## MEETINGS WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS JANUARY 31—FEBRUARY 23

Recommendations for a Sustained U.S. Information Campaign in Europe

State Dept. review completed.

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1. PURPOSES OF TRIP
(a) Gain first-hand working relationship with counterparts.
<b>(b)</b> Encourage Allied public diplomacy on the Soviet Union and key issues in Europe and Latin America.
(c) Discuss cooperation in radio broadcasting, TV co-production on themes of mutual interest. Cooperation on other public information activities.

State Dept. review completed.

## 2. CURRENT PUBLIC AFFAIRS CHALLENGES

- (a) Opposition to U.S., Alliance security policies.
- (b) Ambivalence or acquiescence to Soviet aggression.
- (c) Mounting opposition to U.S. policies in Central America.
- (d) Passivity, susceptibility to Soviet propaganda, disinformation.
- (e) Hostility to U.S. policies and motives by vocal and unduly influential groups.
- (f) Criticism of U.S. economic, monetary, trade policies.
- (g) European unwillingness to cooperate on related political/security matters.

## 3. THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM, AND REASONS FOR HOPE

- (a) Uncommitted, or antagonistic successor generations.
- (b) Fear of nuclear war between the U.S. and USSR in Europe.
- (c) Worry about economic well-being, social welfare.
- **(d)** Passivity toward Soviet power; or failure, or refusal, to see possibility of Soviet attack.
- **(e)** Expectation that activist groups can influence decisions.
- (f) Soviet exploitation of European concerns.
- (g) Some apparent assets.

## 4. CENTRAL RECOMMENDATION

Conduct a coordinated public affairs campaign over the next several months to support the President's peace initiative and counter Soviet attacks; to gain public affairs momentum for the President's trip to Europe and pave the way for sustained gains.

- (a) Reiterate and reinforce themes of President's November 18, 1981, peace initiative.
- (b) Build long-term relations with successor generations.
- **(c)** Strengthen informational efforts on key issues outside of Europe, especially Central America.
- (d) Strengthen efforts to identify and counter Soviet disinformation, propaganda, other active measures. Expose Soviet hypocrisy.
- **(e)** Make a major sustained effort with Allies and friends to identify common interests and values of the U.S. and Europe.
- **(f)** Continue efforts to explain U.S. interests and concerns on economic, trade, social matters.
- (g) Improve ability of USG to speak with one voice.

# 5. URGENT USICA ACTIVITIES TO IMPLEMENT MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

- (a) Continuing the flow of Project Truth, Dateline America materials. Especially mounting an effective rapid response mechanism to counter Soviet disinformation, propaganda.
- **(b)** Increasing USICA public affairs capacities in El Salvador. Working with Central American countries to improve their press relations.
- **(c)** Beginning a crash program to send credible spokesmen to Europe to explain U.S. policies on El Salvador, Central America.
- (d) Seeking ways to increase visits to the U.S. by European parliamentarians, key journalists, media executives.
- (e) Encouraging European production of major TV program on 35 years of the Marshall Plan.
- (f) Improving mechanisms in U.S. for orientation, briefing of foreign visitors.

## 6. LONG-TERM USICA ACTIVITIES TO IMPLEMENT MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

- (a) Consider the potential for Direct Broadcast Satellite to Eastern Europe.
- **(b)** Study radio broadcasting to Western Europe.
- (c) Aid our allies when requested, e.g. Austrian TV satellite plans.
- **(d)** Re-examine and step up placement efforts and cooperative programming with Western European TV, radio.
- **(e)** Expand efforts to reach European youth in critical political "formative years" by helping improve European instruction and educational materials on U.S., and by markedly strengthening exchanges.
- (f) Initiate major research project on successor generations.

### 7. RECOMMENDED INITIATIVES

- (a) Develop or follow up ceremonies to mark the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, March 25.
- **(b)** Plan, develop U.S. activities, in cooperation with European governments and media, to honor the Marshall Plan and Atlantic cooperation: President to announce special fund for large-scale, Atlantic-community youth exchange.
- **(c)** Use opportunities presented by the visits of European leaders to emphasize key themes.
- **(d)** Reiterate, reinforce and expand upon as often as possible the November 18 speech themes.
- **(e)** Conduct special TV, press scene-setters for the President just before departure for Europe.
- **(f)** Coordinate and gain maximum exploitation of public affairs opportunities for the President during his European visit.

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	7. RECOMMENDED INITIATIVES (continued)
(g)	Consider needs for major long-term increases in exchanges, other programs that build the infrastructure of understanding among key groups.
(h)	Consider needs for new radio, TV broadcast technologies.
(i)	Consider improved public affairs coordination in order to speak with one voice.
(j)	Explore possibilities for cooperation among media/research institutions in Europe.

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- 21. Mr. Carl Weiss
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- 22. Dr. Hans Jurgen Rosenbauer WDR - TV Moderator, Cologne
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- 24. Minister Nelson C. Ledsky
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- 6. Prof. Andreas Kohl Director of the Austrian People's Party Political Academy
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- 10. Dr. Hubert Feichtlbauer Chief Editor Die Furche
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- 12. Mr. Larry Gruber
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- 38. Mr. Rudolf Nagiller Chief-Editor ORF Radio News
- 39. Mr. Alfred Payrleitner Chief of Political Documentation ORF TV

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- 7. Ambassador Maxwell M. Rabb
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- 11. Mr. Emilio Colombo Minister of Foreign Affairs
- 12. Mr. Guido Bodrato
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- 14. Mr. Sergio Zavoli
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- 15. Mr. Silvio Berlusconi Industrialist and owner of private TV station
- 16. Ambassador William Wilson U.S. Envoy to the Vatican
- 17. Minister Vincenzo Scotti
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- 22. Mr. Jacobucci Presidential Press Office
- 23. Mr. Carlo Maria Badini Superintendent, La Scala Opera House
- 24. Prince and Princess Borghese
- 25. Count Dino Pecci-Blunt and Countess Bonatella-Zegna
- 26. Marchese Emilio Pucci Fashion Entrepreneur
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- 29. West German Ambassador to Italy
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- 34. Don Virgilio Levi Vice Director L'Osservatore Romano
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  DIAPASON (monthly music review)
- 57. Ms. Olivia de Havilland Actress
- 58. Mr. Eugene Istomin
  Pianist
- 59. Mrs. Marta Casals Estomin Kennedy Center
- 60. Mrs Robert Casadesus Pianist
- 61. Mr. Esteve Ministry of Culture
- 62. Mr. Jacques Fournier
  Representive of President Mitterrand
- 63. Mr. Claude Labbe
   President
   "Rassemblement Pour la Republic" Party (R.P.R.)
- 64. Mr. Jean Tiberi
  Deputy from Paris
  Assistant to Mayor Chirac
- 65. Mr. Deflassieux President of Credit Lyonnais Bank Honorary President of Salle Pleyel
- 66. Mr. Pierre Joxe
  President of the National Assembly
  Socialist Party Caucus

- 67. Mr. Pierre Denizet
  Director of Cabinet for
  President of the National Assembly, Louis Mermaz
- 68. Mr. Claude Evin
  President of the National Assembly
  Commission on Social Affairs
- 69. Mr. Rousselet
  Director of Cabinet for
  Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy
- 70. Mr. Bernard Miyet
  Director of the Cabinet for
  the Ministry of Communication
- 71. Ambassador Evan Galbraith
- 72. Mr. Pierre Garrigu-Guyonnaud Special Assistant to Acting Minister of External Relations
- 73. Mr. Phillipe Wade
  Director of the Cabinet
  Ministry of Information
- 74. Mrs. Marilyn Fenner
  The American Church (France)
- 75. Madame Anne Marie Hubert Republicans Abroad
- 76. Mrs. Fortunee Lorant Architect
- 77. Ms. Donna Weir Republicans Abroad

#### SWITZERLAND

- 1. Amb. Andre Onkelinx Permrep of Belgium
- Amb. Peter Marshall Permrep of the United Kingdom
- 3. Amb. Donald McPhail Permrep of Canada
- 4. Amb. Paul Nitze
  Ambassador to Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Conference
- 5. Amb. Maynard Glitman INF Conference
- Amb. Louis Fields Committee on Disarmament
- Amb. Michael Smith
   U.S. Trade Representative
- 8. Mr. Richard Smyser
  Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees
- 9. Mr. Warren Hewitt Commission on Human Rights
- 10. Mr. Michael Novak Head of the Commission on Human Rights
- 11. Mr. Richard Schifter Commission on Human Rights
- 12. Ambassador Geoffrey Swaebe
- 13. Ambassador Faith Ryan Whittlesey
- 14. Dr. Regis De Kalbermatten Secretary General European Broadcasting Union
- 15. Mr. Miroslav Vilcek
   Director
   EBU TV Program Department
- 16. Mr. Anthony M. Dean
   Director
   EBU Radio Program Department

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March 11, 1982

#### Major Developments in Soviet Propaganda

Soviets today are making a worldwide effort to sway public opinion in their favor and against the U.S. They have committed sizable human and material resources to this endeavor. While this activity has continued over many years, there are significant current developments, including:

- o Soviet external radio broadcasting has increased dramatically in recent years. For example, their total of 2,094 hours per week in 1980--an increase of 75 hours per week over 1979--reflects the largest single jump in annual broadcasting in over ten years. Radio Moscow World Service in English has been on the air 24 hours a day since 1980.
- o Soviet <u>publishing</u> for <u>export</u> has increased substantially in recent years. For example, the number of book and pamphlet titles for export rose by almost 10 per cent between 1977 and 1979 (from roughly 2,280 to 2,495 titles) and the number of copies of books and pamphlets for export rose by 16 percent in the same period (from 56,849,200 to 61,396,800 copies).
- o Soviet propagandists have increasingly exploited Western media, particularly television. In 1981 Soviet official spokesmen "blitzed" American TV with a series of appearances on major public affairs programs. They justified Soviet international behavior, condemned U.S. activities worldwide, and promoted major Soviet propaganda themes. Because no reciprocity exists for Americans on Soviet TV, the U.S. must increase its efforts in other ways to counter this Soviet advantage in media access.

#### Major Themes in Soviet Propaganda

These themes change very little over time. Soviet propagandists adapt their basic line to fit current needs:

- -- The U.S. aims to establish military superiority over the USSR and by use of arms or the threat of force seeks to achieve global hegemony for itself and world imperialism. (Used to condemn Reagan budget with emphasis on defense)
- -- The U.S. (and its NATO puppets) is unwilling to engage in meaningful arms control/reduction talks with the USSR. (Used to separate the U.S. and its allies over INF)
- -- The U.S. interferes in the internal affairs of other nations. (Used to condemn U.S. sanctions against Poland and the USSR, to describe the situation in Afghanistan, and to criticize U.S. policy toward the Middle East)
- -- The USSR is the leading force for peace and liberation in the world. (Used to justify fomenting revolutions)

- -- The USSR is committed to support national liberation movements. (Used to justify Soviet interference in places such as the Caribbean, Angola, Southeast Asia, and to overcome U.S. objections to such actions)
- -- The U.S. is anti-Soviet in all its policies. (Used to condemn an alleged U.S.-PRC alliance and American arming of the Chinese.)
- -- The CIA is plotting covert actions around the world to subvert legitimate Marxist and leftist governments. (Used with respect to Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland, African states)
- -- The U.S. is a racist, exploitative, corrupt society. Its economy is in very bad shape, with the poor and minorities bearing the worst burdens of these difficulties.

Major Techniques of Soviet Propaganda

While Soviet propaganda techniques are many and varied, the most important are:

#### Indirection

Soviet propagandists take quotations out of context, cite sources inaccurately, misuse legitimate Western reporting, and "plant" pro-Soviet information--all to lend credence and support to their own views.

#### Diversion

Soviets blunt attacks on the USSR by diverting attention from their misdeeds, often through absurd/false charges aimed at the U.S.

#### Fanning Resentment

An essential purpose of Soviet propaganda is to incite social unrest and to play up traditional resentments with the expectation that, in conditions of social disorganization, Communists will more easily be able to take power.

#### Disinformation

By spreading lies, forgeries, and other forms of false information—in their own media and through the Soviet—sympathetic media of other nations—the USSR tries to sway world public opinion against the U.S.

### THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Mayandor W W

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Charles Z. Wick

Subject:

Initiative To Set the Stage for Your Trip to Europe

CONFIDENTIAL

We face a major problem in Europe with the growing tendency among young people there to blur the distinction between democratic and communist societies. Your personal involvement would be extremely helpful in addressing this problem. We suggest that on the eve of your trip to Europe you announce a new Atlantic Youth Fellowship exchange program — a 5 year initiative aimed at substantially increasing the present level of exchanges between American and European 17-19 year olds. This program would mark the first time the USG has focused on exchanges for this age group. This effort would begin the urgent task of building a new fabric of relations among the next generation of Americans and Europeans to help replace the old fabric of ties that are fast disintegrating.

Increased contact and communication between American and European young people would improve their ability to recognize that what we share is far more important than the issues dividing us. These exchanges would focus on our mutual accomplishments — intellectual, economic, security and political — that have been nurtured by 35 years of peace and Western cooperation. They would help provide a vision of the future which gives youth a greater sense of having a stake in the democratic values we share.

The 35th anniversary of the Marshall Plan and the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, present an ideal context for you to reaffirm existing ties with the Allies and to launch this two-way initiative. We recommend that the White House announce a special examine how to best improve US-European ties. This meeting would examine how to best improve US-European ties. This meeting would Atlantic. We would ask you to make brief remarks to kick off the meeting and announce our 5 year initiative for greater youth

To avoid any appearance of American largesse being heaped on a hapless Europe, the program should be a joint effort supported by government and private funds on both continents. If you approve this initiative, we will approach government and private leaders in Europe to shape their cosponsorship and coordinate the plan's announcement. This is especially important in Italy where we have already begun to lay the groundwork for a pilot project starting in September, which would significantly increase youth exchange between our two countries.

CONFIDENTIAL

Announcing this initiative just prior to your departure would be an excellent scene-setter for your trip. By showing sensitivity to the problems of youth, it would help create a positive tone for your journey.

#### Recommendations:

<pre>l. That you approv a new initiative for ir</pre>	ve the Atlantic Youth Fellowship program ncreased U.SEuropean youth exchanges.
Approve	Disapprove
2. That you agree as possible, for a May U.SEuropean ties.	to a White House announcement, as soon meeting to examine how to improve
Approve	Disapprove
3. That you agree initiative for U.SEu May.	to speak and to launch this new ropean youth exchange at the meeting in
Approve	Disapprove

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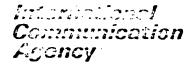
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PGM:JHughe ST PGM/MSchneider



United States of America Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director

March 3, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM

Charles Z. Wick

Director

SUBJECT

Reaching the Europeans
Through Public Diplomacy

During my travels in Europe I was impressed by the progress made in gaining European public understanding of U.S. policies. However, we need to do more through public diplomacy. High on the list of European concerns are the arms race and the economy. All too often your words and other U.S. policy statements reach European audiences in distorted form after instant analysis by media commentators here and abroad.

A significant exception was your November 18 speech on arms reduction for peace. That speech, which ICA satellited directly to Europe, told the Europeans exactly what they wanted to hear and met with near unanimous approval.

Your upcoming trip to Europe presents opportunities to add momentum to your peace initiative. The points you made on November 18, and others, need to be reiterated to those Europeans who remain dubious, poorly informed and fearful about U.S. policies. At the same time, the importance of fostering and preserving unified Western actions in opposition to the repression in Poland and Afghanistan should be stressed. While building up an adequate Western defense against the Soviet threat, the United States must keep talking peace to reassure our Allies, muster support for our positions, and energize other Western governments to make better efforts in public diplomacy, especially with the successor generation.

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Following are three specific recommendations for you to build on your November initiative.

#### RECOMMENDATION 1

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY PRINT AND TELEVISION CORRESPONDENTS FROM THE COUNTRIES YOU WILL VISIT.

To set the scene for your trip and to reach Europeans directly without passing through the filter of media commentators, I recommend your granting here in Washington in mid-April a half-hour to forty-five minute interview to a group of four senior correspondents from Italy (Il Tempo), Great Britain (The Economist), France (Le Monde) and the Federal Republic (Die Welt). The specific topics for discussion (the economy, arms control, the Atlantic Alliance, East-West relations and U.S. policy in Central America) should be agreed upon in advance. In addition it will be requested that each journalist submit his questions in advance.

A second half-hour interview with senior television correspondents from the same countries should be taped for broadcast just prior to your trip. Each journalist's questions will be submitted in advance.

#### RECOMMENDATION 2

A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH IN LONDON ON THE SUBJECT OF PEACE AND SHARED WESTERN VALUES.

At an appropriate historical site in London you should deliver a major policy address on U.S.-European relations before a substantial and sympathetic audience. Such a major address, carefully focused on two or three basic themes, would have great weight and resonance.

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(3)

The timbre of your voice, the quality of your body movements in combination with an overall aura that you generate, communicates an inner warmth and sincerity which is truly confidence building. There is very little lost despite a simultaneous translation of your words and/or subtitles. Your speech would be televised live in the U.K. and throughout Europe.

The overall theme for such an address should be our ardent desire and search for peace. While it is important to make the point about the need for adequate defense to guarantee peace, we must not lose ground to the Soviets, who hammer away at the peace theme while steadily and quietly beefing up their forces.

The U.S. has, perhaps, spoken too loudly about the need for nuclear force modernization, defensive chemical weaponry and arms increases. The emphasis on arms has tended to drown out our peace-seeking voice, which is the one the Europeans most want to hear.

In this speech you might challenge the Soviets to a "Race for Peace" instead of a race for war. After all, the United States represents the real "peace movement". We seek to conquer no territory and are willing to discuss genuine arms control and reduction.

For this "Race for Peace" to be effective, however, the Soviets need to go beyond their empty rhetoric and begin to demonstrate more restrained international conduct. They must not be permitted, through their propaganda, to undermine the sound and proven values uniting the free world.

A second important theme is the bond of shared values which unites the Western democracies.

Individual liberty and the freedom of self-expression are cherished rights which we and our

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forefathers earned through sacrifice and dedication. Continued vigilance is required to protect these rights, which we must not take for granted. At the same time we cannot stand mutely by when other people and nations, as close as Poland and Afghanistan and as far away as Kampuchea, struggle for their human rights and national independence. This theme would be particularly relevant to the "successor generation" of Europeans who did not experience the carnage of World War II.

#### RECOMMENDATION 3

TRIBUTE TO THE MARSHALL PLAN AND REMARKS ON THE NEED FOR JOINT EFFORTS TO OVERCOME OUR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

While in Paris on June 5, the 35th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, we recommend you visit the headquarters of the OECD, which is a direct and lasting outgrowth of the European Recovery Plan. This would be a highly appropriate site for positive remarks by you recalling joint European-American achievements under the Marshall Plan and stressing the need to rededicate ourselves to the principles of cooperation, hard work and determination in meeting the economic challenges of today.

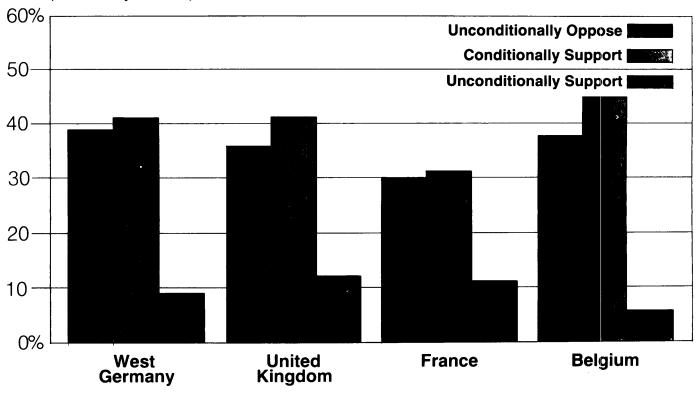
The mutual benefits which we and the Europeans derived from the Marshall Plan should serve as an example to us of the wisdom of joint endeavors by nations which share the same basic principles and love of freedom.

This tribute to the Marshall Plan would serve two useful purposes. It would remind older Europeans of our successful common efforts to reconstruct war-torn Europe and inform younger Europeans about the post-war recovery period, an era with which many of them are unfamiliar.

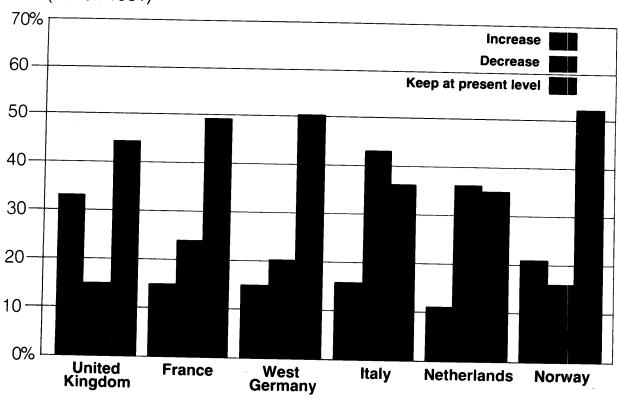
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### ATTITUDES TOWARD STATIONING INF ON THEIR SOIL

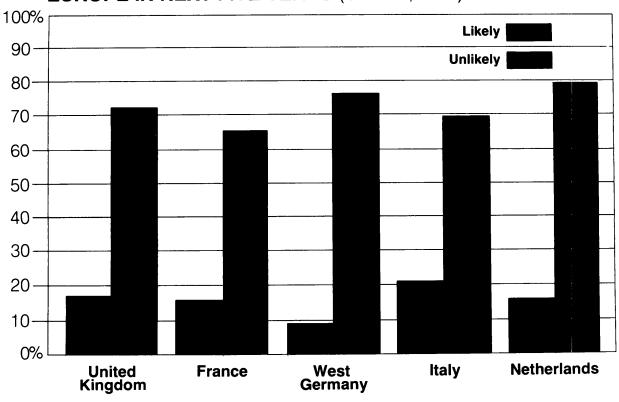
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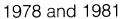
## **ATTITUDES TOWARD INCREASING DEFENSE SPENDING** (March 1981)

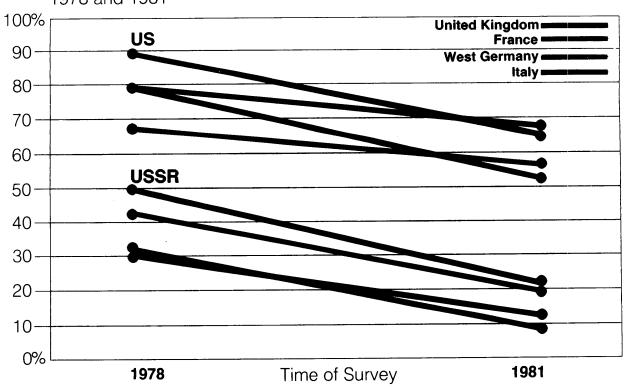


## PERCEIVED LIKELIHOOD OF SOVIET ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE IN NEXT FIVE YEARS (October, 1981)

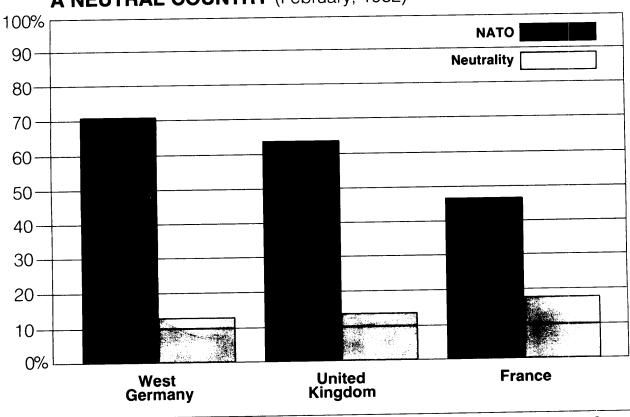


### **FAVORABLE OPINION OF U.S. VS. USSR**

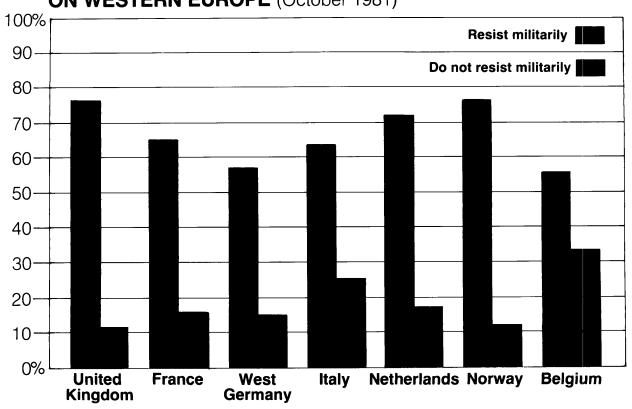




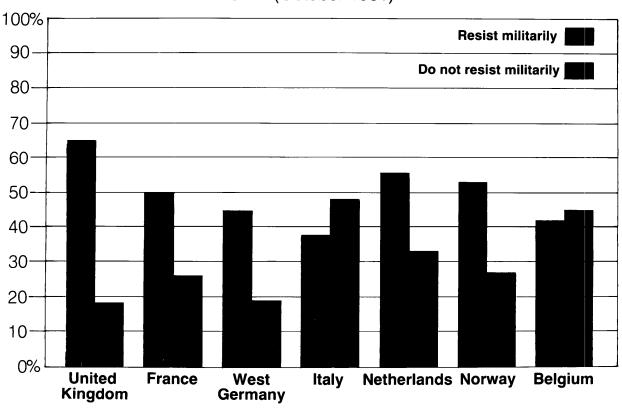
# PREFERENCE FOR STAYING IN NATO VS. BECOMING A NEUTRAL COUNTRY (February, 1982)



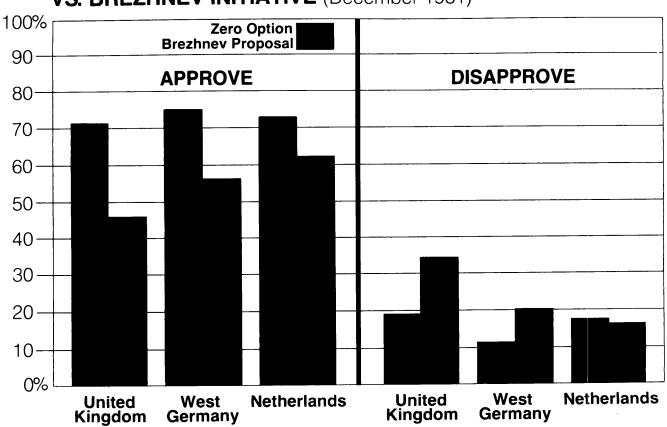
### EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO SOVIET CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE (October 1981)



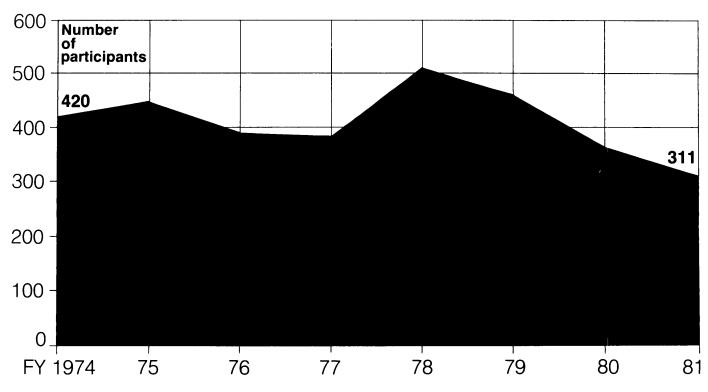
### EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO SOVIET NUCLEAR ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE (October 1981)



# EUROPEAN REACTION TO U.S. ZERO-OPTION INITIATIVE VS. BREZHNEV INITIATIVE (December 1981)



# WEST EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS IN INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM



# AGENCY SPONSORED BOOK TRANSLATIONS INTO EUROPEAN LANGUAGES (Numbers of Titles: 1954-1981)

