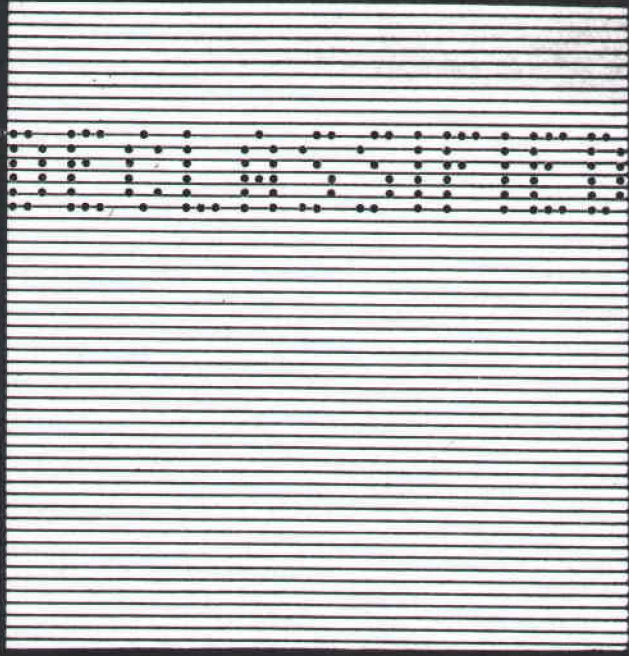


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DEPARTMENT OF STATE



# CASE STUDY

STRATEGIC DOCTRINE: THE NECESSITY FOR DIALOGUE  
AN APPRAISAL OF THE POTENTIAL FOR NEW  
MODES OF PARTNERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION  
IN THE 1970's

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United States Information Agency

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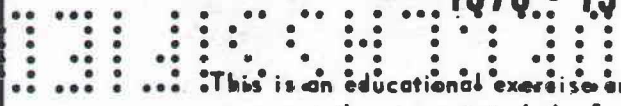
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## THIRTEENTH SESSION

## SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY

Washington, D. C.

1970 - 1971



This is an educational exercise and does not necessarily represent the viewpoint of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy or of the Department of State.

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THE SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY

THIRTEENTH SESSION  
August 17, 1970 - June 11, 1971

STRATEGIC DOCTRINE: THE NECESSITY FOR DIALOGUE

AN APPRAISAL OF THE POTENTIAL FOR NEW  
MODES OF PARTNERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION  
IN THE 1970's

A Case Study

by

Clifton B. Forster  
United States Information Agency

April, 1971

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The necessity for dialogue --

"In coming years we will be engaged in a broad and deep discussion with others concerning foreign policy and the nature of our respective roles. To define and assume new modes of partnership, to discover a new sense of participation, will pose a great intellectual challenge for our friends and ourselves."

President Richard Nixon  
Report to the Congress on  
United States Foreign Policy  
for the 1970's  
February 25, 1971

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SUMMARY

This case study examines the potential for more effective three-way communication on politico-military problems between concerned and responsible specialists in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Proceeding on the assumption that a common formative experience can lead to a consensus of opinion vital to new modes of partnership, the study concludes that a special effort is essential to broaden the communication base on strategic doctrine in the 1970's. The study is based on interviews with the personnel of major centers of strategic studies and institutes of international affairs during the course of a one month visit to Europe in March, 1971.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Introduction -----	1
The Importance of Japan -----	1
Security: The U.S.-Japan Dialogue -----	2
How reciprocal? -----	2
Common Characteristics -----	6
Common Concerns -----	8
Conclusions and Recommendations -----	10
Appendix -----	13

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## INTRODUCTION

Visits during March, 1971, to centers of strategic studies and institutes of international affairs in ten European countries serve as the basis for findings and conclusions in this case study for the Senior Seminar. A list of the centers visited and individuals interviewed is appended to this report. The primary objective of the trip was to determine the potential for more effective three-way communication between American, European and Japanese specialists concerned with politico-military problems. The central thesis of the study is that an expanded dialogue among responsible and concerned professionals can contribute to the new modes of partnership and the new sense of participation to which the President refers in his recent Report to Congress on U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's.

My interest in this project was stimulated by a long period of association with a new generation of moderate and objective Japanese scholars and journalists concerned with strategic problems in the development of Japan's own foreign policy. Receiving much of their graduate training at American universities after the war they have had strong exposure to our methodology and specialists. In much the same way, younger Americans specializing in Japanese studies and working in Japan since the war have been better equipped to cope with the problem of divergent premises. This cultural involvement has made it possible to engage in a more productive dialogue. Professor Michael Howard at Oxford, one of England's leading strategists, has underscored the significance of this sharing process: "Strategic doctrines," he writes, "may be widely held which cannot be attributed to any specific thinkers but represent the consensus of opinion among large numbers of professionals who have undergone a common formative experience. 1/

Based upon a conviction that such common formative experience is a vital ingredient for the kind of understanding which can contribute to an effective partnership, this case study considers the possibilities for widening the communication base in the 1970's.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF JAPAN

I proceeded with this study on the assumption that our special relationships with Western Europe and Japan are of vital importance to the national interest and that the maintenance of peace and security will depend largely on the extent to which these relationships are strengthened during the coming years. Any major effort to strengthen these relationships will have to take into account any divergence in premises on a wide range of issues of mutual interest and concern. This requires a critical examination of ways in which communication can be made more effective working closely with those individuals and organizations sharing similar concerns and interests in Western Europe and Japan.

Japan's special position was noted by the President in his February Report to Congress when he referred specifically to Western Europe and Japan as areas which have regained their economic vitality, social cohesion, and political self-assurance: "their new vigor transforms our relationship into a more balanced and dynamic coalition of independent states."

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Increasingly in recent years Japan, as an advanced technological state, has tended to identify with the United States and Western Europe in seeking solutions to many of her own environmental, industrial, urban and even her educational problems. Zbigniew Brzezinski in his recent book, Between Two Ages, comments in some detail on the significance of this identification. Calling for a broader endeavor to link Western Europe, the United States and Japan, Brzezinski contends that such linkage will "weave a new fabric of international relations" since Japan and Western Europe, along with America, are now in the forefront of scientific and technological innovation. He asserts that such linkage could also provide a political-security framework in which the security concerns of each state could be viewed in a much larger context. 2/

#### SECURITY: THE U.S.-JAPAN DIALOGUE

Since the mid-sixties American and Japanese professionals concerned with strategic problems have been meeting more frequently. Usually these meetings have taken the form of small, informal seminars on both sides of the Pacific and they have gone on with very little fanfare. Professor Robert Osgood of Johns Hopkins, following a month of such meetings in Japan, described their significance in a 1966 report on his trip 3/ and called attention to a "new generation of Japanese analysts" whom he assumed would be providing the foundation of Japan's search for a foreign policy in the next decade. It was a correct assumption and many of these men today occupy influential positions not only as nationally-known writers and commentators but also as special advisors to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense.

Another very significant development in recent years -- which triggered the interest in this case study -- is the tendency for many of these same Japanese professionals to look increasingly in the direction of Europe. I first learned of several of the European centers of strategic studies from these Japanese on their return from trips abroad. While the number of Japanese specialists proceeding to Europe has been relatively small they have absorbed a great deal and some of them have used European strategic assessments to support their own positions. The interest in European security developments has been increasing and there is a desire to know more about the views of their European counterparts on strategic problems, particularly in regard to NATO and security relationships with us.

#### HOW RECIPROCAL?

Do the Europeans have a similar interest in Japan? As the result of interviews at the various centers and talks with journalists, scholars and government officials I left Europe convinced that there is a very strong interest in Japan. For the average citizen I suppose it is a mixture of bewilderment and awe -- bewilderment as more and more Japanese, usually travelling in groups, fill hotel dining rooms and crowd into double-decker busses; awe over all they hear and read about Japan's amazing economic progress. One can appreciate this when you open your window the first night in Paris and discover an "Asahi Pentax" ad flashing away on Place Madeleine or look up to see a branch of Tokyo's Okura Hotel dominating the Amsterdam skyline.

For those Europeans specializing in strategic studies and international relations, Japan has become a subject of considerable interest and I ran into repeated questions about Japan and its "new role" in Asia: Will they rearm? Will they go nuclear? Will they play a role similar to Germany pushing for a "detente" with Communist China similar to Germany's moves on Ostpolitik? Are they becoming more independent in their relationships with you Americans? How are their neighbors in Southeast Asia reacting to them?

There is a strong desire at a number of the European centers to enter into closer working relationships with centers in Japan concerned with strategic studies. London's Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS) under its new director, Francois Duchene, plans to introduce "an Asia dimension" into ISS and wants to concentrate on Japan. It is his view that ISS members should know more about Asia since developments out there can affect what happens here with NATO." To introduce this new dimension ISS is currently working on a major conference for early 1972 which will bring American, Japanese, European and Southeast Asian specialists together in Tokyo.

Other examples of this interest in Japan:

- The editor of The China Quarterly in London, David Wilson, hopes to establish much closer contact with Japanese working on contemporary Chinese studies. Wilson visited Japan for the first time last October to attend a seminar on Communist China, came away impressed with the quality of much of their work. He believes more should be done to establish a link between European, American and Japanese specialists working on Communist China. Stuart Schram, Director of the Contemporary China Institute which is responsible for The China Quarterly, will be spending several months in Japan to learn more about the present status of Oriental studies there and to establish contacts with Japanese scholars in the China field.
- Professor L. W. Martin, Director of the Department of War Studies at King's College, University of London, hopes to bring more students of different nationalities together to work in the strategic studies field. He is interested in Japanese participation. A member of his faculty, Wolf Mandl, has specialized on Japanese security attitudes and problems and did much of his research in Japan.
- Professor Jacques Vernant, Director of the Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales in Paris, looks forward to working more closely with Japanese institutes like his own: "Japan is a power we must know more about and study more actively." It is Vernant's view that events beyond Western Europe could now have a profound effect on European security. The Professor referred to an invitation he had received from the Council on Foreign Relations to attend a session on "Advanced Technological Societies" which would consider the possibility of a closer linkage of Western Europe, the United States and Japan. Vernant hopes to visit Japan since the trend "towards greater involvement and exchange with this Asian country is now obvious."
- Pierre Hassner, one of Europe's most influential strategic writers, has a similar interest and also hopes to visit Japan soon. While it is difficult for Professor Hassner in Paris to understand the relevancy of the European situation for Japan he recognizes that the interest is there and would like to know more about it. He also sees some "symmetry" between Germany and Japan now that both are again in positions of real leadership and acting more independently. This symmetry is of particular interest to him.
- At the Atlantic Institute in Paris I found its Director-General, Ambassador John Tuthill, hard at work with the assistance of his able Deputy, Dr. Curt Gasteyger, on arrangements for a late-March conference in Tokyo on the subject of "Foreign Trade and Investment." The Institute was responding to the initiative for such a conference from the Japanese members on the Board of Governors. Kogoro Uemura, Chairman of Keidanren, Japan's prestigious Federation of Economic Organizations, is one of the leading members on the Board. The Institute works closely with ISS in London as well as with other

European institutes concerned with economic, political and strategic problems. Its major purpose is "to assist in solving problems which are common to the Atlantic countries and to Japan."

- Professor Urs Schwarz, former foreign editor of the Neue Zürcher Zeitung and now conducting a special course with Professor Louis Halle on strategic studies at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, believes a "trialogue" involving Europeans, Americans and Japanese could be very important at this time. He would like himself to be more involved in Asia and Japan specifically. Professor Halle would welcome greater contact with Japanese specialists and qualified Japanese students (French is essential). Halle commented that there had been considerable Japanese interest in his book on The History of the Cold War which has now been translated into Japanese.
  
- Professor Cesare Merlini, Director of the Institute of International Affairs in Rome, is very much interested in establishing closer working relationships with Japanese organizations. His strongest ties at present are with ISS, the Atlantic Institute and the Institute of International Politics and Economics in Belgrade. The Olivetti Foundation in Rome, which provides financial support to Merlini's organization, is now putting its primary emphasis on socio-political problems and is primarily concerned with the impact of new technology on societies. Dr. Luigi D'Oriano of the Foundation referred to a conference which will be international in scope scheduled for September, 1971 at Courmayeur in northern Italy. The subject of the conference will be "The Social and Political Implications of Science and Technological Innovation in the Field of Information" and participants will examine the problems of ownership, distribution and handling of computers. D'Oriano expressed keen interest in Japanese participation and it was suggested that President Yoshinori Maeda of the Japan Broadcasting Company (NHK) be contacted. Maeda is Honorary Chairman of the International Broadcast Institute located in Rome and an NHK representative, Hiroshi Sakamoto, is Deputy to the American Director, Arthur Morse. Working through NHK it should be possible to bring the Japanese into closer contact with European specialists in the technological information field.
  
- Professor Leo Mates, Director of Belgrade's Institute of International Politics and Economics, referred to the growing interest of many younger Yugoslavians in Japan, and he hopes to facilitate exchanges which will bring Western and Eastern Europeans, Americans, Japanese and other Asians into closer contact during the decade.
  
- Two centers visited in Germany are working closely with the Japanese and would like to do much more to promote a program of active exchange. The Foundation for Science and Politics under Dr. Klaus Ritter near Munich is very interested in the new generation of Japanese scholars and journalists. Dr. Joachim Glaubitz is their Japanese specialist and spent some time in Japan in the sixties. In Bonn I met with Professor Karl Carstens, Director of the Research Institute of the German Foreign Policy Association, and with Dr. Wolfgang Wagner. Together they run what is actually the German counterpart of our Council on Foreign Relations. The Institute has been in fairly close contact with Japanese specialists and I learned from Dr. Wagner that Professor Kei Wakaizumi, an influential writer and lecturer on strategic matters, had participated in 1968 in a conference in Bonn on "The Role of Middle Powers in World Politics."

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- Not far from The Hague at Tilburg Professor Alting von Geusau conducts an active program "for research, education and dialogue" as Director of the John F. Kennedy Institute's Center for International Studies. He would like to do more on Asia and is very much interested in Japan. Professor von Geusau works closely with Professor R. Th. Jurrens, Director of the Foundation for the Promotion of East-West Contacts at the Free University of Amsterdam. Jurrens refers to the importance of "the indirect approach" in order to put more Western and Eastern Europeans in contact with each other. He is inviting Zbigniew Brzezinski to attend a conference planned for June which will include the Eastern Europeans. Jurrens expressed interest in Brzezinski's new emphasis on the need for Western Europeans, Americans and Japanese to work together more closely on common problems and wonders if it would not be possible to work in the Eastern Europeans as well.
- Oslo's Norwegian Institute of International Affairs under Dr. John Sanness had just completed a conference earlier in the month which had involved Japanese participation. Talking to Dr. Sanness and to Professors Johan Holst and Arne Brundtland, it was obvious that they were very much interested in Japan as an emerging power in Asia. The conference was on "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in the Politics and Defense Planning of Non-Nuclear States" and brought Scandinavian specialists together with other European and American specialists as well as specialists from Israel, India and Japan. The Japanese representative, Ryukichi Imai, Manager of the Fuel Section of the Japan Atomic Power Company, delivered a paper on "The Changing Role of Nuclear Technology in the Post-NPT World." According to Holst, who was largely responsible for the planning and organization of the conference, Imai presented one of the most impressive papers. This Institute looks forward to more contact with the Japanese in the future.
- In Stockholm, the International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) is providing a good deal of documentation to the Japanese, particularly in the arms control and disarmament field. Professor Fujio Egami, Chairman of the Japan Science Council, is one of the new members of the SIPRI Scientific Council and I was told that the Japanese had been quite active in the Council which also includes such other members as Professors Bertrand de Jouvenal of France, C.F. von Weizsacker of Germany and Carl Kaysen of the United States. SIPRI has just started exchanging research materials with the recently organized Institute of International Relations for Advanced Studies on Peace and Development in Asia at Sophia University in Tokyo. Two other institutes in Stockholm interested in greater contact with the Japanese are the Research Institute of Swedish National Defense and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. The former, under Dr. Torsten Magnusson, and the latter, under Dr. Ake Sparring, have had some contact with the Japanese. Both institutes work closely together and the National Defense Institute provides financial support to the Institute of International Affairs. Dr. Magnusson and his special advisor, Professor Nils Andren, informed me that there had been close contact on defense research matters with Japanese officials and some business groups visiting the institute. Three members of the Stockholm staff recently attended a conference of "international futurists" in Kyoto. Magnusson called attention to strong Japanese interest in the 1972 conference on environmental problems and they expect a sizeable delegation from Tokyo to attend. The Swedish Institute of International Affairs under Dr. Sparring would like to enter into a more active program of exchange with the Japanese. I discovered that Ryukichi Imai had also made a very favorable impression on Swedish representatives at the Oslo conference in March. Kjell Goldmann, Director of the Research Department of the Institute, specializes on conflict studies, did graduate work at Harvard from 1968 to 1969. He looks forward to establishing contacts with Japanese specialists interested in arms control and disarmament.

-- The College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium is under the direction of Professor Henri Brugmans. It is a unique institution and while it does not specialize on strategic studies, as such it does bring together postgraduate students from all over Europe to concentrate on problems relating to the maintenance of peace and security and to problems of European unification. The student body annually is restricted to about 60 students representing 20 nationalities. The students live and work together with the faculty and in talking to Rector Brugmans, I was impressed by the network of former students all over Europe, many of whom now occupy positions of influence. A third of these former students are either in national diplomatic services or in international organizations and among these almost half again are officials either of the European Communities or of the Council of Europe. Brugmans feels that in view of Japan's economic interests and ties with Europe, including membership in the OECD, that qualified graduate students from Japan would find the Bruges experience most stimulating and useful. Japan, too, could become part of this larger "network" of former students and her participation could result in greater mutual understanding between Japan and the nations of Europe.

While there are still other examples to indicate the strong interest in greater three-way communication, the above examples provide some idea of the potential for a more effective dialogue "to encourage new modes of partnership and a new sense of participation in the 1970's."

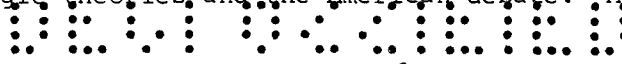
#### COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

Visiting the European centers I find there are certain characteristics they have in common with their Japanese counterparts and which could make a "trialogue" - to use Dr. Urs Schwarz's term - even more meaningful.

First, I am impressed by the degree to which American strategic theories and the debate of the 1950's sparked both European and Japanese interest leading to the establishment of organizations designed to bring journalists, academics, military representatives, political party leaders and government officials together to discuss strategic problems and issues. Urs Schwarz, in his concise and perceptive book on American strategy, underscores the need for an educational and information effort on politico-military problems and the importance to Europe of the American strategic debate: "The American tradition of a completely free exchange of opinions, the full participation in the arms debate of the scientific community, the military and policy-makers, has made possible the extraordinary and positive achievement of strategic maturity." 4/

A second common characteristic of interest: the Europeans and Japanese who have launched this effort "to inform and to educate" on the new theories and debate have generally had a strong journalistic background. In Europe we find such former journalists as Alastair Buchan, the founder of the Institute of Strategic Studies in London, Urs Schwarz with the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Wolfgang Wagner with the Research Institute of the German Foreign Policy Association in Bonn and Richard Lowenthal at the Free University of Berlin. Francois Duchene, the new director of ISS, was also a journalist working at one time with The Economist.

On inquiring about this particular characteristic I discovered that a journalistic background had been and continues to be very useful in achieving the information task required. The new centers of strategic studies did not want to limit their activity to narrow research pursuits. Working with and through important opinion leader groups the plan was to acquaint a larger public with the new strategic theories and the American debate. Alastair Buchan, on the



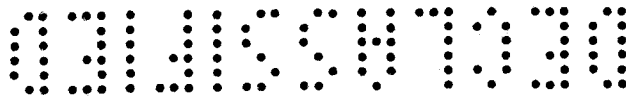


occasion of the tenth anniversary of the ISS in 1968, recalled that the earlier period had witnessed very little international communication producing a generally myopic attitude to security. Buchan went on to state that ISS was created in 1958 to overcome this and to establish "a less frightened relationship" between officials and theorists, between governments and their elites: "each has come gradually to recognize their mutual dependence on the other." Buchan made it clear from the outset that the constituency of the ISS would be those who influence the public -- the academic, the journalist, the politician -- rather than trying to reach the mass public directly. 5/

In Japan in recent years we can note a similar trend with journalists playing increasingly important roles in organizing and participating in seminars and conferences on security problems designed eventually to reach a larger public. The three national dailies -- Asahi, Yomiuri and Mainichi set up their own strategic study groups in the early and mid-sixties and such journalists as Osamu Miyoshi of the Mainichi, Junnosuke Kishida of the Asahi and free-lancer "scholar journalists" like Fuji Kamiya, Masataka Kosaka and Kinhiide Mushakoji now occupy positions similar to their European counterparts "educating" a larger public on strategic matters.

A third common characteristic worth noting is the fact that many of the directors and staff members of these centers in Western Europe and Japan have studied and lectured at American institutions post-war and are generally younger men in the 30-45 age bracket. Professor L. W. Martin, Director of War Studies at King's College, University of London, did his graduate work at Yale, has been in close touch with SAIS in recent years; Cesare Merlini, the new Director of Rome's Institute of International Affairs, worked at the Argonne Labs as a nuclear engineer; Ljubiuobjb Acimovic, Deputy to Leo Mates at the Institute of International Politics and Economics in Belgrade, studied at Harvard, has close ties with MIT; Alting von Geusau, Director of the Center for International Studies of the John F. Kennedy Institute at Tilburg in the Netherlands, did his graduate work at the University of California and will begin a year of lecturing and research this September at MIT; Johan Holst at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo, studied at Columbia, works closely with Bowie's Center at Harvard, has recently been at the Hudson Institute; Kjell Goldmann, Director of Research at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm, did his graduate work at Harvard in the late-60's. These are just a few examples to indicate the close relationships existing with our own institutions. And in Japan one finds a similar situation with many of the younger men at various centers having completed their graduate work since the war at American institutions.

A fourth and final common characteristic of interest: most of the centers both in Europe and Japan receive government financial support and there is a very close working relationship with Foreign and Defense Ministries on many projects. At several centers I found Foreign Office and Defense personnel working alongside scholars and research assistants on strategic study projects. This government support and interaction with the Ministries assures an effective two-way exchange which can have positive benefits in both directions. In Japan there has been a similar development in recent years with various research centers receiving government support and making a special effort to bring the government and private researcher into closer contact on projects of mutual interest. It is perhaps worth noting that members of certain research institutes in Japan with government connections are among the most frequent participants in conferences arranged by ISS and other European centers of strategic studies.



## COMMON CONCERNS

While the centers visited in Europe are focussing primarily on European security problems and are mostly interested in such subjects as the longer-range implications of Ostpolitik and the proposed European Security Conference, the situation in the Middle East and the build-up of Soviet power in the Mediterranean, I did note some underlying concerns shared with Japanese strategists focussing on a different set of Asian problems on the other side of the world. Presumably these shared concerns might well account for the increasing Japanese interest in European views on European security problems which can be related to their own. This would certainly explain why there is such a strong mutuality of interest when an Imai presents his paper in Oslo on the subject of nuclear technology in the post-NPT world. Or when a Holst talks about small powers in a nuclear world at the same conference. Again at Bonn there are the same shared concerns and interests when Kei Wakaizumi presents his paper on the role of Japan in world politics with Altiero Spinelli doing the same for Italy and Ake Sparring for Sweden. The Bonn papers were solicited by the German Foreign Policy Association "to examine the role of middle powers in world politics and to determine how they might strengthen their world positions." The common concern and interests are very evident from the papers submitted by the thirteen so-called "middle-powers."

I encountered in Europe many of the same questions encountered in Japan about the future direction of American foreign policy and discovered that there is the same widespread concern over the longevity of the U.S. commitment. Would we have the staying power given our domestic problems and pressures? Would disenchantment over Vietnam lead to neo-isolationism and an American "disengagement" from Europe as well as Asia during this decade? Is Senator Mansfield "the voice of the future" and will we scale down our forces in Europe too soon and too fast? Can we cope effectively with a steady build-up of Soviet power moving skillfully and quietly into new power vacuums?

Having arrived in Europe just after the President's Report to Congress on Foreign Policy had appeared in local papers, it was interesting to note how frequently the Report came up in conversations at the various centers and institutes. Summing up the general reaction, I would say it was one of relief and an appreciation of the fact that the President had made his position so clear on the defense of Western Europe and that the area had been given such a high priority during the 70's. It was encouraging to note how widely the document had been read at the different centers and I often discovered that the President's Report was in the possession of staff members with extensive margin notes and particular passages underlined. Quite frequently I was told that the attention to detail, particularly in clarifying the basic assumptions underlying our doctrine, was both convincing and impressive.

As in Japan, however, I find that some European specialists tend to project rather far into the future and the question invariably was - "But what assurance is there if you have a change of administration?" I was told on several occasions that it is difficult to plan ahead given the changes in American administrations ("your leaders do not stay around very long"). At the same time I was impressed, as I have been in Japan, by the great reliance on American nuclear and conventional power regardless of who is at the helm. In Europe on this trip I was repeatedly assured that any progress on detente would depend largely on the presence of this power within NATO. Ostpolitik would never succeed without this presence (meaning a continuing American commitment).

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I find that Germany, like Japan, is now playing a far more independent role and that one encounters the same mixed feelings in some quarters about her future influence and power in Central Europe. While Ostpolitik as a policy appears to be widely admired and supported occasionally, you do run into some uneasiness as to where this will all lead.

European threat perceptions are roughly similar, I find, to those held by the new generation of Japanese strategists. The Soviet Union is viewed as the main threat. I was somewhat surprised to discover, however, that the build-up of Soviet seapower did not seem to be as much of a cause for alarm ("a development one could expect and they may over-extend themselves"). Others, although in a minority, did express great concern over this build-up and foresee an eventual encirclement of Western Europe with Soviet control of the sealanes - the North Sea, the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean and eventually the Indian Ocean. One European specialist was very blunt: "The fact that she (USSR) is there (Med) will change the whole balance of power and is bound to have some effect on European attitudes."

As in Japan, I found that most Europeans see no particular threat from Communist China. For most it is very far away and primarily a Soviet problem. Her nuclear capability is not impressive and there is a general feeling that economic difficulties present some real restraints. Michel Tatu, the highly-respected Sovietologist with Le Monde, takes the position that the new "triangular" relationship (Washington-Moscow-Peking) may actually find us in the most favorable position since we have no "doctrinal prejudice" and will be able to react to the hostility of the other two." 6/ Tatu in this same work sees the USSR deploying its fleet into the Indian Ocean primarily "to outface" China.

If there is any area where I found a unanimity of views held by the European and Japanese specialists it was on the subject of our Vietnam policy. While there was some sympathetic understanding of our position and a generally favorable reaction to the Nixon Doctrine's emphasis on "Vietnamization" I did encounter a good deal of criticism about our continuing involvement. I was often told that we had probably committed too many of our resources there at a time when we should be stronger in other areas (Western Europe and the Middle East were mentioned most frequently as "the other areas"). Would we be able to counter Soviet power moves in the future? There was a tendency to see Brezhnev as a very able, calculating leader operating with a long-range scenario based on Russia's historical experience as an "imperial power." Our continued involvement in Vietnam, according to a number of these specialists, would weaken our will to resist this Soviet advance.

Another common concern of interest is the strong desire to establish new lines of communication -- in the case of many Europeans I talked to this involved the whole mood of "detente" and a feeling that they would be able to break through to some of the East Europeans through the conference mechanism (there is a similarity here to Japan's desire to break through with Communist China). I was told repeatedly that the time had come to concentrate more effort on projects which would get Europeans, East and West, talking to each other again on as informal a level as possible. It was surprising to discover the number of centers and institutes involved in this effort to establish new lines of communication. The British, French, Germans, Italians, Dutch and Scandinavians are all attempting, often quite independently of each other, to exchange views with their counterparts in centers and institutes in Eastern European capitals. Leo Mates in Belgrade, Wagner and Carstens in Bonn, Geseau and Jurrens in the Netherlands, Merlini in Rome are among those who are very optimistic about this trend the assumption being that if they can meet often enough to sort out and discuss their differences the chances are good that some of the current

misunderstanding and apprehension can be cleared up. There is a strong sense of mission with a number of the Western European center personnel I interviewed although they are not blind to the difficulties and problems ahead of them. The Institute of Strategic Studies under Alastair Buchan and Curt Gasteyer pioneered much of this early effort to bring the Eastern Europeans into the discussions and it has obviously met with considerable success if the lists of upcoming projects I saw at various centers involving Eastern Europeans is any indication.

One final concern worth mentioning: as I moved about Europe visiting the centers it became rather clear to me that the emphasis on "strategic studies" during the 1960's was shifting to a new plateau in the 70's. It seemed to be a matter primarily of definition or redefinition of the term "strategy" and I found with veterans like Buchan, Aron, Howard, Schwarz, and Lowenthal that the term covered a very wide spectrum. It is certainly no longer "strategy" in the purely military sense of the word and Professor G. L. Goodwin, Director of the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics, made the point very well in the session I had with him. It is essential now, he believes, to go back to the study of societies and value systems, a return to the more traditional study of international relations, to systems of communication which will enable us to break through the barriers which still exist. There had been a tendency to get too involved with the nuts and bolts of strategy, with strategic studies per se and while this had been very useful and productive in the sixties it is essential now to put "strategy" in a much larger context in order to face the problems of the seventies. Kenneth Younger, Director of Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs) in London shares a similar view and notes that ISS is now moving into other fields - political, economic and social - which of course have relevance to the purely military aspects of strategic studies. The general thrust appears to be that the quality of strategic thinking is related to an understanding of international relations.

It is particularly interesting to note in this connection, and here there is a remarkable similarity to the situation in Japan, that the strategic thinkers of the sixties are now increasingly involved on environmental and other urban and social problems at the various centers concerned earlier with strategic studies in the narrower sense. There is a growing concern at these centers with problems arising from technological change and I noted that such terms as "post-industrial society" and "communications revolution" were being used quite extensively at these centers by personnel who presumably considered themselves earlier to be "strategists" in the more traditional sense.

To initiate successful conferences in the future I had the feeling from talking to staff members at several centers that "strategic studies" per se might be out of vogue unless put in the larger framework of "strategy to cope with the problems of man and his society." I was told frequently that while strategic considerations in the more classical sense are as important as they ever were, there are now new directions to move in if some of the centers are to be relevant to the interests and needs of the larger public not to mention the requirements of government and industry.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A basic conclusion reached as the result of this trip is that we are now in a vitally important period of transition which could have a stabilizing effect both in Europe and Asia if new modes of partnership and participation can be encouraged on a broad enough basis to be effective.

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Another conclusion reached is that we are witnessing in Europe an important shift in interests from a predominantly defense-orientation to a new and growing concern with economic relationships, the problems of the cities, the consumer and his environment, the disaffected younger generation. The initiatives on "detente" appear to reflect much of this. These initiatives, particularly in the case of West Germany, lead to greater independence of action and it is here that I find a great similarity to post-war Japan. The emergence of these two strong powers, West Germany in Europe and Japan in East Asia, will result in some very basic attitude changes in the seventies.

While I had the impression that NATO is as important as it ever was to the defense of Western Europe, there is now a tendency increasingly to question some of our conceptions based on purely strategic assessments. Political, economic and psychological considerations are being given a very high priority by the Europeans I met with and it is quite likely that this new period of transition will witness the development of a new set of assumptions about the nature of Atlantic, East-West and Asian relationships, more specifically Japan since her economic influence is so preponderant in Europe today.

During this important period of transition it is gratifying to note the interest, at least at European centers I visited, in greater three-way communication which would involve the Europeans, the Japanese and ourselves. Another principal conclusion, then, is that the potential is definitely there both in Europe and Japan and provides exceptional opportunities to examine each other's conceptions on a regular basis in a continuing effort to remove misunderstandings and to reach the "concensus of opinion" to which Michael Howard refers.

A long-range objective of this wider interchange of opinion would be to create a community of international security. It would get at the causes of crises in larger forums and it would provide more opportunities to make clear the nature of our respective strategic interests. It would also permit a longer-range view which could succeed in putting these interests in a much larger politico-economic, psychological framework. The ultimate goal would be to achieve multi-lateral rather than unilateral or bilateral conceptions on strategy understood and, hopefully, shared by those involved in these important exchanges.

My major recommendation, based on these conclusions, is that a special effort should be made by both the public and private sectors in the United States, Europe and Japan -- and this would include government, the universities, foundations and business concerns where appropriate -- to work together to encourage such three-way communication. In America, Europe and Japan the interested individuals and organizations are there and much is already underway as this study has tried to indicate. But much more remains to be done not only in support of specific projects but also in assuring wider participation which can only be realized if this new concept of communication is understood by all parties involved. There is a need for wider dissemination of information about the projects underway or in the mill and there is also a need to know more specifically about the interests of the various groups and the degree of specialization in various fields. In a very small way this study has attempted to identify a limited number of these interests and needs in Europe where they relate to similar needs and interests in our country and in Japan.

Finally, it is obvious that there is a strong convergence of interest calling for a greater effort to encourage participation in the 1970's. The "necessity for dialogue" is clear enough. It will require, however, a great deal more imagination and initiative if the problems of strategy are to be considered

in the same forums by responsible and knowledgeable professionals in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. If this effort succeeds it will mark the beginning of a new kind of partnership -- an Atlantic-Pacific community of thought on strategic doctrine -- which could make a significant contribution to peace and security during the last quarter of this century.

There is no greater intellectual challenge for us in the 1970's.

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APPENDIX

1. Centers and individuals contacted on European case study trip for Senior Seminar: February 26 - March 26, 1971

London

Alastair BUCHAN, Commandant, Imperial Defense College  
Francois DUCHENE, Director, Institute of Strategic Studies  
Brigadier Kenneth HUNT, Deputy Director, ISS  
G.L. GOODWIN, Director, Department of International Relations,  
London School of Economics and Political Science  
L.W. MARTIN, Director, Department of War Studies, University  
of London (King's College)  
Kenneth YOUNGER, Director, Royal Institute of International Affairs,  
Chatham House  
David WILSON, Editor, China Quarterly, Contemporary China Institute  
Michael HOWARD, Fellowship in Higher Defense Studies, All Souls  
College, Oxford  
Roderick MACFARQUHAR, former Editor, China Quarterly, Contemporary  
China Institute  
Coral BELL, East Asian Studies, Department of International Relations,  
London School of Economics and Political Science

Paris

Raymond ARON, Sorbonne University  
General Andre BEAUFRE, Director, Institut Francais d'Etudes Strategiques  
Pierre HASSNER, Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales  
Michael TATU, Le Monde  
Jacques VERNANT, Director, Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangere  
Jean MEYRIAT, Director, Center d'Etudes des Relations Internationales  
Fondation des Sciences Politiques  
John TUTHILL, Director General, Atlantic Institute

Zurich

Urs SCHWARZ, Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva)

Geneva

Louis HALLE, Graduate Institute of International Studies

Rome

Cesare MERLINI, Director, Institute of International Affairs  
Luigi D'ORIANO, Social Science Research Council, Adriano Olivetti  
Foundation  
Arthur MORSE, Executive Director, International Broadcast Institute  
Hiroshi SAKAMOTO, Deputy Director, IBI

Belgrade

Leo MATES, Director, Institute of International Politics and  
Economics  
Ljubivoje ACIMOVIC, Deputy Director  
Dragan ZIVKOVIC, Historian

Munich

Klaus RITTER, Director, Science and Politics Foundation, Research  
Institute for International Politics and Security  
Wolf Graf von BAUDISSIN, Deputy  
Herr GLAUBITZ - East Asia  
Herr BRAUN - South Asia  
Herr HEISENBERG - European security  
Herr SCHWARZ - Western European security  
Herr ROTH - U.S.-European relationships  
Herr FEIGL - SALT  
Herr SCHMOLLER-HALDY - security problems

Herman ACHMINOW, Director, Institute for the Study of the USSR

Bonn

Karl CARSTENS, Director, Research Institute of the German Foreign  
Policy Association  
Wolfgang WAGNER, German Foreign Policy Association  
E. EGGERS, Director, Institute of Political Planning and Cybernetics  
Hans-Georg WIECK, Chief, Planning Staff, Federal Ministry of Defense  
Hans Bernhard Count SCHWEINITZ, Chief, Defense Desk, Federal Republic  
Press and Information Office  
Ursula FISCHBACH-WILKE, Executive Secretary, German-Atlantic Association  
H. DAHM, Director, Strategic Studies, Institute for Eastern and Interna-  
tional Studies

Berlin

Richard LOWENTHAL, Otto-Suhr-Institut of the Free University of Berlin

The Hague

Major General M.W.J.M. BROEKMEIJER, Director, Defense Study Center  
Brigadier General Antony E. VANDISCHOECK, Member of DSC Staff  
H. NEUMAN, Director, Netherlands Institute for Study of War and Peace  
(commentator KRO-TV)

Tilburg (Netherlands)

Alting von GEUSAU, Director, John F. Kennedy Research Institute

Amsterdam

R. Th. JURRJENS, Director, Foundation for the Promotion of East-West  
Contacts, Free University of Amsterdam

Oslo

John SANNESS, Director, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs  
Johan HOLST, Deputy Director  
Arne BRUNDTLAND, Research Staff  
Johannes LEINE, Director of Planning, Ministry of Defense  
Knut MIDGAARD, Institute of Political Science, University of Oslo  
Eric KLIPPENBERG, Director of Research, Defense Research Institute

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Stockholm

Sven HIRDMAN, Special Assistant to the Director, Stockholm International  
Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)  
Torsten MAGNUSON, General Director, Research Institute of National Defense  
Nils ANDREN, Special Advisor (RIND)  
Kjell GOLDMANN, Director, Research Department, Swedish Institute of  
International Affairs  
Britt ODEEN, Director, Library and Research Services (SIIA)  
Stellan BOHM, Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Brussels (Bruges)

Henri BRUGMANS, Rector, College of Europe

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND FOOTNOTES

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In preparing for this case study, I concentrated on selected American and European works dealing primarily with European strategic problems since the war. The works of the following American authors were particularly useful: Henry Kissinger's Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy, American Foreign Policy, Problems of National Strategy, The Troubled Partnership and Necessity for Choice; Robert Osgood's Nato-The Entangling Alliance, Limited War; Thomas Schelling's Strategy of Conflict and Arms and Influence; Klaus Knorr's NATO and American Security; Bernard Brodie's Strategy in the Missile Age; Raymond Garthoff's Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age and Sino-Soviet Relations; Chalmers Johnson's Change in Communist Systems, Chalmers Roberts' The Nuclear Years; Richard Starr's Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe; Karl Cerny and Henry Brief's NATO in Quest of Cohesion; Zbigniew Brzezinski's Between Two Ages; Hans Speier's Divided Berlin, Schelling and Halperin's Strategy and Arms Control, Daniel Lerner and Morton Gordon's Euratlantica--Changing Perspectives of the European Elites.

U.S. Government publications on European security problems were also very helpful. The President's Report to Congress on U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's issued on February 25 proved to be of great value for reference purposes in discussions with European specialists.

To get a feeling for European views I worked primarily with books by authors I planned to contact on the trip. The following works were particularly helpful in this respect: Raymond Aron's Peace and War, The Great Debate, Democracy and Totalitarianism, On War; Andre Beaufre's NATO and Europe and Deterrence and Strategy; Michel Tatu's Power in the Kremlin; Urs Schwarz' American Strategy - A New Perspective; Alastair Buchan's NATO in the 1960's; Richard Lowenthal's World Communism: The Disintegration of a Secular Faith. L.W. Martin's chapter on "Europe" in the recently-published America and the World was almost helpful as background.

The Adelphi Papers published by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London were particularly useful for a better understanding of European views on strategic matters. Some of the most useful were Pierre Hassner's two-part work on "Change and Security in Europe", Malcolm Mackintosh's "Evolution of the Warsaw Pact", Johan Holst's "Parity, Superiority or Sufficiency", Michael Howard's "The Classical Strategists", Raymond Aron's "Evolution of Modern Strategic Thought", Michel Tatu's "The East: Detente and Confrontation", Theodor Sommer's "Detente and Security: the Options", Alastair Buchan's "Review of the First Ten Years of ISS" at the 1968 Annual Conference. Other special Iss papers of value were Urs Schwarz' "Great Power Intervention in the Modern World", C. F. von Weizsacker's "Ethical Problems and Modern Strategy", Hassner's "Management of European Crises and Conflicts", Lowenthal's "Changing Soviet Policies and Interests."

The ISS Survival series also provided much useful background information and I am particularly grateful to Brigadier Kenneth Hunt, Deputy Director of ISS, for making special issues available during the London visit.

Atlantic Institute publications in Paris of special value for background reading were "The Atlantic Nation: Converging or Diverging -- Prospects for 1975"; "The Atlantic Community and Eastern Europe -- Perspectives and Policy"; Michel Tatu's "Great Power Triangle: Washington-Moscow-Peking"; also the recent special issue put out by the Institute on "Military Forces and Political Conflicts in the Mediterranean."

Other special works of value: Royal Institute of International Affairs Studies appearing in International Affairs: The Cooperation and Conflict series (Nordic Studies on International Politics); the University of Amsterdam's publication entitled "Views on Europe" carrying papers presented at the inter-academic East-West Congress of 1969; the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs papers on their recent Oslo conference on "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in Politics and Defense Planning of Non-nuclear States," the German Foreign Policy Association's collection of papers in 1969 devoted to "The Role of Middle Powers in World Politics."

Footnotes (keyed to above bibliography)

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- 2/ Brzezinski, Zbigniew Between Two Ages pp. 297-298
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- 4/ Schwarz, Urs American Strategy: A New Perspective p. 167
- 5/ Buchan, Alastair "Ten Years of ISS" pp. 10-11
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