der Clausewitz-
Gesellschaft

Donnelly, Christopher, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst

DORNISCH, Werner, MdB

Dipl.Ing. EBERHARD, Hans, Ministerialdirektor a.D.
EIMLER, Eberhard, Generalleutnant, Inspekteur der Luftwaffe
EHRENBERG, Wolfram, Oberstleutnant i.G. , BMVg
ERDSACK, Werner, Dipl.-Politologe, Deutscher Bundeswehrverband

FARWICK, Dieter, Oberst i.G., BMVg
✓ FEAZEL, Michael, Bureau Chief, Brussels Aviation Week a. Space Technology
FECHNER, Wolfgang, Journalist
Dr. FEIGL, Hubert, Stiftung Wissenschaft u. Politik
✓ FELDES, Eberhard, Kapitän z.S., BMVg
FISCHER, Wulf D., Kapitän z.S., Bundespräsidialamt
FRICKE, Gerd, Oberst a.D.
FREVERT-NIEDERMEIN, Alexander, Generalmajor a. D.

GARDEN, Timothy, Group Captain
GAUCHEL, Oberstleutnant i.G., BMVg
GLANZ, Meinhard, Generalleutnant, Inspekteur des Heeres
✓ GÜLZOW, Hartmut, Generalmajor, Chef Stab Fü L, BMVg
Dr. GUBMANN, Hans Ulrich, Präsident der Deutschen Gesellschaft für
Wehrtechnik
✓ Dr.-Ing., GASSNER, Gerd
✓ HAGE, Jeff, Major
HIDDEMA, Hugo Willem, Oberst i.G., Verteidigungs-u. Heeresattaché bei
der Kgl. Niederländischen Botschaft
✓ HINES, John G., Lt.Col., Military Assistant to the Director, Net Assessment
Office of the Secretary of Defense
Prof. Dr. HOFMANN, Hans W., Hochschule der Bundeswehr, München
✓ Dr. HUGHES, Peter C., Director, Harold Rosenbaum Assoc, Inc.

Prof. Dr. KALTEFLEITER, Werner, Institut für politische Wissenschaft der
Universität Kiel

Keerl, Carl-Albert, Oberst a.D.
KLATTE, Brigadegeneral, Materialamt der Luftwaffe
✓ KLOSKE, Dennis, Special Assistant to the Ambassador U.S. Mission to NATO
✓ KOMER, Robert, Ambassador (ret.) Senior Researcher, Rand Corporation
KOROPP, Oberst i.G., Luftwaffenunterstützungskommando

- ✓ LAWSON, Richard L., General, Deputy Commander in Chief US Forces Europe
- ✓ Lippert, Günter, Oberstleutnant, Streitkräfteamt
- ✓ Dr. MANSFIELD, John E., Assistant to the Deputy Director of Science & Technology for Theoretical Research Hqs., Defense Nuclear Agency
- ✓ MARSHALL, Andrew, Director of Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense
- ✓ MATTHEWS, Mark, Col., U.S. Mission to NATO
- ✓ MELANSON, Jr., Edward J., Captain, Asst. for Space Policy, Intelligence & Space Policy Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
- Prof. MEYER, Stephen M., Assoc Professor of Political Science Ctr. for Int. Studies Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- NERLICH, Uwe, Direktor Stiftung Politik und Wissenschaft
- ✓ Dr. v. NORDHEIM, Manfred, Corporate V.P. for North America MBB
- Dr. NIEMEYER, Klaus, IABG
- OLDEWURTEL, Bernd, KKpt, Institut für Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Kiel
- ✓ Dr. PAULS, Rolf Friedemann, Botschafter a.D., Vorsitzender des Deutschen Strategie-Forum
- ✓ PENNINGTON, Rana J., Captain, Soviet Air Analyst, Defense Intelligence Agency
- ✓ PHELPS, H. Root, Chief, Political Military Unit, U.S. Embassy
- ✓ PERLE, Richard N., Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy
- ✓ PETERSEN, Phillip A., Assist. for Europe on the Policy Support Program Staff Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
- PEPPER, R.H., Major, HQ BAOR
- PETERSEN, Peter, MdB
- ✓ PHILIPP, Manfred, Brigadegeneral, BMVg
- ✓ Plowden, Brigadier General Robert
- POEPPEL, Hans, Generalleutnant a.D., Präsident der Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde
- POND, Elisabeth, Korrespondentin
- POSER, Günther, Konteradmiral a.D.
- PRAYON, Horst, Oberst, BMVg
- QUAYLE, David, Brigadegeneral, Defence Section, Britische Botschaft
- Dr. RAMAER, J.C., Adviser on International Relations to the President N.V. Philips
- v. RAVEN, Wolfgang, Chefredakteur

- RHODE, Jens, Oberstleutnant i.G., BMVg
- ✓ Dr. ROSENBAUM, Harold, Harold Rosenbaum Assoc., Inc.
- ROTHE, Oberst i.G., Luftwaffenunterstützungskommando
- ✓ Dr. RÖHLE, Hans, Ministerialdirektor, Leiter Planungsstab, BMVg
- ✓ RÖHLE, Michael
- Dr. RODDENKLAU, Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft f. Auswärtige
v.d. SCHULENBURG, Paul W., Oberst i.G., BMVg Politik
- Dr. SCHNELL, Karl, General a.D., Staatssekretär a.D.
- ✓ SCHEMMER, Benjamin, Editor, Armed Forces Journal
- ✓ Dr. SCHNEIDER, Jr., William, Under Secretary of State for Security
Assistance, Science & Technology, Dept of State
- SCHNEIDER, E., Brigadegeneral, HQ AFCENT
- Dr. SCHUMACHER, Ulrike, Institut für Sicherheitspolitik an der
Universität Kiel
- STEINHOFF, Johannes, General a.D.
- ✓ Dr. STRATMANN, Peter, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
- Dr. STABREIT, Immo, Ministerialdirigent, Bundeskanzleramt
- Frhr von STEINAECKER, Günter, Oberst i.G., BMVg
- SEIFERT, Dipl.-Ing.
- Dr. TEGNELIA, James, Assist Under Secretary of Defense for Conventional
Initiatives Office of the Under Secretary of Defense
for Research & Engineering.
- ✓ TEALMAN, Greg, Officer, Political Military Unit, U.S. Embassy
- THIEL, Rainer, Oberst i.G., BMVg
- THOMER, Egbert, Chefredakteur
- TOUSSAINT, Reiner, Oberst i.G., HQ AFCENT
- VOIGT, Karsten, MdB
- Dr. WEISE, Hans-Heinrich, Ministerialrat, BMVg
- ✓ WARREN, Raymond, Director of the Policy Support Program Office of the
Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
- WENNER, Horst, Generalleutnant a.D.
- WESTPHAL, Günther, Oberst i.G., BMVg
- WILLIAMS, Charles L., Col., Defense and Army Attaché, U.S.A.
- WIMMER, Willy, MdB
- Dr. WÖRNER, Manfred, Bundesminister der Verteidigung
- WOESSNER, William M., Generalmajor, U.S. Army

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AGENDA

"AIR SUPERIORITY AND THE OPERATIONAL MANEUVER IN SOVIET WAR PLANNING"

CONFERENCE

Sponsored by

DEUTSCHES STRATEGIE-FORUM
(The German Strategy Forum)

and

THE BOSTON FOREIGN AFFAIRS GROUP

WEDNESDAY
27 Jun

15.00	Eröffnung der Konferenz	Dr. Rolf Friedemann Pauls
	-Priorities in the Coming Decade	Honorable Richard N. Perle Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy
	-Soviet Air and Anti-Air Operations	Mr. Phillip A. Petersen Assistant for Europe on the Policy Support Program Staff, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Major John Clark Intelligence Manager, USAF/INW
	-Comments	Professor Stephen Meyer Associate Professor of Political Science, Center for Int'l Affairs, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Captain Rana J. Pennington Soviet Air Analyst, Defense Intelligence Agency
	-Rolle der Luftstreitkräfte in der NATO/Aufgabe der Luftwaffe im Rahmen der FLEXIBLE RESPONSE	Generalmajor Hartmut Gülzow Chef des Stabes Fü L, BMVg
	-Comments	General Wolfgang Altenburg Generalinspekteur d. Bundeswehr General Richard Lawson Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S.-European Command
18.30	-Reception	

THURSDAY
28 Jun

09.00	-Konsequenzen der WP- Luftüberlegenheit für das Operationsgebiet der Deutschen Marine	Kpt z.S. Eberhard Feldes Fü M VI 4, BMVg
09:30	-Roles and Impact of Air Power	Group Captain Timothy Garden
	-The Operational Maneuver Group: The Debate and the Reality	Lt.Col. John G. Hines Military Asst. to the Director, Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense
	-Comments	Dr. John E. Mansfield Assistant to the Deputy Director of Science & Technology for Theoretical Research, Hqs., Defense Nuclear Agency
	-Soviet Operational Concepts	Christopher Donnelly Head Soviet Studies Research Centre, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst
	-Bemerkungen zur OMG	OTL Günter Lippert, SKA
12:00	-Comments	Honorable Robin L. Beard, Jr. Assistant Secretary General for Defense Support, U.S. NATO
12:30	Mittagspause	
13:15	-The Political Context of the Defense of Europe	Ministerialdirektor Dr. Hans Rühle, BMVg
	-Comments	Dr. William Schneider, Jr. Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology
	Schlußbemerkung	Generalleutnant a.D. Lothar Domröse
16:00	Ende der Konferenz	

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CONFERENCE ON
SOVIET MILITARY STRATEGY AGAINST WESTERN EUROPE

HELD AT
NUNEHAM PARK CONFERENCE CENTER
OXFORDSHIRE, ENGLAND

24-25 SEPTEMBER 1984

CO-SPONSORED BY
ROYAL UNITED SERVICES INSTITUTE
FOR DEFENCE STUDIES

AND
THE BOSTON FOREIGN AFFAIRS GROUP

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Monday
24 September 1984

9:00am	Coach transportation departs from Mandeville Hotel to Nuneham Park Conference Centre	
11:30	"Evolution of Military Strategy Under Contemporary Soviet Military Doctrine"	Mr. Phillip A. Petersen Asst. for Europe on the Public Diplomacy Staff of the Deputy Under Secretary for Policy, DoD
	Discussants	TBA
12:30	Lunch	
2:00	General Discussion	
3:30	Break	
4:00	"Weapons of Mass Destruction in Soviet Strategy"	Mr. Notra Trulock Science Applications, Inc.
	Discussants	TBA
7:30	Dinner	

Tuesday
25 September 1984

9:30am	"Flexible Options and Escalation in NATO Strategy"	Professor Lawrence Freedman Professor of War Studies, Kings College, London
	Discussants	
12:00	Lunch	
2:00	"The Implications of Changes in Soviet Strategy for the Broader Aspects of NATO Defense Policy and Military Strategy"	Air Commodore Roger H. Palin, O.B.E. Director, Program Staff (Policy & Programs), Ministry of Defense
		Air Commodore Barry Higgs, C.B.E. Deputy Director, Intelligence (Warsaw Pact), Ministry of Defense

	Discussants	TBA
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(approx) 4:30	Coach transportation departs from Nuneham Park Conference Centre to Mandeville Hotel	
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6:30	Reception - U.S. Embassy Host:	
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	Mr. Paul Cassidy Political-Military Attache U.S. Embassy, London
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011 441 499-9000 x: 2123

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TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR
CONFERENCE ON THE CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE IN EUROPE
TO BE HELD AT
THE ISS CENTER FOR MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT
(Kongevejen 195, DK-2840 Holte, Denmark)

19-21 OCTOBER 1984

FRIDAY, 19 OCTOBER

12.30-17.00pm Arrival and Registration
 of Participants

18.00-19.00pm Opening Dinner

19.30-21.30pm Conference Opens

"The Soviet Conceptual Framework
for Military Operations"

Discussants

Mr. Niels J. Haagerup,
Dr. Harold Rosenbaum

Mr. Phillip A. Petersen
Assistant for Europe, Public
Diplomacy Staff, Office of
the Deputy Under Secretary
for Policy, DoD

Professor Niels Erik Rosenfeld
The Institute for Slav Studies
University of Copenhagen

Mr. Theodore Neely
Foreign Writing Analyst,
Chief of Naval Operations
Department of the Navy

Dr. Harold Rosenbaum
President
Harold Rosenbaum Assoc., Inc.

SATURDAY, 20 OCTOBER

08.00-09.00am Breakfast

09.00-12.00am "Soviet Naval Operations in
 Theatre Warfare"

Discussants

Commander Hans Garde
Royal Danish Navy

Professor Bent Jensen
University of Odense

Lt. Colonel K.G.H. Hillingsø
Royal Danish Army

Dr. Roy Kirvan
Western Theatre of Military
Operations Analyst, Naval
Operations Intelligence Ctr

(10.30-10.45am) Coffee

cont'd....

12.00-13.00pm	Lunch	
14.00-17.00pm	"The New Trends in Military Technology"	Dr. James Tegnalia Assistant Under Secretary of Defense for Conventional Initiatives, DoD
	Discussants:	Mr. V. Güntelberg Head of the Research Services of the Danish Armed Forces
(15.30-15.45pm)	Coffee	Mr. Edward H. Josephson Director, Business Development Tactical Systems, AVCO Corporation, Systems Div.
		<i>Mr. Wm Schneider</i> Mr. Fred Marion Vice President, Tactical Interdiction Systems, Missile Systems Division, Martin Marietta Corporation
18.00-19.00pm	Dinner	
19.30pm	"Public Opinion and Western Security"	Professor Ib Faurby Institute for Political Science, Univ. of Aarhus
	Discussants:	Professor P.L. Ølgaard Technical University of Denmark, Department of Electrophysics
		Mr. Richard E. Bissell Executive Editor Washington Quarterly
		Mr. John Wood Oxford Analytica Kent House Marketplace

SUNDAY, 21 OCTOBER

08.00-09.00am	Breakfast	
09.00-12.00am	"Conventional Deterrence in the Baltic"	Introduction: Dr. Harold Rosenbaum and Commander Hans Garde
	Discussion	
11.00-11.15am	Coffee	
11.15-12.00am	Summary and Conclusions	Mr. Niels J. Haagerup The Danish Institute of International Studies
12.00-13.00pm	Lunch and Departure	

"SOVIET MILITARY STRATEGY AND WESTERN RESPONSES"

Danish participants in the Seminar from 19th to 21th October in Holte

Erik Beukel	Associate Professor	University of Odense
Mogens Espersen	Journalist	Radio News, Copenhagen
Ib Faurby	Associate Professor	University of Aarhus
E. Fournais	Colonel (ret.)	
H. Frank	Commander	Danish Defence Staff
Troels Frøling	Head of Section	Danish Defence Staff
Hans Garde	Commander	Royal Danish Navy
Per S. Groot	Ambassador, Head of Disarmament Division	Danish Foreign Ministry
V.M. Güntelberg	Director of Research	Danish Armed Forces
Hugo Gården	Journalist	Ritzaus Bureau, Copenhagen
Bertel Heurling	Associate Professor	University of Copenhagen
K.G.H. Hillingsøe	Lt.Col.	Royal Danish Army
R.K. Jakobsen	Lt.Col.	Danish Defence Staff
Bent Jensen	Professor	University of Odense
S.S. Jensen	Lt.Col.	Royal Danish Army
H.H. Koch	Former Head of The Danish Disarmament Committee	
O.K. Lind	General	Chief of Defence
Michael Matthiessen	Danish Foreign Ministry	
Kjeld Mortensen	Ambassador, Chairman of the Danish Government's	Committee on Security and Disarmament
K.V. Nielsen	Lt.Col.	Royal Danish Army
Niels Nørlund	Editor and Columnist	Berlingske Tidende, Copenhagen
Bjarne Nørretranders	Professor	University of Copenhagen

Danish participants in the Seminar from 19th to 21th October in Holte (continued):

K. Carsten Pedersen	Head of Division	Danish Defence Staff
Nikolaj Petersen	Associate Professor	University of Aarhus
Herbert Pundik	Editor-in-Chief	Politiken, Copenhagen
N.E. Rosenfeldt	Associate Professor	University of Copenhagen
Christian Thune	Associate Professor, Charman of the	Danish Institute of International Studies
Johan Wilhjelm	Director	Danish Foreign Policy Society
P.L. Ølgaard	Professor	Danish Technical University

Niels Jørgen Haagerup	Chariman of The Danish Strategic Study Group, Director	Danish Institute of International Studies
Sanne Garavano	Chief Administrative Assistant to Mr. Haagerup	
Anni Cameron	Secretary, formerly with the Danish Institute of International Studies	

MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM NORWAY

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
JCS MESSAGE CENTER

ROUTINE
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USMISSION USNATO 4803

SECTION 01 OF 02 OSLO 08179

E. O. 12358: DECL: 11/02/09
TAGS: PREL, MARR, NO
SUBJ: DOD PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CONFERENCE -- NORWAY

REF : OSLO 5582

1. (U) SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED: THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COLLEGE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (NDCAA) HAS AGREED TO CO-SPONSOR THE DOD PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CONFERENCE. THEY HAVE PROPOSED DATES (APRIL 25-27) AND A SPECIFIC PROGRAM (SEE BELOW) ON WHICH THEY WOULD LIKE DOD'S COMMENTS AND CONCURRENCE. NDCAA BELIEVES THAT THE PROGRAM AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TWO CO-HOSTS SHOULD BE SPELLED OUT SIMPLY IN WRITING AND HAS ASKED HOW THIS MIGHT BE DONE. NDCAA IS WILLING ALSO TO HELP WITH ARRANGING A SIMILAR CONFERENCE IN ICELAND, BUT ASKS FOR SPECIFIC INDICATION OF WHAT ITS ROLE IS TO BE, BEFORE MAKING A FINAL DECISION. EMBASSY REQUESTS DOD COMMENTS AND CONCURRENCE IN NDCAA PROPOSED PROGRAM AND RESPONSES TO THEIR OTHER QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED.

2. (U) NDCAA BOARD MEMBER GUNNAR LUNDE INFORMED EMBOFF AND PAO NOVEMBER 2 THAT NDCAA HAS DECIDED TO CO-SPONSOR. THIS DECISION WAS PREMISED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AGREEMENT WOULD BE REACHED ON THE PROGRAM FOR THE CONFERENCE. LUNDE SAID NDCAA PROPOSES THAT THE CONFERENCE BE HELD DURING APRIL 25 (THURSDAY)-27 (SATURDAY), 1985. THE NDCAA PROPOSES A PROGRAM ALONG THE LINES DISCUSSED WITH PETERSEN/ROSENBAUM IN COPENHAGEN, INVOLVING A TWO-STAGE FORMAT AND INCLUDING ALL THE SPECIFIC PAPERS SUGGESTED BY DOD. THE NDCAA PROPOSAL IS AS FOLLOWS:

3. (U) PROGRAM:

THURSDAY, APRIL 25

A.M. OPEN SEMINAR ENTITLED "SOVIET THREAT: MYTH OR REALITY: PART I
(200-INVITEES, OPEN TO PRESS -- SEE NOTE BELOW)

LUNCH FOR SEMINAR INVITEES

P.M. OPEN SEMINAR: PART II

DINNER FOR CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS ONLY (POSSIBLE PRESENTATION ON NORWEGIAN SECURITY DEBATE)

EVENING FREE

FRIDAY, APRIL 26

A.M. OPENING PRESENTATION: (ABBREVIATED VERSION OF PETERSEN'S CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK PAPER)
PAPER: SOVIET FRONT OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS

U.S. PRESENTER
TWO DISCUSSANTS (ONE NORWEGIAN, ONE CHOSEN BY U.S.)

LUNCH FOR CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

P.M. PAPER: AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE OPERATIONS

ACTION USDP(15) (M)
INFO SECDEF:(*) SECDEF(9) ASD:PA&E(1) USDP:EUR(6) NMIC(*)
DIO(1) DB-3B(2) DIA(1)

SECTIONAL(1)

TOTAL COPIES REQUIRED 35

TWO NORWEGIAN PRESENTERS
TWO DISCUSSANTS (ONE NORWEGIAN, ONE AMERICAN)

DINNER FOR CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

EVENING FREE

SATURDAY, APRIL 27

A.M. PAPER: SOVIET VIEW OF THE ROLE OF NEUTRALS
TWO PRESENTERS (ONE SWEDEN AND HOPEFULLY ONE FINN -- NDCAA TO RECRUIT)
TWO DISCUSSANTS

LUNCH FOR CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

5. (U) LUNDE NOTED THAT THE FORMAL PRESENTATIONS DID NOT INCLUDE A PAPER ON THE NORWEGIAN SECURITY DEBATE ALONG THE LINES OF THE USEFUL AND WELL RECEIVED PAPER ON THE DANISH SECURITY DEBATE AT THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE. NDCAA WAS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS ON HOW SOMETHING SIMILAR MIGHT BE INCLUDED, WITHOUT, HOWEVER, ARRANGING A FORMAL EVENING SESSION. EMBOFF SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A DINNER SPEAKER ADDRESS THE SUBJECT AND FIELD QUESTIONS. LUNDE SAID THIS WAS A POSSIBILITY.

7. (U) LUNDE COMMENTED THAT ALL OF THE ABOVE WAS IN LINE WITH HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PETERSEN AND ROSENBAUM IN COPENHAGEN AND THAT HE HOPED WE COULD AGREE ON THE DATES AND PROGRAM SO THAT THE NDCAA COULD BEGIN MAKING ARRANGEMENTS. LUNDE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE WISE TO RECORD IN SOME SIMPLE FASHION WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED AND WHAT EACH CO-HOSTS BASIC RESPONSIBILITIES WERE. BESIDES, THE NDCAA NEEDED SOMETHING IN WRITING FOR ITS OWN INTERNAL USES. HE ASKED HOW THIS MIGHT BE DONE, FOR INSTANCE, BY LETTERS BETWEEN THE BOSTON FOREIGN AFFAIRS GROUP AND NDCAA.

8. (U) AS FOR ICELAND, THE NDCAA IS WILLING TO COOPERATE IN HOSTING A SUBSEQUENT CONFERENCE IN ICELAND. HOWEVER, LUNDE ASKED FOR A MORE SPECIFIC STATEMENT AS TO WHAT NDCAA'S ROLE WOULD BE IN A CONFERENCE IN ICELAND, PARTICULARLY HOW DOD ENVISAGED ITS RELATING TO THE

9. (U) EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE DOD'S PASSING ON UNCLASSIFIED PORTIONS OF THIS MESSAGE TO THE BOSTON FOREIGN AFFAIRS GROUP. EMBASSY WILL BE CONTACTING ROSENBAUM DIRECTLY ON OTHER SPECIFIC ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS. WOODS BT

ACTION USDP(15) (I,M)
INFO SECDEF:(*) SECDEF(9) ASD:PA&E(1) USDP:EUR(6) NMIC(*)
DIO(1) DB-3B(2) DIA(1)

SECTIONAL(1)

TOTAL COPIES REQUIRED 35

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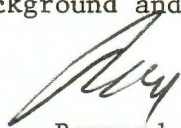
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF
DEFENSE FOR POLICY

December 4, 1984

Memo for Walt Raymond

Walt,

This is a copy of a report I have forwarded to Dr. Ikle through General Stilwell on our program. I doubt that Dr. Ikle has seen this yet. After he reacts to our program proposals in Tab B, we will coordinate with State, USIA and the Embassies. This is for your background and information only.


Raymond A. Warren
Director
Policy Support Programs

Circulate for staff comment

HRA INC. | HAROLD ROSENBAUM ASSOCIATES, INC.

Dr. Harold Rosenbaum
President

Washington, D.C. (202) 457-0762
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OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D C 20301

29 NOV 1984

POLICY

MEMORANDUM FOR UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: Deputy Under Secretary of Defense

SUBJECT: Policy Support Programs: Present and Future

It has been approximately eighteen months since OSD began its public diplomacy efforts. The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize the present activities of this office, to provide a preliminary assessment of its past public diplomacy role, and to outline our plans for the coming year. Present activities fall under five broad categories:

- Research conferences
- Research without conferences
- Publications
- Audiovisual projects
- Interagency coordination

The primary focus of this office has been on staging a series of conferences on defense-related subjects. Thirteen conferences have been held so far this year in nine different locales -- Tokyo (3), London (2), Paris, Bonn, Rome, Copenhagen, San Jose, Santo Domingo, Monterey, and Urbana-Champaign. These conferences have generally focused on Soviet strategy and on enhancing deterrence. The themes of the two conferences held in the United States were: "Soviet/Cuban Strategy in the Caribbean after Grenada", and the "Indian/Pakistan Relationship and its Impact on U.S. Defense Policies in South Asia."

The "research without conferences" category has consisted of two efforts: one by Oxford Analytica Ltd to research how best to conduct a conference program in Europe, and the other a small contract awarded to Admiral Vasey's Pacific Forum to survey the Pacific Basin for the same goal. Both efforts are being used extensively to structure DoD Public Diplomacy programs.

The third major area of activity involves publications. We have prepared, published, distributed, and financed the following publications:

- Grenada Documents: An Overview and Selection. 10,000 copies were printed at the cost of \$42,485. The overview was prepared by Michael Ledeen and Herbert Romerstein and the book contains copies of 113 documents captured at the time of the Grenada operation.
- News Briefing on Intelligence Information and External Support of the Guerrillas in El Salvador. 10,000 copies were printed

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at the cost of \$17,000. This publication was based on a news briefing given by Thomas R. Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, and General Paul F. Gorman, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command.

- Background Paper: Nicaragua's Military Build-up and Support for Central American Subversion. 16,000 copies were printed at a cost of \$18,000. This publication documented Nicaragua's military build-up and its support for insurgency in Central America.
- Grenada: October 25 to November 2, 1983. Approximately 5,000 copies were printed in coordination with DIA and ASD/PA. This publication was produced in connection with the display of captured armaments and ammunition at Andrews Air Force Base in November 1983.

In three of these four publications, DoD teamed up with the Department of State to sponsor and produce them. USIA translated the Background Paper on Nicaragua and the Gorman/Pickering News Briefing into Spanish and is distributing them overseas. In addition to these four documents, a fifth publication entitled Soviet Power Projection in Central America and the Caribbean is almost ready for publication. Through these publications we have developed an interagency mechanism that can be used as needed to produce and distribute future publications in support of U.S. defense policy.

Audiovisual support has been found to be essential for a successful program in Latin America. There, TV stations are anxious to play videotapes of our conferences and the U.S. embassies have found the idea attractive. In addition to the videotaping of our conferences, we are preparing a 20-minute film entitled "El Salvador: A Nation Under Siege." This effort is in support of General Gorman's need for an orientation film to be shown to newly arrived military personnel, visiting CODELS, and other appropriate groups. Unfortunately, we have been unsuccessful in getting these efforts completed on a timely basis. We are working closely with Defense Audiovisual Agency to forecast future needs so that funding and dedicated support for our audiovisual efforts will be readily available.

The final aspect of our work deals with interagency planning and coordination of the administration's public diplomacy program. A number of interagency mechanisms have been set up for this purpose. Those that meet most often are: the Executive Committee, the International Broadcasting Committee, the Interagency Working Group on Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Soviet Political Action Group. Through these mechanisms, a more coherent, effective approach to major public diplomacy problems is being developed and implemented. The latest example was the public diplomacy action plan carried out in connection with the first anniversary of the Grenada Operation.

The following is a summary of our accomplishments:

- We have demonstrated to the Washington bureaucracy and to our embassies abroad that DoD can stage a conference in almost any part of the world without adverse political fallout. We have demonstrated to our embassies that we can help them achieve their local goals.

- We have strengthened DoD's ties with defense specialists in academia, think tanks, and the media through our serious, responsible, and scholarly treatment of defense issues.
- We have deepened the public debate on Soviet strategy by declassifying important intelligence items.
- We have contributed to the strengthening of a consensus on the Soviet threat, what to do about it, and especially the need to enhance the credibility of our deterrence at the conventional level.

To enhance the impact of our conference efforts, we need to follow up with foreign contacts in a variety of ways to promote successful networking. This is where the pay-off lies for public diplomacy but it requires effort and manpower. We feel this to be an important portion of our program, but we are not doing a good enough job at it. We cannot contract this function outside of the Pentagon -- foreigners want to talk to OSD people.

Our conference efforts would have had greater resonance if full USIA support had been available from the beginning. The conference in Santo Domingo was our best example of how good support can benefit our program. USIA has now committed itself to providing this support and has named Ivan Klecka as our point of contact. We have a similar arrangement at State with Gil Robinson, but find our best results with State come from personally visiting the various embassies where we need local support.

Our biggest headache has been in inadequate office administration. We need an administrative assistant and two clerk typists to deal with our workload.

Attached at Tab A are the CY 84 and CY 85 programs already funded. Tab B contains the proposed studies with and without conferences for FY 85 funding. Request your comments on the proposed conferences at Tab B. This memo has been coordinated with ISA and ISP (Tab C). The conferences planned for Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia are subject to the outcome of an NSDD currently being prepared on this area.

Raymond A. Warren
Director
Policy Support Programs

Attachments:
a/s

Approved _____

Disapproved _____

Comments _____

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CY 1984/1985 SCHEDULE
FOR
DOD PUBLIC DIPLOMACY RESEARCH CONFERENCES (AS OF 30 OCTOBER 84)

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TITLE/COUNTRY</u>	<u>CONTRACTOR</u>	<u>CO-HOST</u>
Feb 12-14 '84	Cuban/Soviet Strategy and Policies in Central America and the Caribbean (Costa Rica)	University of Miami	CIAPA/La Nacion/ University of Costa Rica
Feb 16 '84	Soviet Maritime Power (U.K.)	Hudson Institute	Royal United Services Institute
Mar 14 '84	Soviet Strategy in Asia (Japan)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Japan World Strategy Council
May 7-8 '84	South Asian Security (Champaign, Illinois)	University of Illinois	None
May 15-17 '84	Soviet Strategy in Europe (Italy)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Various
May 29-30 '84	Soviet Strategy in Asia (Japan)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Japan World Strategy Council
Jun 21-22 '84	Resources/Soviet Policy in the Third World (France)	Hudson Institute	Atlantic Institute
Jun 27-28 '84	Soviet Military Strategy (FRG)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	German Strategy Forum
Aug 15-18 '84	Soviet/Cuban Strategy in the Third World after Grenada (Monterey, Ca.)	Naval Postgraduate School	Kennan Institute
Sep 5-7 '84	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Dominican Republic)	University of Miami	None
Sep 24-25 '84	Soviet Military Strategy (U.K.)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	RUSI/Chatham House
Oct 19-21 '84	Soviet Military Strategy (Denmark)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	Danish Foreign Policy Institute

Nov 20-21 '84	Soviet Strategy in Asia (Japan)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Japan World Strategy Council
Jan 7-8 '85	Soviet Strategy in Europe (FRG)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Institute for Security Studies (Kiel)
Feb 4-6 '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Venezuela)	University of Miami	Universidad Simon Bolivar
Feb/Mar '85	Reserve Officers Conferences on Defense Issues (Belgium)	Reserve Officers Association (ROA)	Belgium ROA
Feb/Mar '85	Reserve Officers Conferences on Defense Issues (UK)	Reserve Officers Association (ROA)	British Atlantic Committee
April '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Miami, FL)	University of Miami	None
April '85	Reserve Officers Conferences on Defense Issues (FRG)	Reserve Officers Association (ROA)	German ROA
May '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Barbados)	University of Miami	TBD
Spring '85	Soviet Military Strategy (Norway)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	Alumni Association of the Norwegian Defense College
Spring '85	Soviet Military Strategy (Iceland)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	TBD
Spring '85	Soviet Military Strategy (Turkey)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	Turkish Foreign Policy Institute and the Turkish Political and Social Studies Foundation (SISAV)
Jun '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Ecuador, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD

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Sep '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Jamaica, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD
Nov '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (El Salvador, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD
Dec '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Brazil or Argentina, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD

CY 84/85 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STUDIES WITHOUT CONFERENCES

Subject: The Conduct of US Defense Policy in Western Europe

Contractor: Oxford Analytica

Oxford Analytica is comprised of Oxford dons who surveyed perceptions of US defense policy in Western Europe. Their report consisted of three volumes titled: European Overview; Country Studies including Germany, UK, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Spain, and Portugal; and Media Appendices. In the study, European reactions to current American defense policies and European perceptions of future US defense initiatives were addressed. The study examined institutional, economic, and media structures at work in Europe; analyzed European and American perceptions; and reviewed public opinion in the context of how this might differ from governmental opinion. DoD Public Diplomacy conferences have drawn heavily from this study.

Subject: Soviet Policies in the Asia-Pacific Region

Contractor: Pacific Forum

Pacific Forum has organized three survey teams of leading specialists to assess current attitudes and reactions to Soviet policies in the Asia-Pacific region. The primary objectives of the project are: to increase awareness of the Soviet threat and the need for a common strategy among Asian-Pacific leaderships; to assess current threat perceptions in the various countries and to disseminate the findings of Pacific Forum's survey teams to a larger audience of civilian and governmental leaders in the region. Regional survey teams have completed visits to Southeast and Northeast Asia. The final portion of their study -- a fact-finding visit to Australia and New Zealand -- has just been completed.

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FY 85 Public Diplomacy Program

- Studies with Conferences

- New Technologies and the Economics of Defense
5 Conferences: France, FRG, The Netherlands, Belgium, and U.K.
Cost: \$350,000
Contractor: Center for Strategic Concepts, Ltd. (CSCL)
Director: Donald R. Cotter
Building on discussions with the U.S. embassies in each of the above countries, study would examine how "emerging technologies" (to include Strategic Defense Initiatives ((SDI)) and conventional weapons improvements) would impact future European defense programs. The Europeans are interested in payoffs for them--and these would be covered in discussions on offsets and economic cooperation. General Abrahamson's office has indicated that support, financial and otherwise, would be forthcoming.
- Soviet Threat to the PRC
1 Conference: Beijing
Initial Cost: \$40,000
Contractor: National Defense University (NDU)
Topics and reports will be the result of future negotiations with the PRC's Peoples Liberation Army's Military Academy. Conferences would be alternated every 6 to 12 months between Beijing and Washington, D.C.
- Human Costs of Soviet Aggression and Military Power Projection in Asia
1 Conference: Japan
Cost: \$70,000
Contractor: Pacific Forum and the Japan-American Defense League
Director: Admiral L.R. Vasey
A conference would be held at Hokkaido University's Slavic Research Center in Sapporo. Topics to be discussed at this conference would include: the implications of Soviet/Proxy use of Bio-Chemical warfare in South and Southeast Asia; Asian political stability and the refugee problem; Soviet force structure and increased military presence in Japan's Northern Territories.
- Soviet Military-Political Objectives in the Soviet Far East, the Far East, and the Southwest Pacific
1 Conference: Canberra, Australia
Cost: \$70,000
Contractor: To be competed
The conference would be hosted by the Australian National University's Strategic Defense Studies Center. We plan to solicit the participation of pro-defense policy makers, journalists, academicians, theologians and selected labor union leaders as well as editors of labor union journals.

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- Threat Perceptions of ASEAN Member States
 - 1 Conference: Jakarta, Indonesia
 - Cost: \$70,000
 - Contractor: Pacific Forum
 - Director: Admiral Vasey
 - A conference in Jakarta, the administrative headquarters of ASEAN, would address varying threat perceptions of member states regarding the USSR, China, and Viet Nam. The conference would also discuss the continuing Kampuchean problem, the future of Viet Nam's role in the area, Soviet direct/indirect aggression in Southeast Asia, as well as the US role in the region. The locale of this conference would lend recognition to the growing regional significance of Indonesia.
 - Algerian Security Concerns
 - 2 Conferences: Washington, D.C., and Algiers
 - Cost: \$125,000 to \$140,000
 - Contractor: Hudson Research Institute
 - Director: Francis J. (Bing) West
 - Hudson Institute would help Algeria establish an Institute for Strategic Studies (Algeria's first 'think tank'). Hudson would host a visiting Algerian MOD delegation, putting them in contact with other think tanks as well as instructing the visitors on defense-related issues. Algerian Army Major Bouchareb would head the visiting delegation. The second phase of the program would involve a US-Algerian conference in Algeria that would focus on regional security concerns. This conference would be the first time for DoD to explore strategic issues with the Algerian MOD.
 - The Security Setting in North Africa and the Southern Littoral of the Mediterranean
 - 2 Conferences: Morocco and Tunisia
 - Cost: \$150,000
 - Contractor: Hudson Institute
 - Director: Francis J. (Bing) West
 - Study would assess the current status and likely evolution of U.S. security relations with each country, focusing on the threats and external support of these threats. Study would also examine cooperative security arrangements between France, US, and North African countries.
 - Soviet Foreign and Security Policy: Its Role in the Foreign and Security Policies of Developing States
 - 3 Conferences: Istanbul, Madrid and Nairobi
 - Cost: \$240,000
 - Contractor: University of Illinois
 - Director: Roger E. Kanet and Edward A. Kolodziej
 - The study will fit various regional perspectives into an overall pattern of Soviet influences in the Third World. The focus will be to determine both in what ways the Soviet Union uses Third World nations, and conversely, how the Soviet Union is used as a regional extension of power by Third World states. The objective of the conference will be to reach some judgment about the relative merits of the Third World nations working with the Soviet Union. The conferences will draw upon Third World specialists who will suggest opportunities for shifting allegiances of Third World powers from Soviet or left-neutral orientations to more western ones.

- Revitalizing Defense-Deterrence in NATO-Europe
 1 Conference: Lisbon
 Cost: \$70,000
 Contractor: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis
 Director: Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
 The conference would host defense specialists from Portugal, Spain and France and would assess the role of the "Flanks" in evolving NATO strategy and force posture. Questions as to the employment by the USSR of an "envelopment option" would be addressed as would the need for NATO force restructuring to meet this option. The political decision-making frameworks for these countries would be discussed.

- Soviet African Policy and West African Stability
 1 Conference: Senegal or Ivory Coast
 Cost: \$80-100,000
 Contractor: To be competed
 Conference would examine political and military interactions among various African revolutionary governments and "national liberation movements", as well as West African threat perceptions. Direct and indirect ties with the Soviet Bloc, and the impact these relationships might have on West African security and U.S. relations with countries in the region would also be considered. Conference would complement the fact-finding study of Frank Gomez and Richard Miller.

- Influence of Soviet Active Measures on NATO Readiness
 1 Conference: Tufts European Center, France
 Cost: \$76,812
 Contractor: Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
 Director: TBD
 The conference would examine Soviet active measures and the widening role of Soviet peacetime activities targeted against NATO. The study would begin with an historical background of how the Soviets use techniques developed during World War II in pursuit of their peacetime strategy. This theme would be developed by looking at the Soviet apparatus for active measures -- to include the coordination between the KGB and the International Department of the Communist Party, the KGB's and Bloc's methods for increasing influence abroad, the coordination of Soviet internal propaganda, and an overall assessment of the impact of Soviet active measures on NATO readiness. Participants would be European and US defense specialists, academicians specializing in East/West or Soviet affairs, and journalists. This conference/study, proposed by USIA, will be sponsored by our office but worked in coordination with USIA.

Studies without Conferences

- Soviet/Cuban Influence and Projection in the Third World
 Series of Discussions
 Cost: \$70,000
 Contractor: International Business Communications
 Director: Frank Gomez and Richard Miller
 Proposal is to send a three member fact-finding team to Africa and Latin America to assess host country perceptions of Soviet/Cuban influence in these regions and to assess any resultant threats to regional security. The team would visit countries where public diplomacy conferences might

not be appropriate and would conduct round table discussions with host country governmental officials and academic/study center representatives. Mr. Gomez is former Director of the USIA Foreign Press Center and has extensive contacts in both regions.

Raymond
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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 20, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR RON LEHMAN
SVEN KRAEMER
JACK MATLOCK
CONSTANTINE MENGES
GASTON SIGUR
HOWARD TEICHER
PHIL RINGDAHL
DON FORTIER

FROM: WALT RAYMOND *WR*

SUBJECT: DOD Public Diplomacy Conferences FY 85

Attached herewith is a projected program schedule for FY 85 conferences that are being funded by "public diplomacy monies" and sponsored by DOD. The purpose, in the main, is to increase understanding and awareness of Soviet political and strategic policies and to help develop a network of concerned political and academic leaders in different parts of the world about the Soviet threat. There are several seminars listed here that will drop out and others can be added. Your thoughts on these specific proposals would be appreciated. If you have some that you would particularly like to see dropped or added let me know. In each case there will be consultation between DOD and the embassies before any plans are hardened up.

So that this does not get lost could you give me a turn around reaction by COB 21 December. Many thanks.

Attachment

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WORKING PAPERS

CY 1984/1985 SCHEDULE
FOR
DOD PUBLIC DIPLOMACY RESEARCH CONFERENCES (AS OF 30 OCTOBER '84)

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TITLE/COUNTRY</u>	<u>CONTRACTOR</u>	<u>CO-HOST</u>
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Mar 14 '84	Soviet Strategy in Asia (Japan)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Japan World Strategy Council
May 7-8 '84	South Asian Security (Champaign, Illinois)	University of Illinois	None
May 15-17 '84	Soviet Strategy in Europe (Italy)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Various
May 29-30 '84	Soviet Strategy in Asia (Japan)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Japan World Strategy Council
Jun 21-22 '84	Resources/Soviet Policy in the Third World (France)	Hudson Institute	Atlantic Institute
Jun 27-28 '84	Soviet Military Strategy (FRG)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	German Strategy Forum
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Sep 5-7 '84	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Dominican Republic)	University of Miami	None
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Oct 19-21 '84	Soviet Military Strategy (Denmark)	Harold Rosenbaum Associates	Danish Foreign Policy Institute

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Nov 20-21 '84	Soviet Strategy in Asia (Japan)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Japan World Strategy Council
Jan 7-8 '85	Soviet Strategy in Europe (FRG)	Interaction Systems, Inc.	Institute for Security Studies (Kiel)
Feb 4-6 '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Venezuela)	University of Miami	Universidad Simon Bolivar
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Jun '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Ecuador, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD

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Sep '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Jamaica, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD
Nov '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (El Salvador, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD
Dec '85	Strategic Challenges to Regional Security (Brazil or Argentina, tentative)	University of Miami	TBD

CY 84/85 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STUDIES WITHOUT CONFERENCES

Subject: The Conduct of US Defense Policy in Western Europe

Contractor: Oxford Analytica

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Subject: Soviet Policies in the Asia-Pacific Region

Contractor: Pacific Forum

Pacific Forum has organized three survey teams of leading specialists to assess current attitudes and reactions to Soviet policies in the Asia-Pacific region. The primary objectives of the project are: to increase awareness of the Soviet threat and the need for a common strategy among Asian-Pacific leaderships; to assess current threat perceptions in the various countries and to disseminate the findings of Pacific Forum's survey teams to a larger audience of civilian and governmental leaders in the region. Regional survey teams have completed visits to Southeast and Northeast Asia. The final portion of their study -- a fact-finding visit to Australia and New Zealand -- has just been completed.

FY 85 Public Diplomacy Program

- Studies with Conferences

- In Touch
w. Embassies*
- New Technologies and the Economics of Defense
5 Conferences: France, FRG, The Netherlands, Belgium, and U.K.
Cost: \$350,000
Contractor: Center for Strategic Concepts, Ltd. (CSCL)
Director: Donald R. Cotter
Building on discussions with the U.S. embassies in each of the above countries, study would examine how "emerging technologies" (to include Strategic Defense Initiatives ((SDI)) and conventional weapons improvements) would impact future European defense programs. The Europeans are interested in payoffs for them--and these would be covered in discussions on offsets and economic cooperation. General Abrahamson's office has indicated that support, financial and otherwise, would be forthcoming.
- Revised with
Beiping*
- Soviet Threat to the PRC
1 Conference: Beijing
Initial Cost: \$40,000
Contractor: National Defense University (NDU)
Topics and reports will be the result of future negotiations with the PRC's Peoples Liberation Army's Military Academy. Conferences would be alternated every 6 to 12 months between Beijing and Washington, D.C.
- Human Costs of Soviet Aggression and Military Power Projection in Asia
1 Conference: Japan
Cost: \$70,000
Contractor: Pacific Forum and the Japan-American Defense League
Director: Admiral L.R. Vasey
A conference would be held at Hokkaido University's Slavic Research Center in Sapporo. Topics to be discussed at this conference would include: the implications of Soviet/Proxy use of Bio-Chemical warfare in South and Southeast Asia; Asian political stability and the refugee problem; Soviet force structure and increased military presence in Japan's Northern Territories.
- Soviet Military-Political Objectives in the Soviet Far East, the Far East, and the Southwest Pacific
1 Conference: Canberra, Australia
Cost: \$70,000
Contractor: To be competed
The conference would be hosted by the Australian National University's Strategic Defense Studies Center. We plan to solicit the participation of pro-defense policy makers, journalists, academicians, theologians and selected labor union leaders as well as editors of labor union journals.

-- Threat Perceptions of ASEAN Member States

1 Conference: Jakarta, Indonesia

Cost: \$70,000

Contractor: Pacific Forum

Director: Admiral Vasey

A conference in Jakarta, the administrative headquarters of ASEAN, would address varying threat perceptions of member states regarding the USSR, China, and Viet Nam. The conference would also discuss the continuing Kampuchean problem, the future of Viet Nam's role in the area, Soviet direct/indirect aggression in Southeast Asia, as well as the US role in the region. The locale of this conference would lend recognition to the growing regional significance of Indonesia.

-- Algerian Security Concerns

2 Conferences: Washington, D.C., and Algiers

Cost: \$125,000 to \$140,000

Contractor: Hudson Research Institute

Director: Francis J. (Bing) West

Hudson Institute would help Algeria establish an Institute for Strategic Studies (Algeria's first 'think tank'). Hudson would host a visiting Algerian MOD delegation, putting them in contact with other think tanks as well as instructing the visitors on defense-related issues. Algerian Army Major Bouchareb would head the visiting delegation. The second phase of the program would involve a US-Algerian conference in Algeria that would focus on regional security concerns. This conference would be the first time for DoD to explore strategic issues with the Algerian MOD.

-- The Security Setting in North Africa and the Southern Littoral of the Mediterranean

2 Conferences: Morocco and Tunisia

Cost: \$150,000

Contractor: Hudson Institute

Director: Francis J. (Bing) West

Study would assess the current status and likely evolution of U.S. security relations with each country, focusing on the threats and external support of these threats. Study would also examine cooperative security arrangements between France, US, and North African countries.

-- Soviet Foreign and Security Policy: Its Role in the Foreign and Security Policies of Developing States

3 Conferences: Istanbul, Madrid and Nairobi

Cost: \$240,000

Contractor: University of Illinois

Director: Roger E. Kanet and Edward A. Kolodziej

The study will fit various regional perspectives into an overall pattern of Soviet influences in the Third World. The focus will be to determine both in what ways the Soviet Union uses Third World nations, and conversely, how the Soviet Union is used as a regional extension of power by Third World states. The objective of the conference will be to reach some judgment about the relative merits of the Third World nations working with the Soviet Union. The conferences will draw upon Third World specialists who will suggest opportunities for shifting allegiances of Third World powers from Soviet or left-neutral orientations to more western ones.

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- Revitalizing Defense-Deterrence in NATO-Europe
1 Conference: Lisbon
Cost: \$70,000
Contractor: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis
Director: Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
The conference would host defense specialists from Portugal, Spain and France and would assess the role of the "Flanks" in evolving NATO strategy and force posture. Questions as to the employment by the USSR of an "envelopment option" would be addressed as would the need for NATO force restructuring to meet this option. The political decision-making frameworks for these countries would be discussed.

- Soviet African Policy and West African Stability
1 Conference: Senegal or Ivory Coast
Cost: \$80-100,000
Contractor: To be competed
Conference would examine political and military interactions among various various African revolutionary governments and "national liberation movements", as well as West African threat perceptions. Direct and indirect ties with the Soviet Bloc, and the impact these relationships might have on West African security and U.S. relations with countries in the region would also be considered. Conference would complement the fact-finding study of Frank Gomez and Richard Miller.

- Influence of Soviet Active Measures on NATO Readiness
1 Conference: Tufts European Center, France
Cost: \$76,812
Contractor: Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
Director: TBD
The conference would examine Soviet active measures and the widening role of Soviet peacetime activities targeted against NATO. The study would begin with an historical background of how the Soviets use techniques developed during World War II in pursuit of their peacetime strategy. This theme would be developed by looking at the Soviet apparatus for active measures -- to include the coordination between the KGB and the International Department of the Communist Party, the KGB's and Bloc's methods for increasing influence abroad, the coordination of Soviet internal propaganda, and an overall assessment of the impact of Soviet active measures on NATO readiness. Participants would be European and US defense specialists, academicians specializing in East/West or Soviet affairs, and journalists. This conference/study, proposed by USIA, will be sponsored by our office but worked in coordination with USIA.

- Studies without Conferences

- Soviet/Cuban Influence and Projection in the Third World
Series of Discussions
Cost: \$70,000
Contractor: International Business Communications
Director: Frank Gomez and Richard Miller
Proposal is to send a three member fact-finding team to Africa and Latin America to assess host country perceptions of Soviet/Cuban influence in these regions and to assess any resultant threats to regional security. The team would visit countries where public diplomacy conferences might

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not be appropriate and would conduct round table discussions with host country governmental officials and academic/study center representatives. Mr. Gomez is former Director of the USIA Foreign Press Center and has extensive contacts in both regions.

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HRA INC.

HAROLD ROSENBAUM ASSOCIATES, INC.

1701 N. Fort Myer Dr., Suite 1105, Arlington, VA. 22209 (703) 524-8310 Boston (617) 273-1964

27 December 1984

Please find the enclosed report, "Defense and Domestic
Issues in the FRG" which I thought might be of some
interest to you.



Harold Rosenbaum

DEFENSE AND DOMESTIC ISSUES
IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

27 DECEMBER 1984

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NATO Strategic Debate

In the weeks since the November 9 NATO meeting in Brussels, the German press has devoted considerable attention to the Follow-On-Forces-Attack (FOFA) concept agreed upon by the NATO ambassadors. Most media sources agreed that the FOFA element of the standard Flexible Response strategy was not new. The problem the NATO ambassadors tackled was not one of creating a new strategy, but rather one of determining how best to strengthen Western conventional forces so they can play the role required by the existing strategy: keeping Flexible Response flexible.

The FOFA concept was criticized on a number of grounds. First, it was argued by one liberal source that FOFA weapons themselves now become high-priority targets of Warsaw Pact aggression. Second, it was felt that the Rogers Plan, in which the FOFA concept is embodied, would push the West to take rapid and perhaps not well reasoned enough action. In the event of a sudden and heated crisis, it was argued, hasty decisions could have disastrous escalatory consequences. The Rogers Plan precludes preventive strikes. Rogers specifically opposes adopting a "no-first-use" policy with regard to theater nuclear weapons.

The third and most frequently cited criticism of the FOFA concept concerned its financial feasibility, as to which much of the German media expressed doubts. It was noted that NATO could

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probably not afford FOFA without trimming back in other departments, a point that Supreme Allied Commander Rogers himself has made. One press source argued that nuclear LANCE missiles should be replaced by less expensive conventional weapons. Another was of the opinion that if the Federal Republic's Defense Ministry is anticipating zero growth in the defense budget after 1988, then skepticism as to the FOFA concept was fully warranted. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) organ "Vorwärts" condemned FOFA for allegedly spending more money for less security. The guidelines entailed in the FOFA concept would only fuel the arms race, and favor American armaments industry over European producers.

An information service close to the SPD reiterated these points. It argued that thinking only in terms of "Battlefield Europe" would preclude concepts such as FOFA, unless one only considers military aspects and disregards the few efforts in the direction of arms control and "strategic stability." The weekly magazine Der Spiegel also raised the financial issue, and cited research by British defense experts David Greenwood and Christopher Donnelly to substantiate their misgivings over NATO's ability to afford FOFA. Spiegel observed that there still remained the possibility that Soviet divisions could devise a new type of blitzkrieg formation which might enable them to circumvent FOFA completely. This article's parting comment was that implementing FOFA would mean using tomorrow's weapons on yesterday's targets.

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Conservative press reportage of the FOFA discussion was much more optimistic. It was argued that FOFA did not represent a transition from defensive to offensive strategy. The West very much needs to extend its options to avoid being pressured into rapid nuclear escalation from the start. The Warsaw Pact's expanded options (two examples being the establishment of Operational Maneuver Groups (OMG's), and the increases in first echelon combat strength) make the development or adaptation of new, more appropriate NATO concepts all the more urgent.

Ministry of Defense Developments

Major General Wolfgang Tebbe assumed his post as Ministerial Director of the Armaments Division of the Ministry of Defense (MOD) on 1 December 1984. The move involved a promotion for Tebbe to the rank of Lieutenant General. Tebbe will hold the position at least until the MOD completes its planned reorganization of the Armaments Department. The MOD Personnel Office formally complained to Defense Minister Wörner over the way Tebbe was selected as successor to Wolfgang Ruppelt. Wörner apparently completely circumvented the normal channels through the Personnel Office.

In early November, SPD member Pauli questioned the MOD as to which departments within the Ministry and the Federal Office of Arms Technology and Procurement (BWB) were to be reorganized, and what the effects would be on the employees of each organization.

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Parliamentary State Secretary Peter-Kurt Würzbach's reply referred back to a statement he made in mid-November, stating that a reorganization was necessary in order for the MOD to adapt structurally and substantively to changing tasks and challenges. He cited three focal points of the reorganization:

- o intensified research, emerging technology, data and information processing efforts
- o tightening up the divisional structure, to make better use of available personnel
- o decentralization of the armaments organization to heighten employee productivity and motivation.

Federal Armed Forces (Bundeswehr) Issues

Starting next year, Defense Minister Manfred Wörner has requested that a total of 1,500 officers "voluntarily" retire in order to alleviate the promotional and expenditure backlog (Beförderungs - und Verwendungsstau). Because of the precarious personnel situation, any other solution would not be workable, the Defense Minister argued. The gradual aging of troop officers, particularly those born between 1935 and 1944, cannot be viewed as a purely social issue any longer. Wörner made these remarks on the occasion of a visit to the Bundeswehr General Staff College in Hamburg, where officers had made public a manifesto entitled "Leading Figures 1984 - Betrayed, Put Off, Written Off." Wörner accepted the criticisms contained in this paper, but for his part argued that making this paper public would only

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do damage. The problem of aging among troop officers is currently being discussed in the Cabinet and will be solved in the foreseeable future. The retirement regulations envisioned for the coming years can only be implemented step by step, for financial reasons. Considering the strained labor market, implementation is envisioned for around 1991. Wörner further announced that in the next five years, 600 new posts for non-commissioned officers would be created.

The proposals made by former Parliamentary State Secretary in the Ministry of Defense, Andreas von Bülow (SPD) unleashed considerable discussion. Von Bülow had proposed that the Bundeswehr could continue its mission with a peacetime strength of only 300,000 men. Von Bülow had presented a threat analysis in October, in which he questioned Warsaw Pact superiority. The paper was strongly challenged by conservative politicians, and particularly by the military.

In his "Outline of a Bundeswehr Structure for the 1990's," von Bülow argued that the Bundeswehr can now master its personnel problems without extending the draft. Von Bülow argued that instead of focusing on the current peacetime strength of 495,000 men, the Bundeswehr should focus on the total wartime strength in the event of a crisis: 1.3 million men. Von Bülow rejected the so-called sacrosanct doctrine that all modern weapons systems had to be manned by troops currently on hand. He suggested that the training of conscripts should be more strictly geared towards their future tasks as reservists; in addition, the hierarchy

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structure should be strengthened and the NATO arguments for maintaining for more troops on hand should be viewed more critically. Von Bülow considered the latter NATO arguments questionable, because of their basis on the assumption that the Warsaw Pact would only need 24-48 hours to amass its troops. He argued that it would be almost impossible for the enemy to undertake a surprise attack from a standing position. For this reason, von Bülow cited 72 hours as an adequate mobilization time for reservists.

Von Bülow continued that he had nothing against the idea of a partial American troop withdrawal from the Federal Republic along the lines of the proposal put forward by American Senator Sam Nunn. The FRG's participation at the Vienna MBFR negotiations has been extremely uncreative in his view. The Bundeswehr could afford to forego the principle of Western force collectivity since the FRG does not need to feel threatened by Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish, and also hardly by East German forces.

Because von Bülow's paper had not been approved by the other members of the SPD Security Policy Commission (of which von Bülow is Chairman), or by the SPD Parliamentary Group or party leadership, it was also heavily criticized from within the ranks of the SPD. SPD politicians Walter Kolbow, Peter Corterier and Horst Jungmann accused von Bülow of "cheap showmanship and naivete." The SPD member of Parliament Horst Haase expressed doubt that the

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USSR would reciprocate to a Western troop reduction. Haase warned against the inclination toward decoupling from the USA. The Deputy Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Group, Horst Ehmke, was also critical, if less directly. The von Bülow proposals were a "personal contribution to the discussion," according to Ehmke, a contribution that had not yet been voiced in the leading circles of the SPD. The discussion as to the future structure of the Bundeswehr is still in its infancy. Ehmke commented that von Bülow's ideas are an interesting starting point but not the anticipation of a commitment. The Defense Ministry rejected von Bülow's theses as endangering security.

Press commentaries described the debate as intraparty quabbling by the SPD. Von Bülow's high-handedness was especially criticized. One liberal source commented that it was not his party but rather von Bülow who had appointed himself a sort of shadow Defense Minister. Von Bülow speaks and acts not only against the government but also against his own party, in this source's opinion. Another paper argued that von Bülow was apparently attempting to gain profile, and was not helping Social Democratic credibility with his contradictory ideas. One conservative source commented that differences of opinion with the SPD had emerged in the party's early criticism of the Government's Bundeswehr planning. In opposition to Ehmke and von Bülow, politicians Jungmann and Scheer did not rule out extending the draft. The Parliamentary Group is at the present time, however,

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committed to strict rejection of the Government's Bundeswehr plan.

Another conservative source noted that the security policy area is "not a playground," and criticized von Bülöw as well as SPD leader Willy Brandt. The latter had said, upon Reagan's reelection, that it was all the same to him who was leader of the USA; the USA unfortunately still wielded clout over the FRG. Even Spiegel magazine evaluated the von Bülöw debate as yet another instance of the amorphousness within the SPD on security policy issues.

Defense Minister Wörner criticized the lack of unity within the SPD on defense policy issues. In Wörner's assessment, the SPD is seeking a new left-wing majority to rally around Willy Brandt; Wörner also sees the old SPD pacifism coming to life again. Of course some of the participants are simply opportunistic, he argued. He called for the peacetime strength of the Bundeswehr to not drop substantially below the current number of 495,000 men.

Reagan Reelection: Significance for East-West Dialogue

The US presidential election was given considerable attention in the German press. While the leftist and liberal press criticized Reagan's prior policies, conservative papers celebrated Reagan's reelection as a victory for his policies and not just

for him as a person. Despite economic troubles, the prior Reagan administration apparently met with positive response among American voters, they pointed out.

The Federal Government welcomed the Soviet readiness to take practical steps to reinvigorate the East-West dialogue once again. Government Spokesman Peter Boenisch noted in addition that the Government believes that despite Moscow's hesitation with regard to a summit meeting, there is a real chance for this vital meeting in the near future between Reagan and Chernenko. The SPD party leader Brandt expressed his expectation that the paralysis in relations between the superpowers would soon be overcome. However if the superpowers were to be speaking to one another once again, this did not mean that regional crises would be more easily solved. This, in Brandt's opinion, is particularly true of Central America. The Federal Government should not "wall out" Nicaragua from Bonn development policies, he argued.

The press commentary on the latest round of talks between Moscow and Washington was extraordinarily positive. One paper noted that the talks strengthen the impression that the US President has decided in this second term of office to initiate new efforts to guarantee peace. He is avowedly convinced that his previous efforts in the realm of armaments created the necessary preconditions for serious and successful disarmament negotiations based on parity.

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A different source commented somewhat more cautiously that it is as yet difficult to tell whether Reagan is ready to approach the burning issues of arms control courageously and seriously, or whether his discussion offers disguise his true intentions of putting the other superpower off as long as possible, and of continuing American rearmament. The paper argued that there is more reason to believe the Reagan would rather be recorded in the history books as a man of peace.

Several papers commented on the discrepancies within the American administration as to its future course. These sources called for a clear line of cooperation with Moscow. Many papers discussed the Soviet change in course. The Kremlin was seen as not having achieved its goal of strengthening its political influence in Western Europe and weakening the American presence. Moscow would not be able to afford an extended period of isolation, because there would be the danger of falling even further behind the West in many different realms. The new East-West relations however are not yet stable: a few bad interviews with the wrong people in Washington, or perhaps an altercation over Niaragua would be all that was needed to cause Moscow's fears to mushroom once again. If there is to be progress, the source argued, Washington must be more clear as to its policy course, and must speak with only one voice.

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Chancellor Kohl in Washington

One of the major conservative dailies, discussing Federal Chancellor Kohl's trip to the United States and the German Government's positive reaction to the new East-West dialogue, warned against excessive optimism due to the tensions in the Caribbean. The Federal Government should especially guard against incessantly pressuring America, in the manner of innumerable European "spineless politicians," toward negotiations, progress and results. This source declared that the Western superpower is already on the right path.

Domestic Developments in Brief

The former minister of state in the Chancellery, Dr. Philipp Jenninger (52), was recently elected to replace Dr. Karl Carstens as President of the Federal German Parliament (Bundestag). Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble (42), who had been serving as manager of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, assumed the post of chief administrator in the Office of the Chancellery.

West Germany's relations with Poland have been experiencing some strain in the last 4 weeks. On November 20, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher cancelled a scheduled visit to Warsaw only hours before he was to depart. The reason given was Warsaw's refusal to grant a visa to one of the journalists with the Genscher delegation. The Polish Government also objected to

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Genscher's plans for participating in a commemorative ceremony at a German military cemetery in Poland, and for visiting the grave of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, the priest recently murdered by Polish security police.

Several days later, a resolution on the Oder-Neisse Line presented by the Young Union, the ruling CDU's youth group, at the YU conference in Berlin was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The resolution demanded that the German-Polish border "no longer be questioned." In the post-conference controversy which ensued, Chancellor Kohl was asked if he and his party questioned the Oder-Neisse Line as the Western border of Poland. He responded by stressing that the Federal Republic was party to international treaties which it respected, and which committed the nation to refraining from making territorial claims. The Chancellor rejected Moscow's and Warsaw's accusations of revanchism as unfounded.

What had been one of the more successful instances of political cooperation between the Green Party and the SPD at the state level in the Government of Hesse finally foundered at the end of November. The Greens withdrew from the working coalition on the grounds that they opposed SPD Minister President Holger Börner's endorsement of expanding two nuclear fuel production facilities in the state. The move was praised at the Green Party convention, and was one of a number of indications that the dogmatic wing of the party is increasingly prevailing over Green Party pragmatists.