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(International Organizations:

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO))

Case file Number(s): 216124 (1 of 2)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

IT067

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 05, 1984

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE CHARLES Z. WICK

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES TRANSCRIPT OF THEIR MAY 24 84
WORLDNET TRANSMISSION TO COMMEMORATE NATO'S
35TH ANNIVERSARY

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
CRAIG L. FULLER	ORG	84/06/05		C 84/06/06 ^{LDJ}
REFERRAL NOTE: <u>NS Mc Fall</u>	A	84/06/06	Rm	A 84/06/21 ^{AJ}
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COMMENTS: VIDEOTAPE OF PROGRAM WILL BE SENT UNDER
SEPARATE COVER

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION CODES: | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | * CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY | | | * |
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OE0B) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 94/4

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1984
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442100)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-100000) (P)
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

'84 JUN -6 A9:50

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4537

June 21, 1984

Dear Charlie:

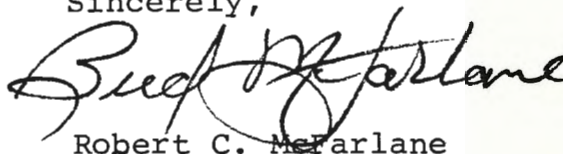
Thank you for your letter of May 25 providing reaction to USIA's special WORLDNET transmission commemorating NATO's 35th Anniversary.

Please accept my compliments on this excellent initiative. From what I have seen, the transmission did much to get out the word on NATO and to enhance popular perceptions of the Alliance. The fact that you included a prominent European statesman like Foreign Minister Tindemans gave the program the balance and the European component which it needed and provided an excellent complement to the participation of Secretary Shultz and General Rogers. Also, it is a pleasure to note that with this special transmission you successfully carried out a number of other "firsts," such as the first participation of Denmark and Norway in WORLDNET.

We appreciate as well the fact that USIA staff members worked closely with State, DOD and ourselves in shaping this project. I believe this interagency collaboration was indeed helpful in developing the excellent final product.

Again, please accept my compliments for this excellent departure in support of our policy.

Sincerely,



Robert C. McFarlane

The Honorable Charles Z. Wick
Director
United States Information Agency
301 4th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

June 7, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

STEVEN E. STEINER *Steve***SIGNED**

SUBJECT:

Wick Letter on WORLDNET NATO Speech

Charlie Wick has sent you the transcript and an initial reaction report on WORLDNET's special May 24 transmission in commemoration of NATO's 35th Anniversary (Tab II). This was indeed an excellent USIA initiative and one in which USIA worked closely with State and ourselves to shape the program.

At Tab I for your signature is a proposed letter commending Charlie for the initiative.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to Wick.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

SES Walt Raymond concurs.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Wick

Tab II Ltr fr Wick, May 25, 84, w/atc



216124
May 25, 1984

37
C. Fuller
Dear Mr. President:

I wanted to let you know about the smashing success we had with our May 24 WORLDNET transmission to commemorate NATO's 35th Anniversary. Initial reaction reports from our participating embassies have been overwhelmingly positive. Audiences at all locations were comprised of journalists, foreign ministry officials, military representatives, NATO country officials or diplomats from the NATO countries, academic experts on and student and youth leaders concerned with security affairs. My staff will forward additional media reaction, commentary, and usage reports from the fourteen countries which participated in this WORLDNET program as soon as available. In the interim, let me pass on some early reaction.

-- Embassy Ottawa reports that the audiences in both Ottawa and Montreal were effusive in their praise of the program. Turnout at Ambassador Robinson's residence was heavy with NATO Ambassadors, military attaches, Canadian press and government. In Montreal, one member of the audience of press and NATO Consular representatives stated: "how wonderful it is to sit in Canada and finally hear some good European views." Canada's Global TV expected to show excerpts of the program in its news broadcasts Thursday and Friday.

-- Embassy Bonn noted that audiences in the capital and Munich felt that the program appropriately commemorated the anniversary of NATO by demonstrating that this Alliance of sixteen democratic states reaches its decisions through a process of consultation and discussion, in stark contrast to the Warsaw pact.

-- Turkey's first participation in WORLDNET programming was highly successful. The NATO special generated great interest among working journalists and attracted an invited audience that included the Director of Turkish Television, Director of the Government of Turkey's Press Office, several Members of Parliament and other foreign policy analysts. TRT Television ran a long, six-minute segment on their main evening news broadcast. The semi-official Anatolian News Agency distributed a story with excerpts which was carried in Milliyet Daily (232,122 - liberal) and Tercuman Daily (259,000 - conservative), Bulvar Daily (177,000 - sensational) and Gunes (232,000 - popular/family).

-- Paris reports that a four paragraph Agence France Presse dispatch reported Secretary Shultz' reaction to President Mitterand's remarks on the necessity of European defense and the Secretary's comments on Spain joining the NATO Alliance.

The President
The White House

-- Portuguese Television (RTP) highlighted the program in their prime time evening news of May 24th. In addition, RTP is preparing a special NATO feature program which will include important excerpts from the WORLDNET special. Three newspapers, including the important Diario de Noticias, emphasized Secretary Shultz' affirmation of the importance of the Azores Islands for the Alliance.

-- Copenhagen's "first participation in WORLDNET was a highly successful experience appreciated by all who attended. Print media coverage is substantial and upbeat. Danish TV used over three minutes in its prime time newscast on the 24th.

"'NATO is alive and well. Despite minor problems, things are going pretty well.' This is what TV viewers were told yesterday by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, seconded by politicians and experts from the U.S. and Europe..." Aktuelt (social democratic)

"Questions and answers were issued at the first major transatlantic press conference and security policy dialogue via TV and satellite taking place between Western Europe and North America, an unusual media event on the occasion of NATO's 35th anniversary and an example of the democratic openness which characterizes western defense cooperation. (Shultz) stated that 'NATO is strong and our best guarantee for peace.' This was the prevailing theme of the lengthy dialogue between the many capitals..." Berlingske Tidende (conservative)

"From studios in the American Embassy journalists had the possibility to raise direct questions to top members of the Reagan Administration...A new era has begun." Information (leftist)

"The U.S. Government has begun utilizing satellite technology in order to be able to include its partners in the NATO Alliance in quick debates on mutual problems." Jyllands-Posten (conservative)

-- Spain's TVE used an excerpt on its prime time evening newscast (2.3 million) and three major dailies ran stories. The post comments that the program "was excellent for Spain, as it made them feel very much as full partners in NATO".

-- Nearly 300 Italians turned out for this WORLDNET program in Rome, Milan and Naples.

-- The Hague reports that since "two questions from The Hague dealt directly with recent statements by the President on INF deployments, we would expect to see remarks by Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Tindemans in print tomorrow. The program was well paced and moved logically. Responses to questions were uniformly well thought out and to the point. We were especially impressed by the liveliness of the panel exchanges."

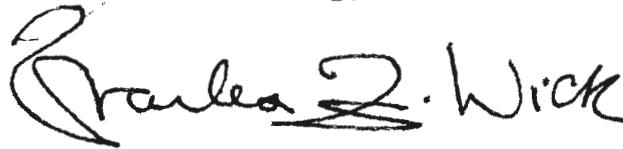
-- Embassy Brussels noted that "the participation of Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Tindemans gave the program something of the structure the

whole Alliance prides itself on having: American leadership and strong Western European commitment. Leopold Unger of Brussels' Le Soir commented 'Where else, but on USIA television, could a Belgian correspondent ask the Belgian Foreign Minister to address, in English, some of the great issues within the Atlantic Community?'

I am enclosing a transcript of the program for your personal archival use. The videotape of the program will be sent under separate cover.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Charles Z. Wick". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "C".

Charles Z. Wick
Director

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director



4537

May 25, 1984

84 JUN 5 11:45

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The Honorable
Robert C. McFarlane
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

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Best regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "C. Wick". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "C" and a long, sweeping underline.

Charles Z. Wick
Director

National Security Council
The White House

1200 JH

System #

I

Package #

4537

SEQUENCE TO

HAS SEEN

DISPOSITION

Dep. Exec. Sec'y

1

✓

Bob Kimmitt

John Poindexter

2

J

Tom Shull

Wilma Hall

3

✓

Bud McFarlane

4

M

A

Bob Kimmitt

NSC Secretariat

5

D

Situation Room

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

84 JUN 7 P 8: 38

THE WHITE HOUSE
NATIONAL ARCHIVES

RECEIVED 05 JUN 84 19

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 25 MAY 84

KEYWORDS . USIA
NATO

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

SUBJECT REACTIONS & TRANSCRIPT OF WORLDNET NATO SPECIAL

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 11 JUN 84 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

LENCZOWSKI

HELM

STEINER

DEGRAFFENREID

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SMALL

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MATLOCK

COMMENTS ONE COPY OF TRANSCRIPT REC'D SENT TO RAYMOND

REF# LOG NSCIFID (JF)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

MCFarlane	x 6/8	For Sig	6/11	
	JUN 21 1984	Mcfarlane sgd		WR, Wick

DISPATCH

6/21/84

W/ATTCH

FILE

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RECEIVED 05 JUN 84 19

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 25 MAY 84

STEINER

07 JUN 84

WICK, C

25 MAY 84



KEYWORDS: USIA

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

NATO

SUBJECT. REACTIONS & TRANSCRIPT OF WORLDNET NATO SPECIAL

ACTION. PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 11 JUN 84 STATUS X/S FILES WH

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RAYMOND

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COMMENTS ONE COPY OF TRANSCRIPT REC'D SENT TO RAYMOND

REF# LOG 8404628 NSCIFID (JF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
-	6/8	Rec'd Wick to Pres memo/attach		
Steiner	S 6/8	Any Action Required		
NSC/S	6/11	Action taken 6/7 (see attached memo)		
NSC/S	6/11	No action necessary (see # 4537, June 7 attached)		

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

**THE FOLLOWING AV ITEMS HAVE
BEEN TRANSFERRED TO THE AV
COLLECTION**

OA# 9414

MEDIA: 3/4 Videotape

DESCRIPTION:

5/24/84 Worldnet Transmission to

Commemorate NATOS 35th Anniversary

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

TELEVISION-WORLDNET

NATO SPECIAL

May 24, 1984

202-638-5071

301-464-8014

D.C. TRANSCRIPTS

D.C. TRANSCRIPTS
420 Adams Bldg.
1333 F St., N.W.
Wash., D.C. 20005

202-638-5071
301-464-8014

P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. GALL: This is Sandy Gall of Independent Television News in London, speaking to you today from Washington, D.C.

To mark the 35th anniversary of NATO, we are broadcasting a special two-hour program live from Washington and Europe in one of the most ambitious satellite hookups outside the Olympic Games. It was in April, 1949, that the North Atlantic Treaty was signed here in Washington and it was in September of that year that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization came into being. In those 35 years since its foundation, NATO has been a remarkable force for peace and stability, and prosperity, not only in Europe, but in other parts of the world as well. NATO has kept the balance and preserved the peace.

Today we will be looking not only at the past, but also at the present and the future. We will be hearing about the state of the alliance, its strengths and its weaknesses. Is it as strong as it ought to be? Is Europe carrying its fair share of the burden? Above all, perhaps, we should be asking will the Alliance be in place and in

good shape, if needed, in the next century?

These are big questions and not easy questions. To help us examine them we have an expert panel here in Washington: A senator, a senior member of the Department of Defense, and a prominent European journalist. And in Brussels we have a second, equally expert panel, this time made up of two well known European journalists, and the American Ambassador to NATO.

Then, very fortunately for us, we have in the studio here in Washington, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, whose predecessor, Dean Acheson, was one of the signatories of the original treaty in 1949.

Journalists from 14 NATO countries, linked to this studio by satellite, will be able to put questions to Mr. Shultz in a minute or two. But first let's remind ourselves of the history of the Alliance. Although NATO was founded in April, 1949, it was the events of the years immediately before which brought the Alliance into existence.

The end of the Second World War meant the Europeans could finally return to civilian life and the task of rebuilding. Along with disarmament came a

reduction in Allied armed forces from five million men to less than a million.

While the West wound down its war machine, the Soviet Union maintained six million men in its armed forces. In his efforts to expand Soviet influence, Stalin turned his attention to Southeast Europe by arming guerrilla forces in Greece and demanding the handover of Turkey's northeastern provinces.

Less than a year later, Soviet pressure moved north when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gained control of the government in Prague through a coup d'etat.

Then on June the 24th, 1948, Stalin imposed a total rail, road, and canal blockade on the former German capital. That left only the British, French, and American air corridors open, and the Allies responded in the now-famous Berlin airlift, flying in everything the Berliners needed to stay alive and free.

In September, 1948, foreign ministers from Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, met to plan a response to Soviet aggression. Six months later they signed the Brussels Treaty for Collective Self Defense, and set up the Western European Union as a defense organization. Field Marshall Montgomery

D.C. TRANSCRIPTS 301-464-8014 202-638-5071

was Britain's military representative.

These steps led to an historic conference in Washington. On April the 4th, 1949, leaders from the 12 original member nations signed the North Atlantic Treaty, establishing NATO as an organization designed to provide collective defense and to preserve peace and security. Just a month later the Berlin blockade was lifted. But the message of the blockade had come through loud and clear to the new Atlantic Alliance. And so NATO's member nations began to reorganize and re-equip their defenses, producing their first new weapons in many years.

The main task, a military command structure with General Dwight D. Eisenhower as the first Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, his mission to organize the new alliance's collective defense. At that time NATO had only 14 divisions on the mainland of Europe to face the Soviets' 210 divisions.

Then, in June, 1953, riots broke out in the eastern sector of Berlin and were suppressed by Soviet tanks.

Three years later, when a full-scale uprising took place in Budapest, in Hungary, the Soviet Union once

again sent in the tanks to crush a popular rebellion.

In 1961, President Kennedy met the Soviet leader, Mr. Khrushchev, to try and improve East-West relations. Two months later, faced with a massive exodus of East Germans to the West, Khrushchev reacted by sealing off the Soviet sector of Berlin. During the previous six months, more than 100,000 East Germans had fled to the West. The East German regime barricaded off East Berlin and began to build the Berlin Wall.

As the wire and the concrete grew daily higher, hundreds of people made desperate last minute escapes. In 1968, the Soviet Union and four Warsaw Pact countries invaded Czechoslovakia to put an end to Alexander Dubcek's "socialism with a human face". The West condemned the Czech invasion but dialogue went on.

During the era of detente, of which the high water mark was the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, the West held back on building new weapons. But the Soviets showed no such restraint.

In 1977 a new threat to Europe emerged with the initial deployment of what were to become hundreds of SS-20s, the Soviet Union's new, highly accurate, and mobile, intermediate-range nuclear missiles. With three

warheads and a reload capability, the SS-20s posed a new threat to virtually all of Europe.

NATO agreed to begin its own INF deployment in 1983 unless an arms control agreement made it unnecessary. During this period, the Soviet Union continued to export its muscle around the world. In 1979 it invaded Afghanistan. More than four years later, 120,000 Soviet troops still occupy that country.

Then, in 1981, the Soviet Union exerted pressure to smother the Solidarity movement in Poland. Under the threat of Soviet military intervention, the Polish authorities declared martial law in December and arrested Lech Walesa and other trade union leaders.

Despite the Soviet action, the Alliance's search for arms control continued, following its zero option call to eliminate an entire category of missiles on both sides. The Alliance made a series of compromise proposals on intermediate range nuclear forces. But the Soviet Union rejected any compromise that would deprive it of its monopoly of these weapons in Europe.

Finally, in November, 1983, faced with a failure of its policy of blocking NATO deployments, the Soviet Union abruptly walked out of both INF and

START negotiations. NATO and the United States have repeatedly called on the Russians to return to the negotiating table. NATO is determined to hold its nuclear stockpile down to the lowest level needed to assure deterrence, and recently decided to cut its nuclear stockpile to its lowest level in 20 years.

So this is the position in which NATO finds itself as it celebrates its 35th birthday, still facing a potential threat from the East, and trying to adhere to the motto: "Peace: The Atlantic Promise".

Mr. Shultz, before I turn the questioning over to my 14 colleagues who are waiting impatiently to talk to you, can I ask you this: Is the United States satisfied that NATO is as strong as it ought to be in this, its 35th year?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, I think it is important to look at what is going on and to develop your strengths, and so certainly there are things that ought to be done. But basically NATO is strong and firm and I think continues to be the best guarantee of peace that we have.

MR. GALL: Let's go now to Europe and first to Copenhagen.

QUESTION: From Copenhagen, this is Karin Ismal (?), Danish Television.

My question is, Mr. Secretary, in Denmark and other European countries parliaments and publics in various countries have expressed disenchantment with NATO policies, especially around the 572 Pershing and Cruise missiles. Do you see this as a real threat to NATO solidarity?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, it, of course, is a problem, and at the same time I think it's important for us to continually develop the very strong arguments there are in favor of being able to defend our values, of being able to deter aggression from the Soviet Union, and standing up to these problems. And that is what we continually do.

QUESTION: I am Doug Small (?) from the Global Television Network.

Mr. Shultz, this week six countries, one of them Greece, a member of NATO, signed a peace accord telling both you and Moscow, of course, to stop testing or deploying nuclear arms. In your opinion -- you opened this by saying you feel NATO is strong, is firm. Does this kind of cabal, this grouping of other countries, make the

Alliance less strong, less firm?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, of course, countries will speak up and develop a point of view. Not all of those countries were NATO countries, of course, only one. And I think it's clear that people are concerned about nuclear weapons. President Reagan has said that his dream is the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

In the position taken by the United States on behalf of NATO insofar as the intermediate range weapons are concerned, that position was the total elimination of these weapons.

Now, I think those who say that we should stop deploying have to ask themselves, do they really want a world in which only the Soviets have deployed these weapons? Do they think that is a safe world? Do they think that is the way to defend the values that I presume these countries put forward? Our answer to that is no.

We want reductions. But they have to be reductions that come down in an equal way and leave us in a balance and therefore a deterrent posture.

QUESTION: Ingrid Jordo (?), RTBS, Brussels.

Mr. Secretary, President Reagan has just said that the world has never been safer. How can you explain

that, knowing of the growing East-West tensions, the Gulf War, Mr. Ustinov's -- General Ustinov's, I mean, threats about having more missiles and even close to the United States?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, of course there are plenty of tensions and that is the state of the world all right. On the other hand, I think that the strength of the United States and the strength of NATO and the strength of other countries around the world, in Asia and elsewhere, is our best insurance policy that aggression will be deterred, because it is apparent that it will meet strong resistance. In that sense we have the best guarantee of peace.

We all saw, and perhaps it's useful to remind ourselves of what happened in an earlier age, in the 1930s, and at the end of the 1930s when, for some reason, people thought that the road to peace and safety was disarmament. That turned out to be a very poor idea and it only invited aggression.

We are strong, and I think it's important to stay that way. We are realistic about what's going on in the world, and it's important to continually remind ourselves of what is really taking place, and at the same

time it's important always to be reasonable, to be ready to engage in discussions with the other side, in an effort to bring down the levels of armaments and to work out a more accommodating and constructive pattern for our mutual behavior. And those are the principles on which the President and, I think, the NATO Alliance, is operating.

QUESTION: In Madrid, this is Martina Nardenas (?) from the weekly, (?).

My question is, Mr. Shultz, how would you evaluate the specific contribution of Spain to NATO, if Spain should integrate the Alliance militarily?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, first of all, Spain makes a contribution right now because Spain is a place where there are bases and Spain has an armed capability, and it has moved in the direction of NATO. I think the integration of Spain fully into NATO and full membership, and being part of the so-called "Joint Command" would strengthen Spain and would strengthen the NATO Alliance, because it would further develop that alliance and add capability to it.

So, I think that it would be a constructive move. It would help develop the deterrent capability of

the Alliance and therefore serve the cause of peace in Europe, and I think that that is certainly to Spain's advantage.

QUESTION: From Oslo this is Mulinar Olno (?) from the Norwegian News Agency.

Mr. Secretary, the Soviet Union can launch a nuclear attack on the United States and Europe from the Kola (?) Peninsula. How would NATO meet this Soviet capability? And secondly, what are the prospects for Norway as a potential battleground?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, of course, the cruel fact that we have to face is that the world is really a small place, whether you're talking about the ability to move information around, as is illustrated by this very program, whether it's a question of moving goods and services around in the trade that we have, or whether it's the awesome capability of modern weapons, which can reach over very long distances.

So, I think that the fact of the matter is that all of us, together, have a stake in maintaining a deterrent capability so that this kind of nuclear battleground is never -- never comes into being. And I don't think that geographic nearness, so to speak, has the

same meaning that it might have had in earlier days. So that, no doubt, the United States is fully as vulnerable, perhaps more so, than Norway. And that only emphasizes the underlining reason why we have a NATO Alliance, why countries that are geographically spread apart have come together, and worked together, to provide the deterrent capability that we need.

QUESTION: From London, this is David Adams from the Daily Telegraph.

The French have proposed a renewed effort to create a European pillar of defense within NATO and the Western European Union foreign ministers are meeting in Paris next month. What form do you think that pillar should take? Is there a danger it could be divisive?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, we have been assured that the intent is not divisive at all, but to the contrary, to strengthen the European contribution to NATO, and I have every reason to believe that that is precisely the intent and so I think focusing on the capabilities of different countries and what further things they may do is a constructive move.

QUESTION: This is Armand Yolanson (?) from Icelandic Television.

The United States seems to be putting more emphasis on military and defense preparations in the North Atlantic than before. Does this reflect a growing importance of this area and consequently of Iceland, or possibly a change of strategy on the northern flank?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: No, I don't really want to comment on that from a strictly military point of view, but obviously it's a very important area, and has been regarded as such for a long, long time.

I used to be in the Marine Corps, in World War II, and of course, I fought in the Pacific theater, and you associate the Marines in World War II with the Pacific theater. But I well remember when I started in, in the early 1940s, that Iceland was the place where the Marines were stationed and people wondered if that was the place that they were going to be assigned to, and I mention that only to show how long it has been that people have seen the importance, strategic importance, of that area.

QUESTION: This is The Hague. My name is Wolf Klaussen of Die Volkskom (?) in Amsterdam.

Mr. Secretary, President Reagan, Wednesday, said at a press conference that non-deployment of Cruise

missiles in Holland will not affect NATO seriously. What is your opinion on this issue and will the issue be raised, the issue about a Dutch decision, on the forthcoming NATO Council in Washington next week?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: The President has emphasized on a great many occasions, as have the other NATO countries, the importance of carrying through on the decision made in 1979 to follow simultaneously a track of deployment to deter the Soviet deployments of intermediate range missiles, and continually try to negotiate a limitation or, from our point of view, ideally, an elimination of these deployments.

We support them in all of the deploying countries. We think it is very important that each country step up to the mark and certainly that is exactly what is taking place. I know there are difficulties in the Netherlands right now, and we continue to believe that it's very important that this go forward.

QUESTION: This is Klaus Kisler (?) from Zipertut (?) Zeitung in Munich.

Mr. Secretary, the German government, especially the German Defense Secretary, Herr Werner, is not very enthusiastic over the strategic defense

initiative. The Germans think it could create some sort of -- two different classes of security. Do you think the quarrels over the SDI are a danger for the Alliance's unity in the near future?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I think it's essential for us to talk our differences through and, of course, it's something new to talk about and people have to understand it, and that process is well underway and I think will result in a general consensus of support.

The fact of the matter is that the Soviet Union has a deployed anti-ballistic missile system and has been engaging in vigorous research on this subject. And the President believes that it would be a very bad thing for the Alliance if we were to wake up one day and they had done all this work and they had prepared themselves and had something ready to be put in place and we were still scratching our heads.

So, I think that this is something where we have to move into this in a somewhat higher gear.

At the same time, the President has made it very clear that we expect to share what we're doing with our allies so that it's not a question of the United States doing something and the others being left behind.

And, of course, the fundamental motive of it is to achieve the same thing as we're trying to achieve by reductions, and reductions to zero in the case of the intermediate range missiles, but generally reductions in nuclear weapons, and that is to reduce their capacity to harm mankind.

QUESTION: Radio Luxembourg in Paris.

Mr. Secretary, before the European Parliament, President Mitterrand today spoke about the need for Europe to have a common defense policy. Do you believe that pursuing this goal it will arrange for the Alliance (??)?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, a common defense policy, I assume within the framework of NATO, and that's what we hear reaffirmed all the time, and that's where we stand, and we think that is very important to keep developing. I don't have any idea that President Mitterrand is suggesting a separation of Europe from the United States. Quite the contrary. We had outstanding talks with President Mitterrand when he was here not too long ago, and reaffirmed all of these basic principles of our unity.

QUESTION: This is Monroe Menizey (?) from

Portuguese Television in Lisbon.

According to Portuguese military sources, it's known that the United States has plans to intervene in the Azores to guarantee the security and readiness of the American bases, in case of conflict. My question, Mr. Shultz, is wouldn't it be more economical to plan for Portuguese armed forces to have the means to guarantee for themselves the security of the Azores and the Portuguese territory, and in this very same sense, couldn't the United States be ready to accept the Portuguese intention for a unified national command for all Portuguese national territory, including the Azores and the Atlantic area?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, you've asked me a question that has a great deal of detail in it, and I don't want to make an effort to go through, at length, what it would take to answer that question fully. But I think the main points are these: First, the Azores are a very important piece of territory, as has been demonstrated many times. The United States and Portugal, number two, the United States and Portugal have worked out an agreement about their use and the development of the Azores that has been signed and so, therefore, it is

satisfactory to both parties.

Number three, the fact that it is so important and it has been developed means that if there is some threat to it, it certainly will be defended vigorously, and I assume both the United States and Portugal agree to that.

QUESTION: From Ankara, this is Raymond Furna (?) of Turkish Radio and Television.

My question, first, Mr. Secretary, should military aid to Turkey be given to strengthen NATO's defense capability? Yet, the United States Congress has made cuts in the aid for other reasons. Do you consider this action harmful? What do you intend to do about it?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, of course, the President has taken a very firm position about the importance of our assistance to the modernization of the Turkish armed forces, and we continue to work and struggle to convince the Congress that they must go forward with that.

The developments on Cyprus and the unilateral declaration on Cyprus of an independent state have caused great consternation in the United States, and of course,

we haven't recognized it. Turkey is the only country that has. And that has brought about a considerable amount of congressional opposition.

Obviously, what we need is to get the Cyprus issue settled somehow or other and that, as we all know, is a very difficult proposition. But we support the modernization of the Turkish armed forces, in its own right, and for the sake of the NATO positions as a whole, and at the same time, these issues that are basically unrelated, nevertheless, do have their impact on peoples' thinking and on the one hand we try to persuade the Congress to go ahead and, on the other, encourage all the efforts by the U.N. and elsewhere to bring the Cyprus question to some sort of satisfactory conclusion or, at least, get it on a satisfactory track for moving ahead toward a settlement.

QUESTION: Paul Kiefer, Luxembourg.

Mr. Secretary, do you see a concrete way to bring the Soviet Union back to the negotiation table in Geneva without eliminating the Pershing II and Cruise missiles? Don't you think a European NATO partner could eventually accelerate new negotiations initiatives?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, I think we have to

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recognize that the positions taken by the Alliance, by the United States on behalf of the Alliance, in the intermediate range nuclear talks, were very reasonable positions. They are not only the positions the United States thinks are right, but they have met the test of discussion in the Alliance, and during 1983 and this year the level of consultation has been really unprecedented. So, they are reasonable positions.

And I think it is a great mistake when one party walks out to say "We're going to reward that kind of behavior by changing our position as an inducement to get them to come back to the bargaining table." We're there. We're reasonable. We're ready for give and take. But the one thing we have to get across to the Soviet Union is we're not ready to give away the store. To give away the store, to give them everything they want, would only lead to unequal levels of forces and increase the danger, because it would lessen the deterrent capability of the Alliance, and that we have to keep reminding ourselves of, while we also remind ourselves that it's important for us to be reasonable, across the board, on issues with the East and the Soviet Union, as we are.

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QUESTION: From Copenhagen, this is Larence Kofelgranson (?) from the newspaper Erlinsk kersedinter (?).

My question is in view of the present development in the Persian Gulf, do you find it feasible, desirable, or possible to enlarge the area of military responsibilities for NATO? In that direction I mean in the direction of the Middle East, and the issue that has been raised before.

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, I think the question of enlarging NATO responsibilities, as such, is one issue and it hasn't -- I don't think I would put it quite that way. The question is how NATO or individual member-states of NATO will work at things that are out of the immediate area of NATO jurisdiction, you might say, to work at problems that are obviously problems that we all have a stake in, and in the case of the Persian Gulf and the flow of oil resources, of course they flow into a world market and everybody is affected by the world market, and so we all have a stake there.

And in approaching that set of problems, of course, the United States has a very firm position, as the President has stated many times, and part of that

position is close consultation with our allies and with the states of the Gulf, and we engage in that and we are very much a part of the many diplomatic efforts to try to settle that conflict down.

QUESTION: Mr. Shultz, this is Doug Small of Global Television Network in Ottawa, again.

The Prime Minister up here, Pierre Trudeau, is about to retire, had spent a great deal of his time this past year on sort of a peace crusade of his own. That has been a source of some controversy with people in the Pentagon, some of whom he has described as "pipsqueaks" for criticizing him.

I wonder whether you feel the Prime Minister's peace initiative has helped the NATO Alliance, and whether or not -- and just what you regard the Prime Minister's initiatives as having accomplished.

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, of course, it's always important to have leaders of the West talking about peace, and let it be known throughout the world that peace and stability are what we want. That's the environment within which we can preserve our values and develop our way of life and our economies, and so in that sense we welcome the Prime Minister's initiative.

Just what fruit it has borne is a little difficult to say and, nevertheless, the Prime Minister came down, met with the President at length on this subject. I happened to be privileged to take part in that meeting. And we welcomed the opportunity to talk with him about his ideas.

QUESTION: This is Paul Taylor of Reuters in Brussels.

Mr. Secretary, do you believe that the European allies are, at present, carrying their fair share of the common defense burden? And do you share some of the critical views of the allies that have been made recently by your colleague, former colleague, Mr. Eagleburger, and your predecessor, Mr. Kissinger?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: There is always more that we can do. We believe in the United States in our own defense capabilities. We should be doing more than we are. We're engaged in a struggle with the Congress about that.

I'm glad to say that here in the United States and, I believe, in most of the countries of NATO, the question is not whether we should do more, but how much, and what can we stand in the light of the other constraints

on our governmental budgets and so forth.

So, I think there is a big load. It is being shared. But, nevertheless, more should be done.

I don't share the view that some express that somehow or other Europe is falling behind. Europe is a vigorous area, many countries from which the United States has drawn our heritage. And if it gets behind a little bit in certain technological areas, I think there are lots of capable people there and it doesn't take a whole lot to turn it around.

Of course, everybody does have to work and struggle to compete in the kind of world we're in, and Europe is no exception to that rule.

QUESTION: Madrid. From Spanish Television.

My question is: Is there any chance of the Federal Republic of Germany turning to a neutralist standing if the current status of East-West stalemate continues?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I couldn't understand your question. I'm sorry. Could you repeat it?

QUESTION: Yes. Is there any chance of the Federal Republic of Germany turning to a neutralist standing if the present East-West stalemate continues?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I don't see any danger of the Federal Republic of Germany becoming a neutralist country. It's very firmly a part of NATO and very firmly a part of the West, and that seems to be the view of not only the party in power in the government but basically of the opposition party as well.

MR. GALL: I think that's all we have time for, Mr. Secretary. Thank you very much for coming into the studio and giving us so much of your time.

Later in the program we hope to have the Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. Leo Tindemans, to answer your questions.

END OF SEGMENT WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ

MR. GALL: Now, as we all know, NATO embraces a widely different collection of member nations. But they all have one goal in common, to preserve peace in the western world. Their total area is a very big one, 22 million square kilometers. That's nearly 14 million square miles.

The United States and Canada make up the western flank. On the north are Iceland, Norway, Denmark, and the United Kingdom. On the south, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. And Turkey makes up the eastern boundary. The central region is comprised of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and the Federal Republic of Germany, which shares a common border with the Warsaw Pact.

And it's through the Fulda Gap where the terrain lends itself to invasion that the Warsaw Pact could go on the offensive. It's happened before. Napoleon and other conquerors used the Fulda Gap to invade the central part of Europe.

With the Warsaw Pact just on the other side of the barbed wire fences, how the opposing forces could compare becomes a critical question. Thirty-five years ago, NATO came into being as a defensive alliance. That's

still the case today.

During the same period, the Warsaw Pact has greatly increased its military punch. After 35 years of peace in Europe, the high state of combat readiness and forward deployment of Warsaw Pact forces clearly show its offensive capability.

As shown here, Eastern European units stationed opposite NATO forces constantly engage in combat training, including drills in new operational techniques. The Soviet Union also considers training in chemical warfare a high priority. It has the world's largest, best equipped, and best trained military force for waging chemical warfare.

The Warsaw Pact buildup also includes a huge national mobilization system designed to give full support to front-line troops. This mobilization system extends to every sector of Soviet society and covers supply, repair of damaged equipment, and the setting up and maintenance of lines of communication.

To that end, Soviet forces have stockpiled 27,000 meters of bridging material in Eastern Europe. Also stored there are 12,000 kilometers of pipeline which construction units can use to get fuel to the advancing

troops, a further sign of offensive capability.

This buildup has been going on steadily for 20 years. NATO has always relied on the view that quality compensates for quantity. But while deterrence continues to safeguard peace, NATO feels the trend is alarming.

Here's how NATO forces compare with the Warsaw Pact: Combat divisions, NATO has 93 compared to the Warsaw Pact's 176. Allied tanks number of 14,000 while the Soviet Bloc has over 42,000. Counting anti-tank weapons, NATO has over 15,000. The Warsaw Pact has over 32,000.

Finally, intermediate range nuclear weapons, NATO will have 108 Pershing IIs and 464 Ground Launched Cruise Missiles when fully deployed. The Soviets already have deployed 378 SS-20s, each with three warheads, supplementing 224 SS-4s, previously in place.

Are these figures as bleak as they may seem? NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, General Bernard Rogers, explains:

GENERAL ROGERS: We don't need to match them one for one in any area of force comparison because we are a defensive alliance. But we must not let that

balance get so far out against us that the situation is no longer restorable.

Now, I don't like that posture of today. There's an alternative to that and that is what we set in Allied Command Europe as our objective for this decade, back in 1979, and that is to achieve, by the end of this decade, a conventional capacity which has a reasonable prospect of frustrating a conventional attack by the Warsaw Pact.

Now, to do that, we have to set some priorities. The first priority is to do better with the forces we already have committed to Allied Command, Europe, to meet the standards we've set in training and equipping and training and in -- or manning, equipping, training, and in sustaining.

A second priority is to continue to modernize our forces, and as we do, take advantage of the technology we have, and that which is emerging, to give us an opportunity to reach back behind the immediate lead echelon which we can hold if we improve our forces along the lines I mentioned, and strike with conventional weapons systems the follow-on forces, the operational maneuver groups, the second echelon forces,

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and try to reduce to a manageable proportion those against whom we must defend at the general defensive position.

Now, we can achieve that posture in a manner which I believe is affordable and reasonable, if we make that decision.

Force goals set by, agreed by ministers, in conjunction with the major NATO commanders, is the only means we have to cause nations to reach out to improve their forces and the only measure we have of the performance of nations. And when asked the question if the force goals for 1983 to 1988 were to be met fully by all nations, how much would it cost, we calculated at SHAPE that it would require four percent in real increase, average, for every nation for those six years.

Now, when asked what does that mean for the man in the street, it means \$23 a year for every man, woman, and child, \$11 here in Western Europe for every man, woman, and child in our NATO nations, additional sacrifice for the year. In the United States it's 38.

I think, though, \$23 additional sacrifice in the form of an additional premium on the insurance policy

for the maintenance of peace with freedom is not an amount which is unreasonable and unaffordable.

MR. GALL: So, we've seen how NATO came into being, developed, met a series of crises and we've also seen how the balance of power stands in Europe today.

Now let me bring in our two panels who have been waiting so patiently.

First in Brussels, Andre Fontain, Editor-in-Chief of Le Monde, in Paris; Arrigo Levi, Senior Foreign Affairs Editor of La Stampa, Turin; and Mr. David Abshire, the United States Ambassador to NATO.

And in the Washington studio we have our second panel, just assembling, Senator Richard Lugar, Republican of Indiana, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy; and fresh in to the studio, Dr. Josef Joffe -- congratulations -- Senior Associate, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who is on leave from Die Zeit of Hamburg.

But first, let's listen to a few interviews we've done with the man in the street in various European countries. We asked people, first, what they thought of the state of the Alliance.

MAN ON THE STREET: Yes, I think it has outgrown its usefulness, in the fact that it doesn't seem to be united, and it seems to me that it fights within itself.

MAN ON THE STREET: Bien sûr. Bien sûr. S'il n'y avait pas l'OTAN, nous serions -- (inaudible) -- une série de petit pays séparés pour faire face au bloc de l'Est.

USIA TRANSLATION OF ABOVE: "If NATO did not exist, we would be...a number of small separate countries confronted with the Eastern Bloc."

USIA TRANSLATION OF DUTCH MAN (WOMAN) ON THE STREET: "Its members are too divided to be able to really play an essential role. Another problem is the mentality of the civilian population. I have the impression that what is organized by the authorities is not followed enough by the civilian population."

MR. GALL: Andre Fontaine in Brussels, two of those three seem to be saying that NATO is too divided to be of much value.

MR. FONTAINE: Well, I think unity is -- it's much more important than the divisions which are a fact. I think those statements, finally, have a good lot of sense in it, even if it can look contradictory. NATO has been able to defend the countries which are part of it, since 35 years, which is quite a record in the history of the Alliance. At the same time, one can say that the degree of enthusiasm which the governments find in the population is not very, very important, and in some countries they even face opposition.

I think the main problem is probably to design a practical design for NATO. I think sometimes, and maybe this will happen later, people will start asking why this struggle while Soviet pressure still continues, and we are asked for the possibility of finding a way of concluding some kind of peace with it. And we have to imagine something which would really be able to give NATO the dynamism which it obviously needs, at least as far as the politics are concerned.

MR. GALL: Senator Lugar, does this concern you, this apparently lukewarm attitude of the Europeans, or some Europeans?

SENATOR LUGAR: Well, I was surprised by the

representative sample, because I would have thought that 1983 was, perhaps by far, the most significant year in the life of NATO, this kind of enormous courage by governments, that took decisions to defend themselves and to engage the United States in that defense.

It seems to me we're in an aftermath of that in 1984. Many people are raising issues that have to do with the strength of our economies, our trade relationships, and some wistful hope that somehow the menace of the Soviet missiles, general Soviet conventional might that is in the Warsaw Pact situation, would disappear. That clearly is not the case and the need for resolve with regard to our own budgetary problems, our own priorities, and a clearer headed analysis of the common danger that faces the West, I think, will impell people to see the 35th anniversary of NATO as a time for rededication and great thoughtfulness about how we are to go into this mutual defense.

MR. GALL: Well, let's hear from some of our friends out there. Lisbon, would you like to start the questioning?

QUESTION: This is Monroe Minezey (?) from