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IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

A. Administration and Structure

When Congress created the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) in September 1961,1/ it took a step without precedent; it assigned to a new agency of the United States Government primary responsibility for searching out ways to put an end to the arms race. The Act provides that the Agency "must have such a position within the Government that it can provide the President, the Secretary of State, other officials of the executive branch, and the Congress with recommendations concerning United States arms control and disarmament policy, and can assess the effect of these recommendations upon our foreign policies, our national security policies, and our economy." Its Director is principal adviser on disarmament to the President and the Secretary of State. Policy recommendations to the President are usually made through the Secretary of State or the Committee of Principals, a top-level group which includes the

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1/ Public Law 87-297, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2551 et seq.).

Secretaries of State and Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the heads of other U.S. Government agencies which are concerned with national security, in addition to the Director of ACDA. The Director has direct access to the President whenever he requests it.

The Act also assigns the Agency a coordinating role within the Government. Supplementing this provision is an Executive Order.1/ In practice ACDA has had a particularly extensive coordinating relationship with the Departments of State and Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission. Moreover, both Defense and the AEC have high-ranking officers on their staffs who are specialists in arms control; and ACDA's own staff includes a number of military officers who are assigned to it by the Defense Department.

The Director of the Agency is William C. Foster; the Deputy Director is Adrian S. Fisher. Both were

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1/ Executive Order 11044, Aug. 21, 1962.

appointed by President Kennedy the same day the enabling Act was signed into law. The Director is also the chief U.S. negotiator in the field of arms control, and much of the time he or the Deputy Director is away at Geneva or New York, heading the U.S. Delegation to the ENDC or serving as a member of the American delegation to the U.N. General Assembly or the U.N. Disarmament Commission.

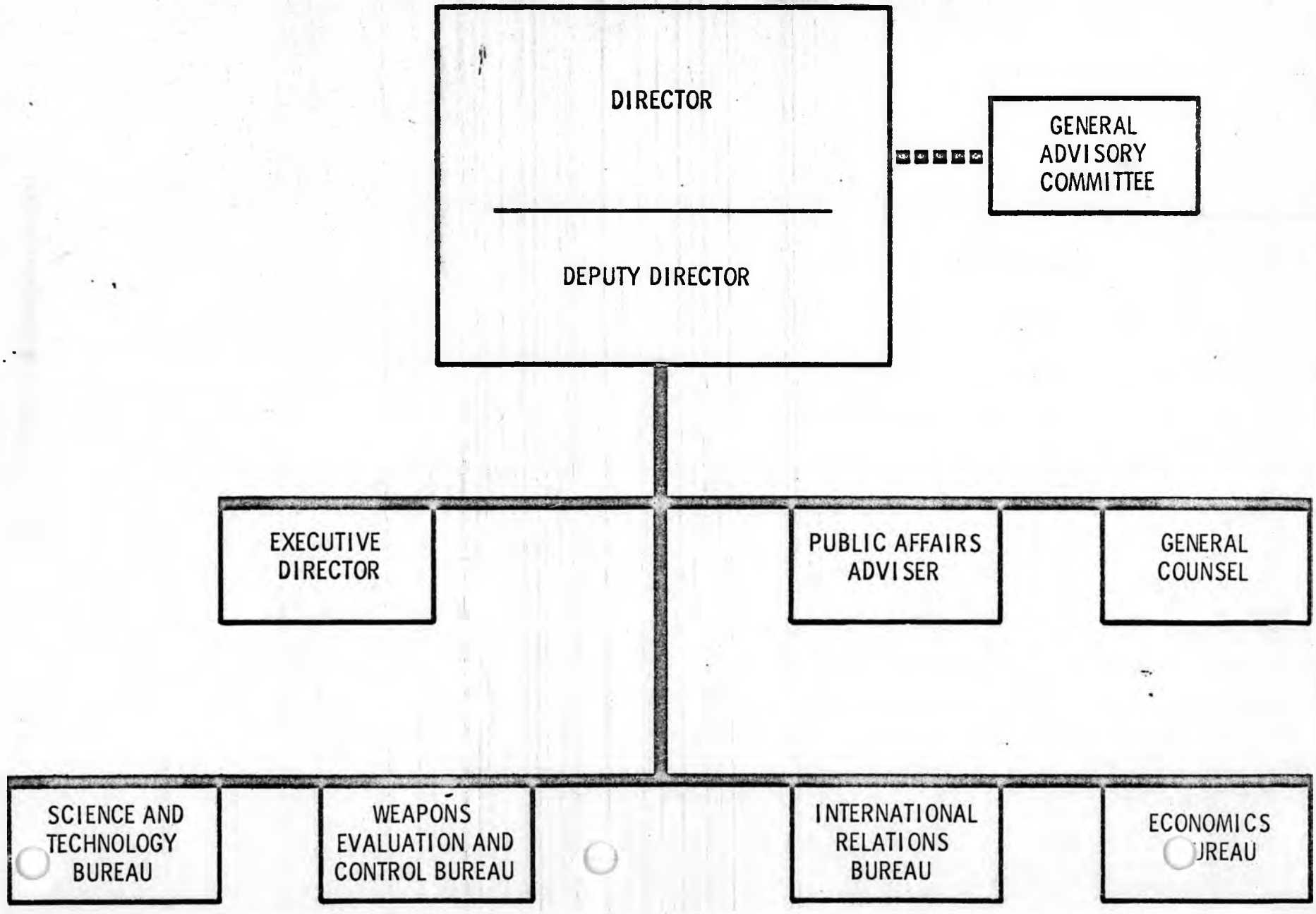
Compared to other federal agencies, ACDA is extremely small, with a total of slightly over 200 authorized positions. Its small size gives it the unique advantage of a close working relationship between the Director and the Deputy Director and the rest of the staff. A daily staff meeting is held in the Director's office at 11:30, running usually about an hour but frequently going beyond that. In addition to Mr. Foster and Mr. Fisher, the Assistant Directors, the General Counsel, the Executive Director, the Public Affairs Adviser, and the Special Assistant to the Director and Executive Secretary attend. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the attendance is enlarged to

include Deputy Assistant Directors, the Security Officer, the Congressional Liaison Officer, and any other staff members designated by the Director. The most frequently-used channel for bringing policy and operations matters to the attention of the Director or the Deputy Director is through the Assistant Directors or the Office Heads, but both the Director and his Deputy maintain an open door policy. Junior officers working on new ideas or position papers have ready access to their offices.

To carry out the functions assigned to it by the Congress, ACDA has an organization structure which, in addition to the Offices of the Director and Deputy Director, includes four bureaus, each headed by an Assistant Director. These are the International Relations Bureau, the Science and Technology Bureau, the Economics Bureau, and the Weapons Evaluation and Control Bureau. Supporting the Director, Deputy Director, and the four Bureaus are the Office of the General Counsel, that of the Public Affairs Adviser, and the Executive Office.

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

MARCH 1, 1968



While the ACDA staff, drawn from a variety of disciplines, carries out extensive in-house research, arms control problems call for a scope of expertise that cannot be assembled in one place. For this reason, many of the research projects are conducted by outside contractors, with ACDA officers acting as monitors. This has the additional advantage of stimulating and bringing in new ideas from outside the Government. ACDA also maintains a list of consultants in each bureau and office whose expertise is drawn upon by the Agency for special projects or other problems.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BUREAU

The Bureau has a dual responsibility: first to translate U.S. disarmament policies into action at the conference table and in the forum of the United Nations; second, to bring the experiences from international negotiations and the problems of the U.S. negotiators to bear on the continuing task of policy formulation in Washington. This dual responsibility calls for constant interaction between negotiations on the one hand and research and analysis on the other.

The Assistant Director is Samuel DePalma, a Foreign Service Officer, who succeeded Ambassador Jacob Beam in November, 1966, when the latter was assigned as Ambassador to Prague. Mr. DePalma was given the temporary rank of Ambassador in February 1968, when he headed the U.S. delegation to the ENDC for a period when official business kept the Director and the Deputy Director in Washington, and again in September 1968 when he served as U.S. Representative to the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in Geneva.

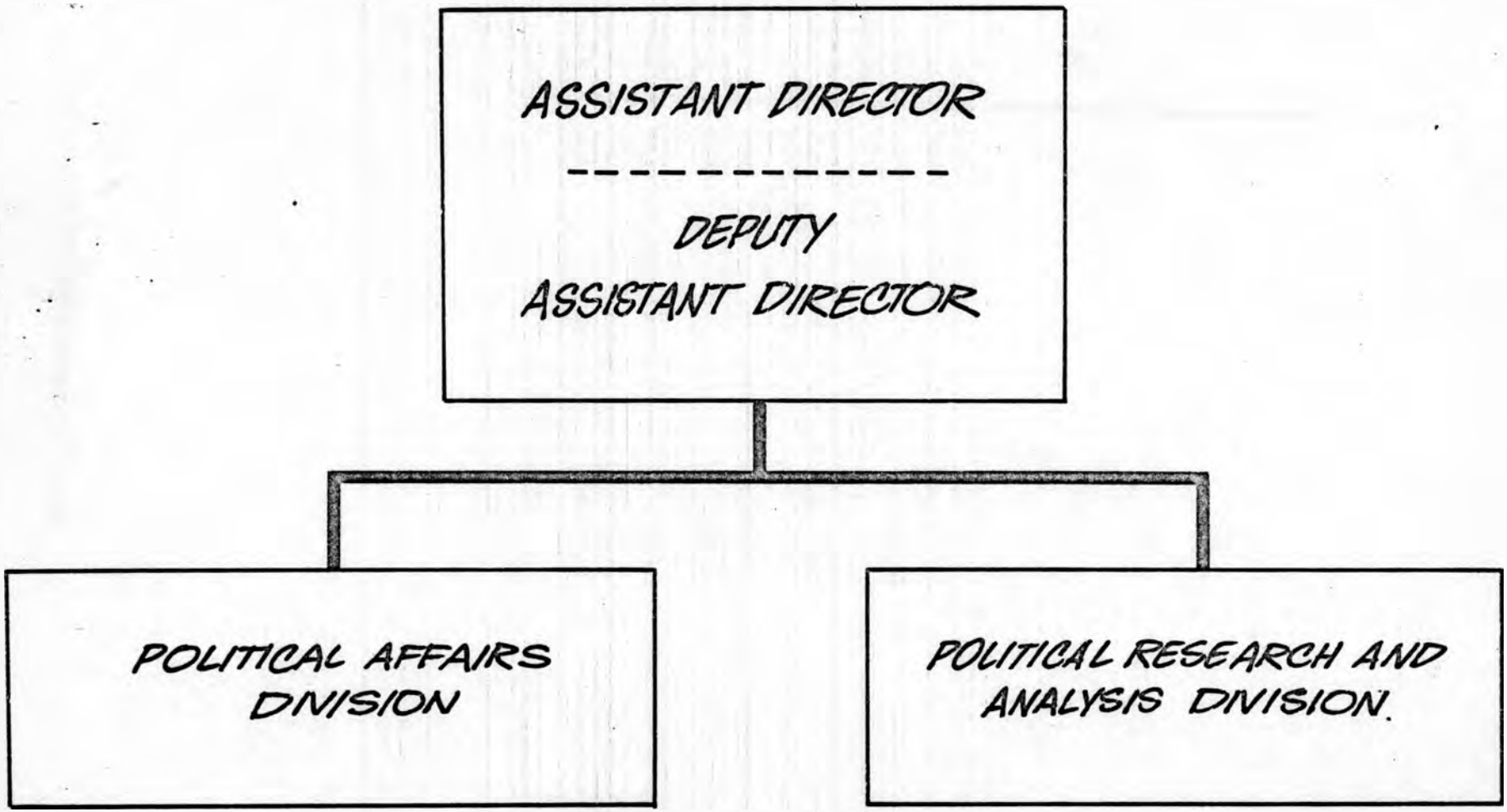
Within the Bureau, the Division of Political Affairs develops policies and positions and prepares instructions for U.S. negotiators. It is directly responsible for the backstepping of international negotiations. Its staff consults, as required, with diplomatic representatives of various foreign governments. In addition, the political office is the primary source of political advisers assigned to the U.S. delegations to the ENDC and other international conferences, and to the annual meeting of

the U.N. General Assembly. Many of its staff members are Foreign Service Officers assigned to the Agency on a reimbursable basis by the Department of State.

The Division of Political Research and Analysis assesses the international trends and developments having a bearing on the negotiation and carrying out of proposals. This office oversees the Bureau's research program, including "in-house studies, reimbursement arrangements with other government agencies, and projects performed by outside contractors and grantees. Studies of the future Soviet interests in arms control, problems bearing on Communist China, area and regional studies dealing with possible arms control measures, are typical of the studies conducted by this division plus various historical projects.

Within this division, historical in-house research is also performed, heavily dependent on documentary collections and other source materials. The staff prepares reports covering a wide variety of

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BUREAU

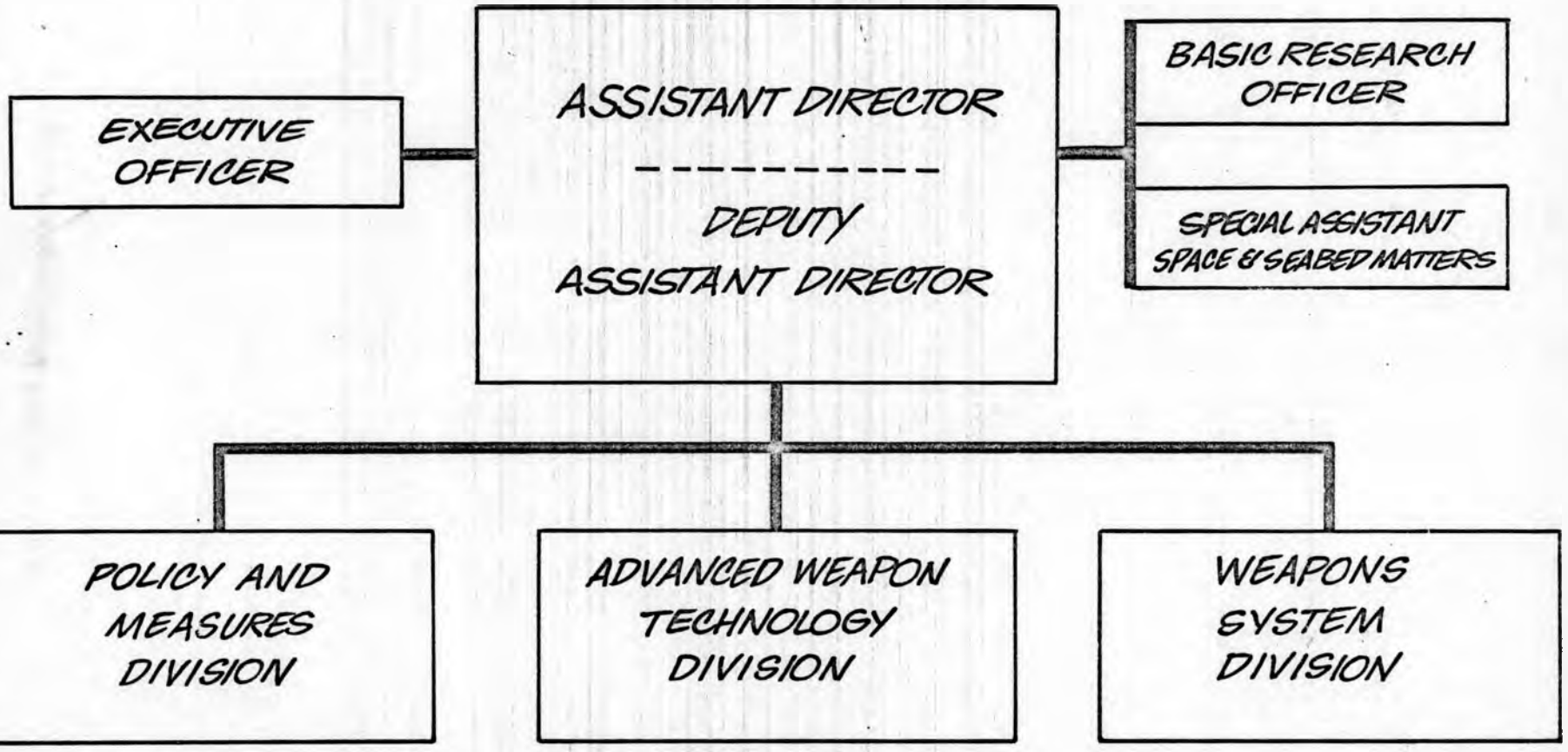


topics. One such project was the preparation of two Agency publications on the test-ban negotiations from 1961 to 1965. The staff also edits the annual Documents on Disarmament volumes, a selection of significant documents and statements in the arms control and disarmament field. IR staff members service the U.S. delegation to the ENDC, including the preparation of a detailed analytical index of the proceedings of the Conference.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BUREAU

The Science and Technology Bureau directs its efforts to those arms control and disarmament areas where science and technology are intimately involved either as elements of the problems themselves or as potential means for solving these problems. Its activities are concentrated primarily on measures to control and limit sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, including associated verification and inspection problems. The Bureau played a key role in the formulation of U.S. government policies

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BUREAU



pertaining to the NPT (particularly the sections on peaceful uses and safeguards), limitations on nuclear testing, the cutoff of the production of fissionable materials for use in weapons, limitations on chemical and biological weapons, measures to control the strategic arms race and the preservation of outer space of peaceful uses. It provides continuous technological advise and support to the U.S. delegations at Geneva and the United Nations and participates in other international arms control forums such as the NATO Disarmament Experts meetings and conferences of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The Bureau staff consists mostly of physical science officers who cope with problems of nuclear physics, seismology, missile and space technology, analytical mathematics and chemical and biological agents. The in-house staff analyses are supported by a sizeable contract research program and the expertise of a number of consultants. Close coordination is maintained with other agencies of the

government, such as the DOD, AEC, CIA, Department of State and NASA. Through its association with the Federal Council for Science and Technology, the Bureau also participates in considerations of the related aspects of science and government.

The Bureau has three functional Divisions:

The Advanced Weapon Technology Division is responsible for the analysis of the arms control and disarmament aspects of advanced weapon technology, particularly nuclear, chemical, biological, and other weapons of mass destruction, (but excluding delivery vehicle and systems aspects). This responsibility includes the investigation of the technical characteristics of these weapons which have arms control significance; possibilities for limiting their development, testing, production, and deployment and reducing stockpiles; and techniques and procedures for safeguarding peaceful activities, particularly in the nuclear field.

The Weapons Systems Division is responsible for the analysis of the arms control aspects of U.S. and foreign advanced weapon systems, particularly strategic offensive and defensive weapon delivery systems (but excluding warhead aspects). This responsibility includes the investigation of the technical characteristics of advanced weapon systems which have arms control significance; possibilities for limiting their development and reducing stockpiles, together with associated verification requirements, techniques and procedures; and the relationship between peaceful activities, particularly space programs and strategic delivery systems.

The Policy and Measures Research Division draws on the work of the other two divisions and other sources of information, and is primarily responsible for the preparation, analysis and coordination of studies, proposals, projects, and plans which support ACDA missions in scientifically and technically oriented areas, particularly those involving advanced

weapons and weapon delivery systems. This responsibility includes the investigation of methods to control the strategic arms race, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and strategic delivery systems, and to apply necessary safeguards to peaceful activities which have possible weapon implications.

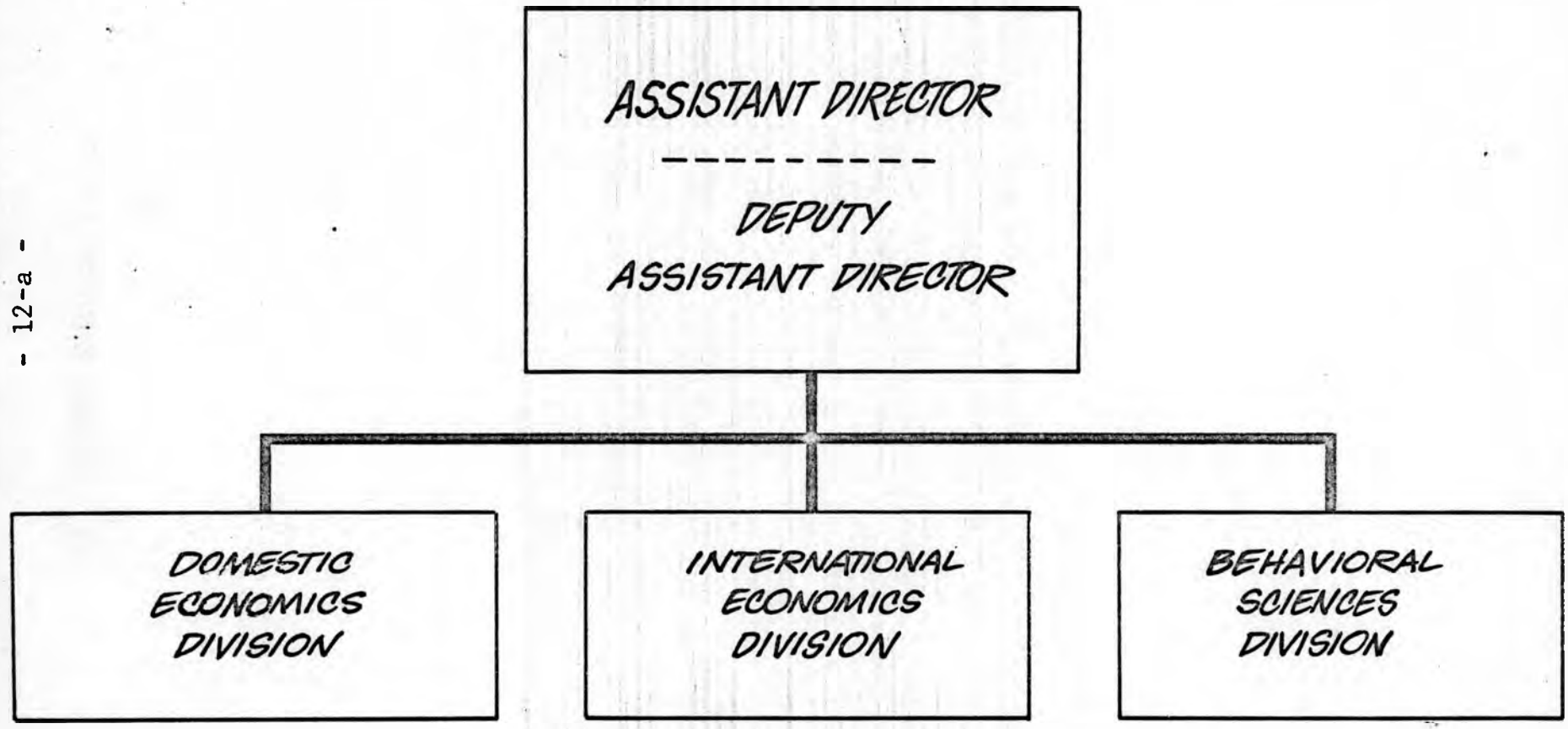
The Assistant Director is Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr. He was appointed to this position in December, 1963, succeeding Dr. Frank Long who returned to Cornell University. Dr. Scoville came to ACDA from CIA.

ECONOMICS BUREAU

The economics of war and peace are far-reaching in implication, and ACDA's Economics Bureau is concerned with the effects of military spending on both the international and the domestic scene.

The Bureau compiles data on international arms trade and national military budgets, and provides support to our delegates to the ENDC and the United Nations.

ECONOMICS BUREAU



In our own country, national defense is not only an important part of total economic activity, it is also concentrated with respect to regions, industry sectors and the use of advanced skills. The Bureau is responsible for a comprehensive research program to study the economic impact of reductions in defense spending. Studies are conducted on policies and programs to meet community readjustment to reduced defense spending. Some are studies of defense-related civilian manpower -- their numbers, locations, skills, earning, etc. Research of this sort is useful in understanding how persons released from defense jobs may be reemployed.

The Bureau represents the Agency on interdepartmental committees concerned with the economic impact of disarmament.

Within the Economics Bureau there is a small staff of behavioral scientists who apply the disciplines of psychology, sociology, and anthropology to the problems of arms control and disarmament. It

studies behavioral factors bearing on the creation of an improved climate in which to negotiate proposals, and suggests new negotiating approaches.

The Assistant Director is Archibald S. Alexander. He was appointed in March, 1963. He had served as Assistant Secretary of the Army in 1949 and as Under Secretary of the Army from 1950 to 1952.

WEAPONS EVALUATION AND CONTROL BUREAU

Every arms control proposal must stand the test that it would enhance, not jeopardize, our national security. The Weapons Evaluation and Control Bureau (WEC) is responsible for assessing the impact of possible arms control measures on national security. It also advises on the arms control implications of new and developing military weapons systems. In addition, it is concerned with the problems of conventional arms transfers. In performing these functions, the Bureau works in close cooperation with the Department of Defense. Many of the staff are military officers assigned on active duty to ACDA;

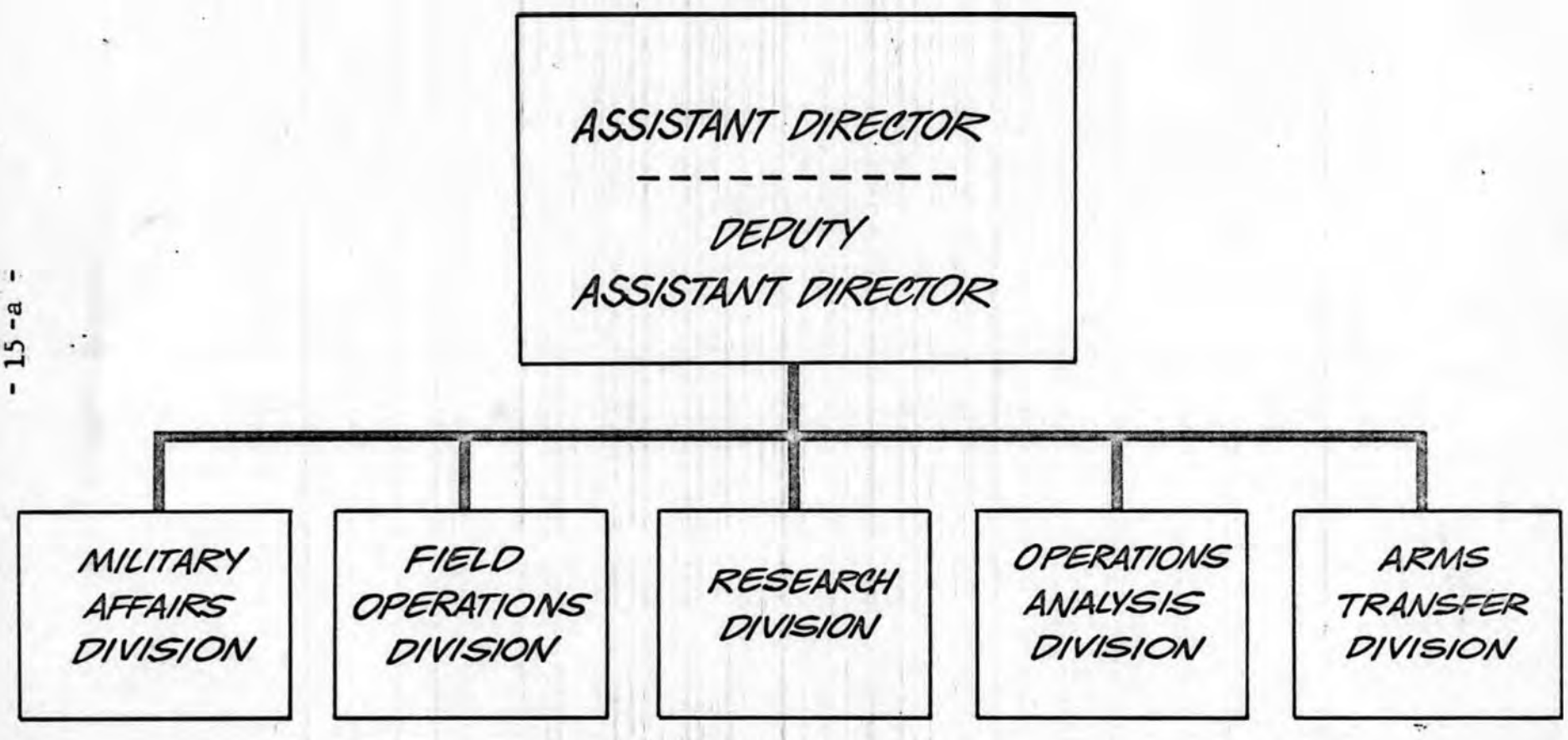
the head of the Bureau is an officer with 3-star rank assigned on a rotating basis from one of the three military Services.

The First Assistant Director was Vice Admiral Edward N. Parker. He was succeeded, in January of 1964 by Lt. Gen. Fred M. Dean, USAF. In November, 1966, Lt. Gen. John J. Davis, USA, was assigned to this position. His post just prior to coming to ACDA was Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army.

The WEC Bureau is organized into five divisions: Military Affairs, Research, Operations Analysis, Field Operations, and Arms Transfer.

The Military Affairs Division participates in the formulation of specific negotiating proposals. It develops background and position papers bearing on current official policies on foreign affairs and national security, weapons systems and military postures.

WEAPONS EVALUATION AND CONTROL BUREAU



The Research Division initiates longer-range studies, to provide more complete information on military factors as a basis for future policy formulation. It performs in-house research, initiates most of the contract research from the Bureau, and coordinates the research program of all Divisions in the Bureau.

The Operations Analysis Division is responsible for planning and conducting quantitative operations analysis studies related to the military implications of arms control and disarmament proposals. Its staff is made up of technical personnel highly specialized in the fields of operations analysis, computer techniques and mathematics, and military personnel who are specialists in war-planning, strategy and tactics, and weapons systems capabilities. The Division conducts computer war games and simulations to evaluate the effect of postulated arms control agreements on the relative military capability of opposing forces.

The Field Operations Division carries out a comprehensive program of research, development, testing and evaluation of concepts, techniques, and equipment for inspection of arms control agreements. This unit fulfills ACDA's statutory responsibility for field testing arms control inspection techniques - a mission formerly shared with the Department of Defense.

The Arms Transfer Division serves as the focal point for the Agency in carrying out its participation in the establishment of U.S. policies in respect to the supply of conventional armaments, military equipment and technology to other countries, especially to economically underdeveloped and potentially unstable regions. In pursuit of this effort, the division is charged with developing Agency initiatives for measures on conventional arms limitations. It plans, directs, and coordinates research and collects relevant data to build a reservoir of statistical and factual information on this question. It maintains liaison

with other departments and agencies to insure that ACDA's views are made known and taken into account in the government's policy decisions relating to arms transfers. It coordinates Agency positions on major issues with the Arms Transfer Advisory Council, a senior policy review body consisting of the four Assistant Directors, the Executive Director and the General Counsel or Deputy General Counsel.

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

The Office of the General Counsel is responsible for all legal matters concerning the Agency. Its work is concentrated in three principal areas: interpretation of international law and organization; conduct and supervision of research; and legal guidance on the administration of the Agency.

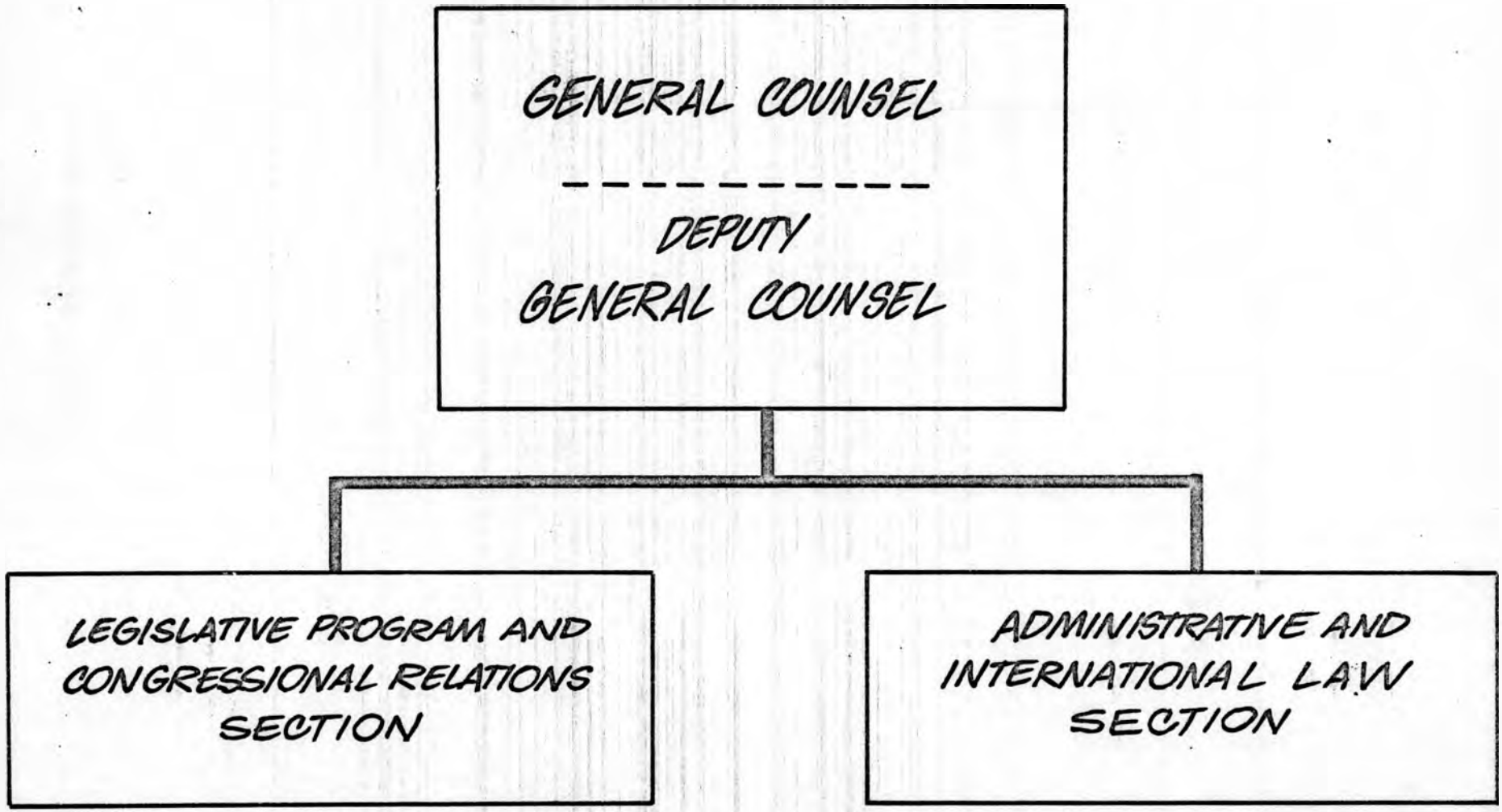
George Bunn has been the General Counsel since the establishment of the Agency. He was given the temporary rank of Ambassador in July, 1968, when he became the acting head of the U.S. Delegation to the ENDC during that summer session.

Legal officers advise on international law problems and prepare drafts of proposed treaties. The General Counsel and his staff provide day-to-day assistance to our negotiators at the ENDC and the United Nations.

Officials of the Agency are frequently called upon to testify at special hearings held on arms control and disarmament and related matters by Congressional committees. The Office of the General Counsel prepares materials and background papers in connection with these appearances. Its staff also responds to the many Congressional inquiries about arms control and disarmament matters. It keeps Agency personnel informed on current legislation and other Congressional activity which relate to the agency and its responsibilities.

The Office's research, both internal staff studies and external contracts, is related to international legal arrangements and peacekeeping machinery. An expanding area is that of finding methods for the control of international traffic in conventional arms.

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL



The legal staff advises on all legal aspects of Agency operations and administration, such as personnel, security, patent, contract and grant, and fiscal matters.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The Public Affairs Adviser and his staff carry out the Agency's responsibility for the "dissemination and coordination of public information concerning arms control and disarmament."

Nedville E. Nordness has been the Public Affairs Adviser since the Agency came into being. He had served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Mutual Security Information.

The Office maintains a daily liaison with the press in Washington and also at Geneva when the ENDC is in session and at New York when the General Assembly is in session. It also prepares press guidance and materials related to arms control for the White House and Department of State.

In fulfilling its mission to keep the public informed, the Office responds to requests from individuals and organizations for documentation, for

speakers and conference participation, and for advice on curricula, research projects and study programs. It welcomes touring groups from schools, churches and other organizations to its offices in the State Department building, and briefs them on the Government's activities and positions on arms control matters. It participates in the regular State Departments briefings for leaders in various fields, such as editors and publishers, and educators.

The Office of Public Affairs also prepares Agency publications, including the Agency's annual report to Congress.

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

This office gives support to all other elements of the Agency and is concerned primarily with people, money and equipment and supplies. Its administrative management responsibilities include organization, budgeting, personnel, general services, security, contract administration and contract with the Department of State on matters relating to fundamental support.

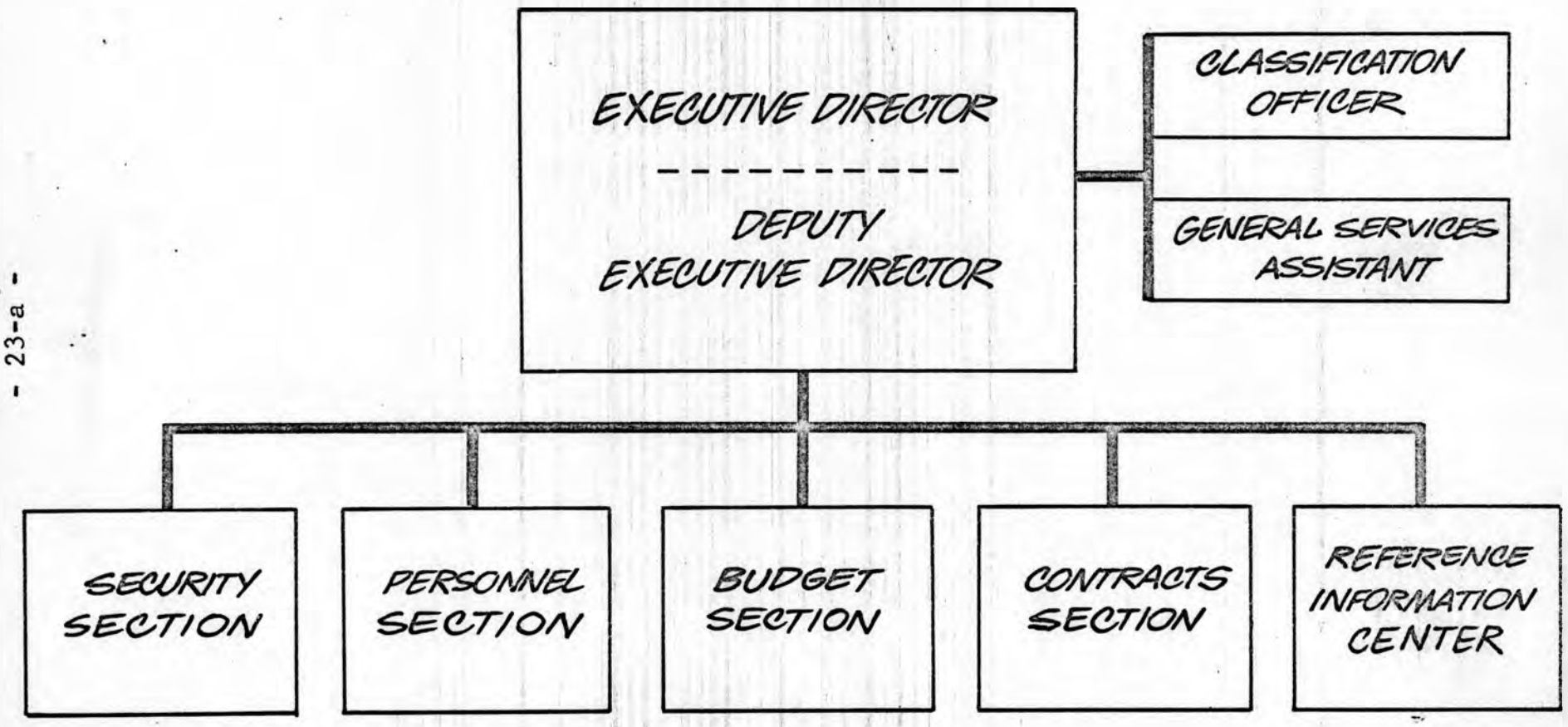
It maintains a library service and supports the Agency's activities through the provision of information covering all facets of arms control and disarmament, the preparation of bibliographies, information abstracts and extracts, technical accession lists, cataloging services, and so forth. The Office is the Agency contact with the Bureau of the Budget and is the developer of the Agency's budget and subsequent presentation to the Congress.

The first Executive Director was Idar Rimestad, now serving as Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. He was succeeded in July, 1964, by Joseph F. Donelan, Jr. Mr. Donelan was assigned to the State Department Foreign Service Inspection Corps and was succeeded, in June, 1967, by John George Bacon. Mr. Bacon came to the Agency, with an intervening term at the National War College, from Vietnam where he was Counselor and Administrative Officer at the Embassy in Saigon.

Since February 22, 1968, with the dissolution of DAS, the Executive Director is the Chairman of the

Research Council, and an officer of the Office of the Executive Director is the Chairman of the Research Planning Group. This Office also provides staff for both the Research Council and the Research Planning Group.

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

A. Administration and Structure

1. Planning

Section 2 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, says: "An ultimate goal of the United States is a world which is free from the scourge of war and the dangers and burdens of armaments; in which the use of force has been subordinated to the rule of law; and in which international adjustments to a changing world are achieved peacefully...Arms control and disarmament policy, must be consistent with national security policy as a whole."

Under the original organizational concept of ACDA, planning was to be carried out by the Disarmament Advisory Staff (DAS). This group was disestablished in 1964 (although the title, DAS, remained in formal Agency organization records.)

As the four Bureaus and the Office of the General Counsel progressed in charting a research program, it was apparent that a coordinating body was needed to insure

a cohesive program. The Research Council was established by the Director for this purpose. 1/

In April 1965, an arms control "Objectives Committee" was named by the Research Council for the purpose of: (a) developing an agreed list of U.S. arms control objectives; (b) examining the research required and completed in areas related to each of the agreed objectives; (c) submitting recommendations to the Research Council for future research in each of the objective areas.

On October 14, 1965, in accordance with Bureau of the Budget Bulletin 66-3, the Agency established a Planning-Programming-Budgeting-System (PPBS). 2/ Under PPBS an Agency Program Planning Staff (PPS) was set up. This group refined the list of U.S. arms control objectives developed by the "Objectives Committee." These were subsequently approved by the Director of ACDA and included in the Annual Report of the Agency signed by the President. The PPS examined the major

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1/ Agency Circular No. 5, Sept. 20, 1962.

2/ Agency Instruction No. 17, October 14, 1965.

considerations affecting U.S. arms control policy, established a set of specific program goals under which ACDA policy, negotiations, public information and research programs could be developed, and designed a system (input-output matrices) under which optimum allocation of available or projected Agency resources could be made to meet the approved program goals.

The PPS also developed techniques for the conduct of program analyses, both for objective-wide programs and for the sub-sets under the objectives devoted to the individual program goals.

The present statement of approved U.S. arms control objectives as it stands today (November 1, 1968) follows:

Objective 1. To limit and reduce armed forces, armaments, and military expenditures through arms control and disarmament measures.

Objective 2. To prevent the proliferation among nations of nuclear weapons, nuclear delivery vehicles, and conventional armaments.

Objective 3. To reduce the risk of outbreak of armed conflict, to inhibit its escalation, and to limit its destructiveness and duration through arms control and disarmament measures.

Objective 4. To avert harmful economic consequences or reduced defense spending resulting from arms control and disarmament measures, and to study the most constructive use of the resources thus released.

Objective 5. To assist in achieving an international environment conducive to arms control and disarmament negotiations.

The PPBS remained in effect until February 1968 when it was disestablished in fact along with the formal dissolution of the Disarmament Advisory Staff. The Agency PPBS was formally dissolved on July 2, 1968.[1/]

By the same Agency Instruction, the Research Planning Group was authorized. It was the decision of the Agency that the PPBS was too sophisticated a system

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1/ ACDA Instruction No. 32, Subject: Agency Research Planning Group.

for an agency of ACDA's size, and that the new group would operate more effectively for its planning needs. It deals primarily with the substance of research and field test planning and is concerned with only those funding and manpower allocation questions which are specifically referred to it by the Research Council.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

A. Administration and Structure

2. Organizational Changes

The basic structure of the Agency has remained the same since its inception; i.e. four Assistant Directors heading up the four Bureaus, the Executive Director, the General Counsel, and the Public Affairs Adviser. The mechanism for handling the flow of paper, however, has gone through a series of changes in an attempt to meet the Agency's information requirements. In 1961, a Secretariat was established to "coordinate staff work" for the Agency. In January 1964, the Executive Director decided to abolish the Secretariat and transfer the majority of its personnel and the bulk of its functions to his office.1/ Certain of the functions were placed under the Office of the Director.

1/ Agency Instruction No. 27, January 15, 1964, Unclassified.

The original organization also included the Reference Research Staff which maintained a library and provided research and reference services in support of the activities of the bureaus and other offices. It obtained information about research being conducted by persons and organizations outside the U.S. Government, and, as ACDA's own research program began to yield completed reports, made distribution of copies to other government agencies and to interested individuals and institutions, including to some 25 depository libraries throughout the country.

In the early stages of ACDA's organization the Reference Research Staff undertook the function of obtaining classified material for contractor use. Recording, transmittal and other handling of the documents was in accordance with stringent security procedures.

During the period from late 1966 to to early 1967, two internal Agency studies examined internal

information support problems. These studies concluded that more attention should be given to the build-up of an internal ACDA information facility.

Action was taken in June 1967 to establish a Reference and Research Information Center under the Office of the Executive Director.1/ The Center is designated as the central point of control for the development, implementation, execution and coordination of information services and activities for the Agency. The library and reference and information support functions of the Reference Research Staff were brought under its jurisdiction. In addition, the Communications and Records functions, which had been under the general supervision of the Executive Director, were assumed as a part of the new structure. The Center also administers information services under the Freedom of Information Act of 4 July 1967.

1/ Agency Instruction No. 25, June 22, 1967.

A professional staff comprised of seven employees was hired, among them the first professional Librarian for the Agency. The staff provides information support through research, preparation of reference aids such as bibliographies, information abstracts and extracts, information summaries and digests. Work has begun on indexing the results of Agency research efforts and other technical materials to provide in-depth responses to arms control problems.

The work carried on by the Reference Research Staff during its existence was two-fold. In addition to information support, it conducted extended in-house projects. An example was the preparation of the Agency publication entitled International Negotiations on Ending Nuclear Weapon Tests, September 1961-September 1962. Another responsibility was the editing of the annual volume of Documents on Disarmament, a selection of significant official documents issued by governments and

various international organizations. In addition, the Reference Staff responded to requests from other bureaus and offices of ACDA for short term research tasks. These were generally background in character and the kind of research that is heavily dependent on documentary collections and other library source materials.

When the Reference Research Staff was discontinued, these research functions were transferred to the International Relations Bureau.1/

1/ Agency Instruction No. 25, June 22, 1967.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

A. Administration and Structure

3. Advisory Bodies

General Advisory Committee

The Arms Control and Disarmament Act (1961) provides:

> The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may appoint a General Advisory Committee of not to exceed fifteen members to advise the Director /of ACDA/ on arms control and disarmament policy and activities. The President shall designate one of the members as Chairman. ... The Committee shall meet at least twice each year. It shall from time to time advise the President, the Secretary of State, and the Disarmament Director respecting matters affecting arms control, disarmament, and world peace. (sec. 26)

The original members of the Committee appointed by President Kennedy in March 1962 were sworn in at the White House in a ceremony on April 2, 1962, and John J. McCloy was designated Chairman. When President Johnson assumed his presidential duties, two vacancies existed on the Committee, one member having

resigned and one having died in 1963. The remaining 13 original members were requested to continue to serve in President Johnson's administration. Two of these members died in 1965. Thus President Johnson has appointed four new members of the Committee, two to fill the vacancies existing when he became President and two to fill vacancies created by deaths in 1965. The new members appointed by President Johnson are Mr. Post, Dr. Wright, Gen. Gruenther and Senator Neuberger.1/

The Committee held its first meeting on April 2, 1962. Including the meeting of August 1-2, 1968, the Committee has held 24 meetings, 17 of them during President Johnson's administration. The 25th meeting is scheduled for November 1968.2/

1/ Appendix I contains (1) a list of the members of the General Advisory as presently constituted, with dates of appointment, and (2) a list of former members of the Committee with dates of appointment and dates of death or resignation.

2/ Appendix II lists by year the meetings of the General Advisory Committee.

Normally a meeting of the Committee extends over a day and a half. The discussion follows a detailed, "timed" agenda which is circulated in advance. The wide variety of topics appearing on the agenda1/ fall into several general categories:

(1) Reports on the status of current negotiations (e.g., a briefing by the Director on an ENDC session just ended or a United Nations General Assembly session about to begin).

(2) "Situation" briefings, military, political, scientific, economic (e.g., a presentation by Department of Defense officers on a weapons system, such as the ABM, that will affect arms control; or a presentation by intelligence specialists on the Middle East).

(3) Arms control policies and programs (e.g., a presentation by ACDA officers on disarmament

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1/ The final agenda for each meeting of the Committee held during President Johnson's administration are attached as Appendix III.

measures under study within the Agency or on activities and programs, such as field testing or the research program, under way or contemplated within the Agency).

(4) Administrative and support questions (e.g., briefings on major organizational developments in the Agency or on Congressional hearings, attitudes, authorizations and appropriations affecting arms control).

A full, frank and wide-ranging discussion by members of the Committee normally follows the report, briefing or other presentation that normally introduces each agenda item. The advice of the Committee to the Director of ACDA is usually to be found in this informal exchange of views rather than in any formal document or agreed statement prepared by the Committee and presented to the Agency. Often the first reaction of the Committee members to the presentation of a new topic will take the form of exploratory questions; subsequently,

after reflection, (possibly the next day) Committee members will express more definitive views. In some cases, however, some Committee members may prefer to seek more information and even to defer any statement approaching a definitive expression of advice until the next meeting of the Committee. If a consensus appears to be emerging from the discussion, the Chairman may summarize it and state it as the consensus of the Committee; in other instances, where it is apparent that a consensus does not exist, the views of individual members stand as such. There is, of course, no voting or formal polling of members in an effort to arrive at a consensus.

Each day-and-a-half meeting of the Committee normally includes at least one executive session which is attended only by the Committee members and the Director. The advice of the Committee members on the more sensitive subjects is provided in these executive sessions.

The Chairman when appropriate conveys the views of the Committee and its members to the Secretary of State or to the President. On two occasions (April 2, 1962 and April 9, 1963) the Committee met with the President in the White House. The Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have attended portions of a regular meeting of the Committee.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

A. Administration and Structure

3. Advisory Bodies

Social Science Advisory Board

Organized in 1964 in response to the belief of Senator Humphrey and others that behavioral sciences could make a contribution to arms control and disarmament, the Social Science Advisory Board had its first meeting in March, 1964, and has met twice a year ever since. According to the Terms of Reference establishing it, the Board was to advise ACDA on its research program and provide liaison between ACDA and private individuals and organizations.1/

Although its members often felt that the SSAB was not doing all that it should, it made important contributions, both tangible and intangible, to the work of ACDA. Perhaps the Board could never fulfill the expectations of those who hoped it might set out broad plans, but its advice on specific

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1/ Terms of Reference for Social Science Advisory Board, February 27, 1964.

research and the connections it provided to the academic community both proved useful to the Agency.

In order to become acquainted with current disarmament issues, the members of the SSAB were briefed at every meeting by the Director or Deputy Director of the Agency. The value of these briefings and discussions cannot be easily measured, but the hope of the Agency was that the education of a prominent group of scholars about the problems facing ACDA would have a multiplier effect and improve the level of sophistication of the academic community as far as arms control was concerned.

If in the area of policy the SSAB was more advised than advisory, in that of research it presented various useful suggestions which influenced the Agency in establishing, modifying or dropping projects under consideration. At the March 1967 meeting, for instance, Prof. Abram Bergson, one of the Board members, suggested that ACDA establish a

program to support graduate students writing doctoral dissertations in fields related to arms control and disarmament.1/ As a result of this recommendation and its support by the Chairman, Dean Erwin Griswold of the Harvard Law School and other members of the Board, the Economics Bureau undertook to establish such a program through the National Academy of Sciences, and three members of the SSAB served on the Board to select fellows. Without the continued strong support of the SSAB the fellowship program would probably not have been approved by either the Research Council or Mr. Foster since it represented a new departure for ACDA and came at a time of some Congressional criticism of ACDA contract research, particularly on non-hardware subjects. On the other side of the ledger, the negative comments of SSAB members were responsible for shelving an unsolicited proposal

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1/ Col. Parrot Memorandum, Seventh Meeting of the SSAB on March 22 and 23, 1967, May 17, 1968, p. 9. Dean Griswold also recommended such a program in his letter of May 1968 to Assistant Director Alexander, post, p. 45.

from Princeton University to study student attitudes in foreign countries. Professor Morris Janowitz of the University of Chicago was especially critical, arguing that the study was methodologically unsophisticated. Others thought that it had little relevance for the work of ACDA.1/ On the organization of research, for example, the members suggested in particular that more be done in-house and that senior behavioral scientists be hired for this purpose. Although not at quite the level the Board had in mind, additional staff members were hired permitting the Agency to expand its research in the behavioral sciences.

After the Board had been in existence for a year or two, the feeling of some members that their contributions had fallen below expectations caused them to devote much of their time to considering what the role of the SSAB should be. The question

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1/ Kent Parrot Memorandum, Seventh Meeting of the SSAB on March 22 and 23, 1967, May 17, 1967, pp. 6-7.

was raised frequently, but most of the arguments were summarized at a special evening session during the sixth meeting in September, 1966. Dean Griswold and Professor Bronfenbrenner set the tone by expressing their frustrations that the SSAB was not accomplishing all that they though it could. The members suggested actions they might take either individually or as a group to contribute more and seemed especially concerned with the relationship between research and policy. They wondered how the Board could help the Agency conduct research that was relevant to policy issues. Many members favored appointing senior-level social scientists to the staff of ACDA or perhaps, as Prof. Janowitz suggested, organizing a "'half-way house' between the academic community and the government." At the same time they noted the problems in competing for top quality staff and in balancing the desire to have such people involved in day-to-day activities with the need to give them time for thinking and research.

Several members of the Board felt it should be used in greater depth. The members should have a fuller and more detailed picture of the research program before meeting to discuss it and should be individually consulted more on specific projects.

These discussions stimulated the Chairman of the Board, Dean Griswold, to write a comprehensive plan for future ACDA research in the behavioral sciences. In his letter to Archibald S. Alexander, head of the Economics Bureau, which was responsible for the liaison between the SSAB and ACDA, Griswold differentiated between research related to immediate problems, which the Agency was doing as well as possible, and that related to the long-run, to developing "an attitude and outlook, ...which will make it possible to achieve real progress towards arms control and disarmament." To carry out the second type of research, Griswold suggested spending on the order of one million dollars annually for a number of programs:

1. Acquisition of a staff of three or four senior scholars in the social sciences who could devote their time to investigation and research;

2. Appointment of a similar number of visiting fellows - younger scholars - who would work at the Agency for a year or two;

3. Establishment of ACDA fellowships for doctoral candidates;

4. Contract research;

5. Publication of the results of research conducted under the above mentioned programs; and

6. Conferences on the problems of social sciences related to disarmament.

If funds for a program of this scope could not be obtained, Griswold thought that the "Agency might as well give up any work in the area of the Social Sciences, other than Economics...." His proposal, he argued, was not an impractical scheme, but a realistic approach that could have important results in the future.1/

1/ Letter, Griswold to Alexander, May 8, 1967

Whether the million dollars he suggested would ever be made available by Congress was uncertain, but the Agency used the plan to indicate how it should develop its social science research program.

During recent meetings, as the result of greater emphasis on consideration of specific social science research projects, as to which the SSAB gave advice, the members have felt better satisfied with the utility of the SSAB to ACDA.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

B. Interagency Relations

1. Policy Formulation

The Arms Control and Disarmament Act stipulates that the Agency prepare recommendations concerning U.S. arms control policy for the President and the Secretary of State.1/ Implicit in carrying out this Congressional mandate, since arms control is an integral part of national security, is close coordination and consultation not only with the State Department but also with other executive departments and agencies, such as the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission.

The primary device for the review and coordination of ACDA's recommendations to the President is the Committee of Principals. This Committee was established by President Eisenhower in 1958. Its present membership includes the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs

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1/ PL 87-297, as amended, Sec. 33.

of Staff, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Special Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs and for Science and Technology, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Director of the U.S. Information Agency.

Every major new proposal which the United States makes to the Soviet Union or advances at the conference table in international negotiations receives the President's stamp of approval. Negotiations are never undertaken on an important measure until the Committee of Principals has been consulted. But this consultation and review by the President is the final step in the policy making process.

ACDA staff maintain day-to-day contacts with personnel in concerned departments and agencies in the development of ideas, the preparation of position

papers, and the dispatch of policy guidance to its negotiators at the conference table. A view of how this works may be seen by looking at ACDA's relation with each in turn, starting with the Department of State.

To begin at the top, the Director of ACDA attends the daily staff meeting in the Secretary of State's office, where the most top-level policy matters are discussed. Also attending these meetings are the Under Secretary, the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, the Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs, the Administrator of AID, the Director of USIA, the Director of the Peace Corps, the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, and the Executive Secretary of the Department. If it is not possible for the Director of ACDA to be present, the Deputy Director attends in his stead.

On Thursday of each week, the Secretary holds a larger staff meeting which is attended by the

directors of all bureaus and other top officials, totalling some 30 persons. Either the ACDA Deputy Director or the Asssistant Director for International Relations is present at this meeting, although other senior ACDA officials may substitute.

The Director, or his representative, attends meetings of the Senior Interdepartmental Group (SIG) or the Interdepartmental Regional Groups (IRG) when the matter under discussion falls within the purview of the Agency.1/

The Office of Politico/Military Affairs, as its name readily implies, is concerned with the military implications of foreign affairs. It is the focal point within the Department of State for coordination with the Department of Defense. It is interested not only in how arms control measures might affect military considerations, but how

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1/ National Security Action Memorandum No. 341, March 2, 1966, CONFIDENTIAL.

military actions might affect prospects for arms control. ACDA has adopted the procedure of channeling its position papers to be coordinated within the Department of State to the Office of Politico/Military Affairs, which in turn, fans them out to the various appropriate offices. The comment returned to ACDA then reflects the views of the entire Department. This arrangement has at least two advantages to the Agency. First, conflicting views within the Department could be resolved by the Office of Politico/Military Affairs, thus relieving ACDA of the time-consuming and sometimes scarring task. Second, that office has a serious appreciation for ACDA's efforts and its role in the formulation of national security policy, and therefore the position papers are given full and careful review -- treatment not always accorded, especially in the early days when some regarded ACDA as something of an interloper or, at best, an annoyance.

The Bureau of International Organization Affairs has the responsibility for U.S. participation in all international conferences, including the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and other regional groups. It must be remembered that arms control is only one of many topics which may be included on the agendas of such conferences, and policy planning for arms control negotiations must be made in the context of across-the-board relations of the United States with the rest of the world. ACDA consults closely with the IO Bureau in order to fit its proposals into this overview. The Director, or the Deputy Director, is appointed as one member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, to advise on arms control policy. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland since 1962, is confined to arms control matters, but since it submits reports to the UN General Assembly, and since its reports usually result in

UN action, proposals and position papers and daily guidance cables for this conference are also coordinated with IO. The administrative costs incident to sending the U.S. delegation to the ENDC are borne by the IO Bureau.

Matters relating to NATO are coordinated with the Office of NATO and Atlantic Political-Military Affairs, which falls under the Bureau of European Affairs. Such matters might include measures which would affect the operations or policies of NATO or more general arms control developments which are presented in NATO briefings to keep NATO members informed.

The Agency keeps the Department's regional bureaus and country desks informed on arms control initiatives so that those offices can advise on their implications and can relate them to other programs being pursued for such countries or regions.

ACDA works closely with International Scientific and Technological Affairs - and particularly its

Office of Atomic Energy Affairs - on questions bearing on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In addition, the International Scientific and Technical Affairs Division, in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, oversees the American participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), an organization of great import in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes throughout the world.

The Office of the General Counsel drafts treaty language and coordinates with the Office of the Legal Adviser for State on this and other questions relating to international law. It also works with other regional Bureaus in State in formulating provisions for arms control arguments.

The Bureau of Intelligence and Research is ACDA's entry into the Intelligence Community. This relationship and how it functions is described in greater detail in the section on "Interagency Relations - Intelligence Information."1/

1/ post, p. 61.

Proposals and position papers are presented to the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff for their approval on the Committee of Principals level, but long before this stage is reached, ACDA staff have worked closely with Pentagon staff officers on the many ramifications of arms control initiatives.

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (ISA) "coordinates relations between the Department of Defense and the Department of State in the field of his assigned responsibility." Under him, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy Planning and Arms Control interfaces with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the formulation of arms control policy.

In addition, staff-level liaison is carried out through the Special Assistant for Arms Control to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A similar close working relationship is maintained with the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Systems Analysis.

An officer is assigned by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the U.S. Delegation to the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament, to act as military adviser in the conduct of negotiations. Similarly, a flag officer is permanently assigned to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission also is on the Committee of Principals, but here again close coordination is carried out on lower working levels. The Special Assistant for Disarmament, under the General Manger's Office, is primarily responsible for this coordination, although direct contact is also made with other AEC divisions and offices.

The Division of Military Application oversees the nuclear weapons testing program, which has a significant bearing on the implementation of the limited test ban treaty. But of greater import, from the standpoint of policy formulation, is their role in the development of possible future weapons-limitations agreements.

The Division of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives is responsible for AEC's "Plowshare" Program, which of course is also affected by the restrictions of the limited test ban treaty. The "Plowshare" Program has assumed new international importance because, under Article V of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty the nuclear-power signatories undertake to take appropriate measures to insure that the potential benefits of such peaceful applications will be made available to non-nuclear-weapon parties.

The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty has prompted the establishment of the Office of Safeguards and Materials Management, which will be concerned with developing proper safeguarding procedures to insure that fissionable materials are not diverted from peaceful uses to weapons use. ACDA's research on international safeguards technique is closely coordinated with that Office.

In the field of missiles and rockets, ACDA interests often parallel those of NASA. It was

recognized early that much of the technical data developed by the extensive space research financed by NASA would be useful in ACDA's analysis of the ballistic missile proliferation problem. A formal arrangement was made to fund the efforts of an Arms Control Study Group at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory to meet specific ACDA requirements.

By 1967, it was decided that this arrangement was no longer entirely appropriate and it was discontinued by an exchange of letters between ACDA's Deputy Director and the Administrator of NASA.1/ Since that time, ACDA and NASA staff have maintained a working relationship which has proved entirely satisfactory in meeting ACDA's needs for technical support and for keeping NASA informed on arms control matters of interest to that agency.

1/ Fisher (ACDA) to Webb (NASA), March 13, 1967 Confidential; Webb to Fisher, May 12, 1967 Confidential.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

B. Interagency Relations

2. Intelligence Information

In a Christian Science Monitor interview ACDA Director William C. Foster observed, "We were a pioneer effort; now we have established ourselves in the forest of government agencies in Washington."1/

Becoming an integral part of the Federal government structure was an initial and essential task. One key hurdle was obtaining a free flow of timely intelligence information -- absolutely vital to the Agency's mission to develop arms control measures which would enhance the national security.

The "intelligence community" is a euphemism for the United States Intelligence Board and its Committees. The USIB is made up of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the National Security

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1/ Sept. 25, 1967, Second Section, p. 1.

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Agency, and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the State Department. All these agencies gather intelligence, and only they are designated user agencies. ACDA does not gather intelligence, but its mission obviously requires that it have complete access to the necessary intelligence material.

To solve this problem, the fledgling agency turned to the "parent" State Department. An arrangement was worked out, with the concurrence of the USIB members, for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) to act as ACDA's "broker" to the intelligence community.1/

In the beginning, the USIB was understandably reluctant to make sensitive intelligence information available to the new agency. Indeed, the USIB agencies would have been seriously remiss in their responsibility if they did not move with the utmost caution. They required and demanded that ACDA prove,

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1/ Smith (State/INR/EX) to Rimestad (ACDA/EX), memorandum, May 7, 1962, CONFIDENTIAL; Rimestad (ACDA/EX) to Sinderson (State/OB), memorandum, May 11, 1962, UNCLASSIFIED.

by its careful groundwork in laying down procedures and by its execution of them, that the intelligence information would be safeguarded in accordance with their established stringent regulations.

By 1964, the arrangements for obtaining the intelligence data needed for its in-house staff analyses and for its contract research program had been fairly well established. They were first formalized in a memorandum from the Director to the ACDA Staff in June of 1962.1/

INR's Office of Current Indications established a special unit to handle ACDA's requests and to initiate assistance in making intelligence information available to ACDA. An Intelligence Committee was established within the Agency to handle the intelligence requirements of the various Bureaus, and to serve as the contact point between ACDA and the intelligence community.2/

1/ "Establishment of Procedures for the Satisfaction of ACDA Intelligence Requirements," June 27, 1962, CONFIDENTIAL.

2/ Ibid.

In October 1963, CIA and DIA suggested that a tighter procedure be instituted for both documents and personal contacts.1/ The recommendation was agreed to by ACDA and notification of the new procedures was made by the Director on January 22, 1964.2/ The net effect was to provide direct liaison between the ACDA Intelligence Committee and single points of contact in CIA and DIA.3/ State/INR would continue to serve as the point of contact between ACDA and the other members of the USIB. It was the consensum that the new arrangement would facilitate the liaison process.

ACDA's Intelligence Committee has had these arrangements under continuing review to determine whether or not the Agency's needs are being adequately

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1/ Matteson to Members ACDA Intelligence Committee, memorandum, Oct. 15, 1963, CONFIDENTIAL.

2/ Foster to all ACDA Personnel, IC Paper No. 2, CONFIDENTIAL.

3/ DIA Instruction No. 12-3, 13 Jan. 1964, UNCLASSIFIED.

met. Although there have been a few problems in requiring certain documents on a timely basis, the considered judgment is that the overall arrangements continue to be quite satisfactory in meeting our intelligence requirements.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

B. Interagency Relations

3. Support

The general authority of the Agency, as stipulated in the enabling act, permits it to "utilize or employ the services, personnel, equipment, or facilities of any other Government agency, with the consent of the agency concerned, to perform such functions on behalf of the agency as may appear desirable."[1/] This same section particularizes "that the Director rely upon the Department of State for general administrative services in the United States and abroad to the extent agreed upon between the Secretary of State and the Director." Accordingly, an arrangement was worked out with the State Department for administrative support.[2/]

Domestic administrative support falls into two general categories: direct and basic. The former are costs, controlled by the Agency, which lend themselves to specific accounting. They include such expenses as communications, medical examinations, procurement of

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1/ Sec. 41, P.L. 87-297, as amended (22USC 2581).

2/ Directive No. 15, Bureau of Administration Policies and Guides, dtd. October 9, 1961 (Unclassified).

office machines, furniture, etc. Basic support includes "housekeeping" functions, building security, and the like incurred as ACDA's share as tenants of the State Department building.

Each fiscal year, a shared administrative support reimbursement agreement has been established between the Executive Director of ACDA and the Budget Office of Administrative Offices and Staffs.

In February 1968, the Chief of the Reimbursements Division of the Budget Office proposed to the ACDA Executive Director that a base amount for domestic administrative support be established, to cover a three year period, with the understanding that the base could be adjusted, retroactively, to reflect actual costs. The proposal pointed out that the "task of developing, reviewing, and consolidating estimates was a delaying factor which has worked to the disadvantage of the Department and the serviced agencies and programs."

The new arrangement was agreed to by ACDA on May 21, 1968.[1/]

Prior to the creation of the Arms Control and

1/ Reinhold (State/O/FM/R) to Bacon (ACDA), memorandum, February 20, 1968, Unclassified.

Disarmament Agency, disarmament matters were handled in the U.S. Disarmament Administration in the Department of State. Pursuant to Sec. 47 of the public law establishing ACDA, all personnel in the Disarmament Administration were transferred to the new agency. 1/

The transfer included Foreign Service personnel, who were detailed to ACDA on a reimbursable basis. This arrangement with the Department of State has continued, and ACDA reimburses the Department each fiscal year for the costs incident to the assignment of such personnel, including a Foreign Service Officer to serve as Assistant Director for International Relations, and as Executive Director. The number of detailed Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Reserve Officers and Foreign Service Staff has consistently run about 30 to 36 persons.

The Department of Defense assigns military personnel to active duty with ACDA on a reimbursable basis. These officers, drawn from the Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps, serve a full tour of duty. This arrange-

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1/ Memorandum Rimestad to All Personnel - ACDA, Oct. 4, 1961 (Unclassified).

ment, too, dates back to the Disarmament Administration. The original number of 6 officers, plus one Brigadier General or Flag Officer, had increased, by January 1963 to 18,[1/] including one officer with three-star rank, to serve as Assistant Director for Weapons Evaluation and Control. With the reorganization of the Weapons Evaluation and Control Bureau to assume full responsibility for field testing,[2/] the number of authorized military positions was increased to 43.[3/]

Still another area of support provided ACDA by another agency is that of security investigations. The Arms Control and Disarmament Act stipulates that the Director arrange with the Civil Service Commission for the conduct of full-field background security and loyalty investigations for all the Agency's employees, including those detailed from other agencies, etc. The Act further provides that in the event the investigation discloses information indicating that the person investigated may be a security risk, the report of the investigation shall be turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation

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1/ Gilpatric (Deputy Sec./Def.) to Foster (ACDA), letter, Jan. 24, 1963, Unclassified.

2/ See ante Section III G - Field Tests, pp.

3/ Nitze (Deputy Sec./Def.) to Foster (ACDA), letter, Nov. 16, 1967, Unclassified.

for a full-field investigation. During the period November 1963 to January 1969, a total of approximately 2500 investigations were conducted for the Agency.

Much of the Agency's work involves atomic energy information classified as "Restricted Data." Under the "Security Requirements" of the Act, the Atomic Energy Commission authorizes ACDA personnel, its consultants and its contractors to have access to Restricted Data. 1/

1/ PL 87-297, Section 45(c).

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

C. Congressional Relations

1. Authorizations and Appropriations

The following presentation covers primarily the two authorization requests of 1965 and 1968, the two periods of President Johnson's Administration when ACDA came under full-scale review by the Congress. The annual appropriations process has revealed Congressional concerns about the Agency and its research program similar to those revealed in the authorization but in a more abbreviated form. For a tabulation of annual appropriations, see the chart at the end of this section 1/

1965

On January 15, 1965, President Johnson requested Congress to extend the Agency's authorization for four years. Authorized appropriations of $55 million for the four-year period of fiscal years 1966 through 1969 were requested. It was noted in the President's transmittal that the then existing two-year authorization would expire on June 30, 1965. Thus, early enactment would be needed to permit timely Congressional consideration of the Agency's fiscal year 1966 budget.

Chairman Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee introduced H.R. 2998 on January 18, a bill to enact the four-year $55 million authorization request. The Foreign Affairs

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1/ post, p. 80-a.

Committee hearings were held on January 26 and 27 and on February 2. In contrast to previous authorization hearings, relatively little opposition was expressed to the continued existence and role of ACDA. Instead, members of the House focused their attention on the external research program and the economic impact of recent Defense Department decisions to close certain naval yards and military bases. The external research program was carefully reviewed principally because it represented the area of greatest budget increase over the four years. ACDA Director Foster explained that the projected increases were attributable to the design of specialized equipment for verification of arms control agreements and the field testing of that equipment.

Completed research projects were examined by the Committee as well. Concern was expressed that some projects were in effect subsidizing professors, universities and non-profit research organizations at a generous level without due regard for the utility of the studies for the Agency's work. The rationale of a four-year, rather than a two-year, authorization request based on the need for long-range research planning was questioned in view of the time span of previous studies and the projected research program. In general, however, the House Committee was far less critical of the external research

program, both past and projected, than was the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

On the issue of military base closings, Director Foster explained that ACDA had nothing to do with that decision. However, the economic impact and relocation problems that arise after base closings was a proper concern for the Agency, and both in-house and external research projects were and would continue to be directed at those problems.

The Committee mark-up on February 2 resulted in House Report No. 37 (89th Cong., 1st Sess.) which reported the bill favorably and without amendment. In addition to the considerations mentioned above, the Committee noted that, as in the 1963 authorization hearings, the procedures established by the President to avoid duplication of research within the government "have been reviewed by the committee and appear to be effective." A separate minority statement, however, called for close Congressional supervision of the Agency and, to that end, urged only a two-year authorization.

Floor debate came on February 17 and centered on the length of authorization. A floor amendment for a two-year $25 million authorization prompted submission by Congressman Hays of a substitute amendment to authorize $40 million for three years.

This amendment was accepted by voice vote, and on final roll-call the House passed H.R. 2998 by a 302-63 vote.

On February 18 the fiscal year 1966-68 $40 million authorization was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Committee held hearings on February 22 and 23 on this bill and on S. 672, the original four-year, $55 million request. Extensive criticism was leveled at the external research program. It was argued that several studies had little or no relationship to the Agency's responsibility; others amounted to an indirect subsidization of education; and many were simply not worth the price. Chairman Fulbright asserted that, with 70 percent of the Agency's budget planned for research, a more detailed justification of the research program was in order. Moreover, considerable sentiment was expressed that each Congress be able to look at "important programs." Thus, even without much criticism of the Agency's existence and accomplishments, substantial resistance to more than a two-year authorization was evident.

The Fulbright Committee on March 3 ordered a favorable report (S. Rept. No. 73, 89th Cong., 1st Sess.) on H.R. 2998 with an amendment that limited the authorization to two years

and $20 million. Senators Clark and Morse filed individual views, urging restoration of the original administration request. Floor debate opened on March 9. The Committee amendment and Senator Clark's substitute proposal were debated for two days. Senator Clark argued that, if all Committee members had been present, the House bill would have been accepted 9-8, with two Senators not voting. Failing to gain adequate support on the floor, however, Clark withdrew his amendment. On March 10 the Senate passed by a 74-11 roll-call vote the two-year $20 million authorization recommended by the Committee.

House and Senate conferees met on April 8. A brief conference report was printed on April 12 (H. Rept. No. 233, 89th Cong., 1st Sess.). The report recommended a compromise three-year $30 million authorization. The report found that, together with an unappropriated authorization of $1,668,900, the Agency would have nearly $32 million for the next three fiscal years. It concluded: "This will permit it to continue its operations at a level higher than it has been able to do in the current fiscal year for which it received an appropriation of $9 million." The House adopted the conference report on

April 13 by a vote of 315-65. On May 14 the Senate by voice vote agreed to the conference report. The enrolled bill was signed by the Speaker and Vice President on May 18 and approved by the President on May 27, 1965 (P.L. 89-27).

1968

On January 24, 1968, the President requested Congress to extend the life of ACDA for three years and to authorize $33 million for fiscal years 1969 through 1971. A bill to this effect was introduced on January 30, 1968 by House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Morgan (H.R. 14940). Hearings began on February 1 and were held for several days that month.

The Committee devoted most of its time to consideration of the Non-Proliferation Treaty draft, rather than to the requested authorization extension. Of that time spent on the authorization, two issues were of particular concern to the Committee. One was the justification for an additional $3 million (compared to the previous three-year $30 million authorization). ACDA Director William Foster explained that the $3 million was needed primarily to continue the field testing of verification equipment which ACDA would in the

future have to fund entirely out of its own appropriations. Previously, funding had been jointly provided by ACDA and the Air Force, but in 1967 the Defense Department appropriations bill was passed without the requested continuance of DOD's contribution. ACDA reviewed for the Committee the history of Congressional action on this matter to show that, despite the termination of DOD funding, Congress had not expressed any intention to end the field test program conducted by the Agency.

The second issue raised by several Committee members concerned the Agency's external research program. It was noted that most of the previous annual appropriations had gone to the research program, and the Agency was projecting research funding that would come to over one-half of the Agency's budget for the next three years. Although it was acknowledged that ACDA had decreased its external research program, several members felt ACDA was still paying for external research contracts that did not relate directly to the Agency's functions and were without immediate value to the Agency. Rather than contract out for studies, it was suggested that a greater in-house or inter-agency research effort would be more appropriate. Possible duplication of research undertaken by

other agencies was cited as another reason for the desirability of limiting ACDA's external research program.

Finally, the request for a three-year authorization was itself questioned by several members. ACDA justified a three-year period on the same grounds proferred during the 1965 hearings, with the additional argument being made that approval of a shorter period could reflect adversely on the U.S. commitment to support the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The desire to bring ACDA before each Congress for a detailed examination of its activities and plans, however, was strongly expressed by House members throughout the course of the hearings.

By a 20 to 5 bipartisan vote, the Foreign Affairs Committee reported the Administration's bill without amendment on February 29 (H. Rept. 1140, 90th Cong., 2nd Sess.). To maintain ACDA's highly specialized staff and to show continued support for arms control and disarmament, the Committee supported the full three-year authorization. Seven of the 15 Republicans on the Committee filed supplemental views critical of a three-year authorization. They alsothought there should be more liaison with the Committeeon developing arms control policy proposals. Congressman Findley also filed additional views highly critical of the proposed Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Floor debate on the bill came on March 6. Substantial Republican opposition was expressed to the three-year authorization period, and a few members strongly objected to ACDA's role in negotiating the Non-Proliferation Treaty. On a close 87-88 teller vote, the House failed to pass an amendment by Congressman Adair providing for a two-year $22 million authorization. A subsequent recommittal motion by Congressman Derwinski instructing the Committee to return a two-year $20 million authorization passed on a 241-161 roll-call vote. Final passage of H.R. 14940, as amended by the Derwinski motion, was by a 305-96 roll-call vote.

Senate hearings on H.R. 14940 were held on March 19. Most criticism was directed at the external research program. Based on Committee staff examination of many studies, the Chairman questioned "how appropriate and how right the control is" on ACDA external research contracts. The following points were raised: some studies seemed to have no direct use to the Agency; educational institutions were being indirectly subsidized with little concern for the results of their research; various pressures on research contractors could compromise

independence; and, more assurances were needed to prevent duplication of research undertaken by the Defense and State Departments as well as other agencies. /Note: ACDA has found that certain categories of research contracts have been repeatedly criticized by Congress. These include: United Nations Peace Forces; psychological and behaviorial science approaches to arms control; mathematical research on political problems; and some historical studies of arms competition and disarmament negotiations.7

The Committee reported H.R. 14940 on April 10 with amendments that provided a two-year authorization of $17 million with a $7 million limitation on external research funds. The Committee report (S. Rept. No. 1088, 90th Cong., 2nd Sess.) referred to the 1965 hearings which recommended substantial savings by reducing outside contracting and relying instead on in-house and State Department studies. The $7 million ceiling for the next two years represented an attempt to force the phase-out of non-essential outside research, which the Committee agreed ACDA already was doing "albeit slowly." Program operations were not intended to be cut back, and the Agency's negotiating role was praised in the report. Criticism was directed, however, at ACDA's failure to "assert itself more vigorously in its role

as adviser" to the President and other top officials. Senators Clark and Pell filed individual views criticizing the reduced authorization and research ceiling.

Senate floor debate opened on April 19. Debate centered on the $7 million research ceiling, floor criticism being similar to the remarks made during the hearings and in the Committee report. Two amendments by Senator Clark were rejected. One would have provided a three-year $33 million authorization (rejected 18-53); the other was for a two-year $20 million authorization (rejected 26-47). A further amendment on April 22 by Senator Clark to make clear that excluded field testing activities were/from the $7 million limitation was accepted by voice vote. The bill, as thus amended, was passed by voice vote on April 22.

Conferees met on May 1. A brief conference report was filed on May 2 in the House and accepted on May 9 by a vote of 269 to 90. The conferees retained the two-year authorization and $7 million external research limitation, and split the difference in funds to reach an authorization of $18.5 million. By voice vote the Senate agreed to the conference report on May 10. The enrolled bill was signed on May 13 and approved by the President on May 23 (P.L. 90-314).

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Analyses of Authorizations, Appropriations and Obligations 1962-1970

	Authorizations	Appropriations	Balance of Authorization Available	Balance of Authorization Lapsing	Obligations	Unobligated Balance Lapsing
Fiscal Years 1962 and 1963, No-Year Limitation (P.L. 87-297)	$10,000,000					
Fiscal Year 1962						
Activity 1/		$1,831,100 1/			$1,831,100 1/	
Program Operation		(1,231,100)			(1,231,100)	
Contract Research		(600,000)			(600,000)	
Fiscal Year 1963						
Activity (P.L. 87-843)		6,500,000			6,108,569	$- 391,431
Program Operation		(2,500,000)			(2,548,560	(+ 48,560)
Contract Research		(4,000,000)			(3,560,009)	(- 439,991)
Total FYs 1962-1963	10,000,000	8,331,100	$1,668,900		7,939,669	- 391,431
Fiscal Years 1964 and 1965 (P.L. 88-186)	20,000,000					
Fiscal Year 1964						
Activity (P.L. 88-245)		7,500,000			7,375,217	- 124,783
Program Operation		(3,400,000)			(3,341,073)	(- 58,927)
Contract Research		(4,100,000)			(4,034,144)	(- 65,856)
Fiscal Year 1965						
Activity (P.L. 88-527)		9,000,000			8,966,130	- 33,870
Program Operation		(3,600,000)			(3,566,965)	(- 33,035)
Contract Research		(5,400,000)			(5,399,165)	(- 835)
Total FYs 1964-1965	20,000,000	16,500,000		$3,500,000	16,341,347	- 158,653
Fiscal Years 1966, 1967, and 1968 (P.L. 89-27)	30,000,000					
Fiscal Year 1966						
Activity (P.L. 89-164)		10,000,000			9,737,433 2/	- 262,567
Program Operation		(4,072,000)			(3,928,269) 2/	(- 143,731)
Contract Research		(5,928,000)			(5,809,164)	(- 118,836)
Fiscal Year 1967						
Activity (P.L. 89-797)		9,000,000			8,775,025	- 224,975
Program Operation		(4,165,000)			(4,010,457)	(- 154,543)
Contract Research		(4,835,000)			(4,764,568)	(- 70,432)
Fiscal Year 1968 (P.L. 90-133)		9,000,000			8,999,988 3/	- 12
Program Operation		(4,500,000)			(4,500,000) 3/	(--)
Contract Research		(4,500,000)			(4,499,988)	(- 12)
Total 1966, 1967 and 1968	30,000,000	28,000,000		2,000,000	27,512,446	- 487,554
Cumulative Through 1968	60,000,000	52,831,100	1,668,900	5,500,000	51,793,462	-1,037,638
Fiscal Years 1969 and 1970 (P.L. 90-314)	18,500,000					
Fiscal Year 1969 (P.L. 90-470)		9,000,000				
Program Operation		(5,502,000)				
External Research and Field Testing		(3,498,000)				
Fiscal Year 1970 Request		9,500,000				
Program Operation		(5,527,000)				
External Research and Field Testing		(3,973,000)				
Total FYs 1969 and 1970	18,500,000	18,500,000			18,500,000	
Cumulative Through 1970	78,500,000	71,331,100	1,668,900	5,500,000	70,293,462	-1,037,638

1/ Appropriated to Department of State $1,017,000
Deduct amount obligated by State . . . . . - 185,900
Balance Transferred to ACDA 831,100
Supplemental Appropriation to ACDA (P.L. 87-332) 1,000,000
Total Available to ACDA 1,831,100

Available and Obligated by State 185,900
Available and Obligated by ACDA 1,831,100
Total FY-1962 2,017,000

2/ Includes appropriation transfer of $34,875 to GSA.

3/ Includes appropriation transfer of $15,837 to GSA.

10/17/68

C. Congressional Relations

2. The Subject Matter of Arms Control

Aside from the authorization-appropriation processes, attacks on ACDA and its mission (forwarded to the Agency by Members of Congress largely as a result of constituent mail) declined very substantially during the Johnson Administration.

During the first few years of the Agency's existence, literature reflecting suspicion and distrust of arms control and disarmament was widely circulated by fringe groups. Much of this literature reflected distrust stemming more from distorted interpretations of the U.S. Outline of the Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament than from limited arms control measures. Indeed, Congressional and, we believe, public support for the general concept of arms control has always been in evidence. On May 17, 1966, for example, 99 Senators were recorded in favor of S. Res. 179 (89th Cong., 2d Sess.), which commended the President's efforts "to negotiate international agreements limiting the spread of nuclear weapons." Of these 99 Senators, 59 sponsored the resolution, led by Senator Pastore (D., R.I.). The floor vote on it was 84-0, with all absent Senators declared in favor except Eastland (D. Miss.), who did not declare.

During the same period, personal contacts by ACDA officers through visits, luncheon conversations, group briefings, and telephone calls increased significantly. These personal contacts involved both Members and staff. Much of the increase was due to negotiating developments related to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Formal and informal contacts with Congressional committees similarly increased. The Agency maintained a continuing liaison with the following committees on U.S. arms control policy and negotiating developments: Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Liaison was also conducted on occasion with the House Armed Services Committee.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty was extensively considered at various formal committee hearings ever since 1964, when the first U.S. non-proliferation treaty draft was submitted for negotiation at the ENDC. Among the more significant hearings were the following.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

In 1966, ACDA Acting Director Adrian Fisher appeared

before the Committee in connection with our efforts to achieve a non-proliferation treaty when open hearings were being held on U.S. Policy towards Europe.

In 1967, the Committee's Disarmament Subcommittee engaged in an extensive series of executive session hearings on various aspects of arms control and disarmament policy, including non-proliferation policy. Members of the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other Senators who were not Members of the Committee participated in those hearings. Witnesses included Secretary of State Rusk; General Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Deputy Secretary of Defense Vance; Assistant Secretary of Defense McNaughton; the Defense Department Chief of DDR&E, Dr. John Foster; Drs. Bradbury and May from the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory and the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (Livermore); Director William C. Foster of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and his Deputy, Mr. Fisher. ACDA representatives had also previously appeared before the Disarmament Subcommittee at various times in connection with arms control negotiating developments.

Upon conclusion of the negotiations, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (Ex. H, 90th Cong., 2d Sess.) was forwarded

to the Senate on July 9, 1968. Hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee (joined by the Senate Members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy) commenced the next day and were concluded on July 17. Executive branch witnesses testifying in support of ratification were Secretary of State Dean Rusk, ACDA Director Foster, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Earle G. Wheeler, and Chairman Seaborg of the AEC.

On September 17, the Committee voted 13 (Fulbright, Sparkman, Mansfield, Morse, Gore, Church, Symington, Clark, Pell, McCarthy, Carlson, Case and Cooper) to 3 (Lausche, Dodd and Mundt) with 3 abstentions (Hickenlooper, Aiken and Williams) to recommend Senate consent to ratification. The Committee's report (Sen. Ex. Rept. No. 9, 90th Cong., 2d Sess.), together with minority views (Mundt, Hickenlooper, Williams, Dodd, and Lausche) and individual views (Dodd and Aiken) was filed on September 26. The second session of the 90th Congress subsequently adjourned without having taken up the Treaty on the floor.

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

Since 1964, the Joint Committee has held extensive and repeated hearings on non-proliferation, both in open and

executive sessions. Secretaries Rusk and McNamara testified at these hearings as well as Chairman Seaborg of the AEC and Messrs. Foster and Fisher of ACDA.. The interest of the Joint Committee is oriented largely around the technical aspects of nuclear arms control and, as a result, the influence of this Committee had an important bearing on the formulation of the Treaty's safeguards provisions. Moreover, Article I of the Treaty, under which nuclear-weapon-states Parties to the Treaty undertake, inter alia, not to transfer nuclear weapons was patterned after Section 92 of the U.S. Atomic Energy Act, an Act under the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee.

Senate Committee on Government Operations

Non-proliferation policy was also considered in 1966 at open hearings on the Atlantic Alliance which were conducted by the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, Senate Committee on Government Operations.

House Foreign Affairs Committee

Mr. Fisher, as Acting Director of ACDA, appeared in 1967 in executive session before the House Foreign Affairs

Committee on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and related negotiations. The subject was also discussed by Secretary Rusk in hearings before that Committee.

During the ACDA authorization hearings in February 1968, the Committee gave extensive consideration to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

As a means of supplementing and facilitating Congressional involvement in arms control, the Agency has, at the beginning of each Session of Congress, invited the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to designate Congressional advisers to the U.S. Delegation to the ENDC. In recent years, six have been named from each House, split equally between Republicans and Democrats, and including members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and sometimes the Senate Armed Services Committee.

C. Congressional Relations

3. Other ACDA-Related Legislation

The nature of ACDA's work involves it with many government agencies and commissions which from time to time propose legislation concerning their work. Often Members of Congress themselves initiate legislation in which ACDA is interested. There are several primary routes through which ACDA makes its views known on such legislation: comments made directly to the Bureau of the Budget; testimony at Congressional hearings concerning proposed legislation; and comments to the Committees at their request.

Comments to the Bureau of the Budget

The Bureau of the Budget customarily requests comments of interested agencies on proposed legislation and enrolled bills. Some bills involve procedures for establishing new agencies and commissions such as a National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress (H.R. 11611, 88th Cong., 2d Sess. (1964)), or a separate Agency within the Department of State for World Peace (H.R. 16038, 89th Cong., 2d Sess.(1966)). Another area involves comments to the BOB on legislation proposed by other agencies but related to ACDA's work. This has led to such things as ACDA comments on a portion of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 concerning the encouragement of regional arms control

agreements, on the Military Sales Act, and on amendments to the Atomic Energy and related acts. As an example of this last category, in December 1967 ACDA supported the increase of the amount of plutonium and U-235 authorized to be sold to Euratom pursuant to the Euratom Cooperation Act (S. 2644, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (1967)). In doing so, however, we urged that the President approve the bill without any accompanying statement and that the increase be considered in light of safeguards and non-proliferation policies. We submitted that a Presidential statement might be construed as a political commitment to exercise the authority covered by the legislation without regard to NPT requirements. The President later approved the bill without an accompanying statement.

Testimony with respect to legislation of interest to ACDA

ACDA has utilized the forum afforded by hearings held in conjunction with proposed legislation and resolutions of interest to it, to make its views known. When invited by a Committee, Agency officials have testified in behalf of such legislation.

In May of 1968, for example, the Subcommittee on International Organization Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations

Committee held hearings on a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 47, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968)) concerned with the United Nations Peacekeeping, which was introduced by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania. Mr. Foster testified, along with Assistant Secretary of State Sisco, and Assistant Secretary of Defense Warnke as Executive Branch witnesses. The objective of the resolution was to strengthen UN peacekeeping ability by calling for the earmarking of troops and logistic support from member states. In his testimony, Mr. Foster spoke of the relationship of the resolution to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and how the NPT assisted, through its safeguards provision, with developing the climate for peacekeeping. In this manner, he was able to demonstrate the concerns of the Agency for some of the problems affecting it and relating to peacekeeping. On May 6, 1965, Mr. Fisher testified on a more extensive resolution on the same subject (S. Con. Res. 32, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965)), also introduced by Senator Clark.

Another instance of ACDA participation is found in hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy held on July 19, 1968, on a proposed amendment to the Atomic Energy Act to permit commercial Plowshare Services (H.R. 18448 and S. 3783, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968)). Article V of the NPT obligates nuclear

weapon parties to make the potential benefits of the peaceful application of nuclear explosions available to non-nuclear parties. The Atomic Energy Act only permitted research and development on such applications. Mr. Fisher testified on behalf of ACDA and the Department of State on the international aspects of the bill, which would authorize the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into contracts to provide services for practical application of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes both domestically, and to other States or international organizations in accordance with our international undertakings. It was ACDA's concern that any amendment to the Atomic Energy Act be consistent with and in the spirit of our obligations under both the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty. In this regard ACDA as architect of both agreements was peculiarly qualified to supply to the Joint Committee the expertise needed in judging the effect of the proposed legislation on the two treaties.

ACDA's Assistant Director for the Economics Bureau, has made several appearances before Congressional Committees, to consider the problems of an economic nature of interest to these committees as they relate to arms control and disarmament.

Three of these appearances were before the Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare. The subjects of two of the appearances, manpower and employment as they relate to the defense sector of the economy (November 26, 1963), and the impact of Federal research and development policies on scientific and technological manpower considered ACDA and other research in these areas. The thrust was on the economic impact studies done by the Agency. The third appearance before that subcommittee in April of 1965 was a seminar-type hearing to discuss the President's Manpower Report.

Mr. Alexander also testified before the Senate Committee on Commerce in June of 1964 with respect to a bill (S. 2274, 88th Cong., 2d Sess. (1964)) to establish a National Economic Conversion Commission. ACDA supported the objectives of the proposed Commission but considered in detail the reaons why its objectives were largely achieved under existing arrangements. ACDA's research, for example, had been concerned with, and continue to be concerned with the subject of the activities of the proposed commission. In another proposal in February, 1967, before the Sub-committee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, to provide for the establishment of a "National Foundation for the Social Sciences" (S.3896, 90th Cong., 1st Sess (1967)), Mr. Alexander supported the purposes

of the legislation since it would be one way to strengthen the objective of increased social science research.

Although not connected with specific legislation, in April, 1967, Mr. Alexander appeared on behalf of the Agency before the Joint Economic Committee, in connection with its hearings on the effect of the Viet-Nam war on the U.S. economy. The specific focus of his statement, was to illustrate how the termination of the war would prove an instructive analogy to the consequences that would follow on arms control agreement resulting in reduced defense spending.

Written reports to Congressional Committees

A third way in which ACDA communicates its views on proposed legislation is through the submission of written reports to Congressional Committees. In some cases, these reports precede personal appearances of the type discussed above. Thus, on May 10, 1965, Mr. Fisher sent to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations a letter with comments on S. Con. Res. 32 (89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965)) dealing with peacekeeping. A similar letter was received from the Department of State. In other instances written reports alone are used. This may involve proposed legislation which is not the subject of hearings, or where the written report was considered sufficient. In 1964 and

1965, proposals were submitted by Congressman Hosmer (H.R._____ and H.R._____) to reduce the function of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Reports were submitted in opposition to this legislation. It should be noted that each report submitted first receives the concurrence of the Bureau of the Budget that from the standpoint of the administration's program there is no objection to the submission of the report.

IV. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE AGENCY

D. External Relations

When President Johnson assumed office, emotional interest in disarmament had passed its peak. Up to that time the test ban issue was the high water mark of public interest in arms control. It touched people who did not ordinarily concern themselves with international affairs and many who never before aligned themselves with "peace groups" were joining organizations and signing petitions. Much of the support for a test ban came from people who were fearful that radioactive fallout from test explosions would contaminate their babies' milk. The campaign pinpointed the increasing levels of radioactivity in pasture lands, it talked about cancer and leukemia. When a limited test ban treaty was signed, the fallout issue melted away like the snows of yesteryear, and the ardent constituency of disarmament oriented organizations drifted off, even though the surface of arms control had barely been scratched.

Student political activists had already moved off into civil rights, and they were soon followed by many adults. The national staffs of the religious denominations, always limited by funds, were also concentrating on programs to aid Negroes.

The creation of the disarmament agency in 1961 had been an earlier victory which also had the ironic effect of contributing to a lessening of interest. For, with the Agency in existence, many activists felt they could confidently leave the burdens in professional hands of others and do their volunteer work elsewhere. This trend was intensified by the fact that matters under negotiation could not be discussed freely by Agency officials, and the consequent lack of openness tended to discourage a sense of participation. Some supporters of arms control were frustrated that the new agency -- "our agency" -- did not assume the partisan aspect that they had anticipated. They probably had looked forward to open intra-governmental controversy of the

Stassen-Strauss variety and were disappointed to hear Agency spokesmen advocate only agreed U.S. positions. There were rumblings of protest about the composition of the General Advisory Committee which did not give non-governmental groups a sense of access to high councils. And increasingly the peace movement was turning to crisis issues: defense budget bills, the Bay of Pigs, Laos, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic. (Of course, as the involvement in Vietnam grew, this issue preempted the field and, in the view of many peace groups, created a situation in which disarmament aspirations were not of primary importance.)

Increasingly, therefore, arms control and disarmament was becoming professionalized. After 1964, the public interest and support which was perceived in the Agency was largely the interest of people who were doing professional work -- academics who were teaching or writing in the field of international affairs, scientists who were doing work which was relevant to arms control and disarmament

measures, international relations forums which sought to keep members abreast of current negotiations and future directions. Ideas and suggestions were made with responsibility and moderation, through normal channels of correspondence or publications in learned journals.

Interest in the work of the Agency continued to manifest itself in a variety of ways. There has been a steady demand for officers of the Agency to address public groups, particularly on the campus of universities. It is the practice of the Agency to ask hosts to pay travel expenses of speakers. As a result, speaking engagements outside of the Middle Atlantic states are limited. Efforts are made to increase platform opportunities and to diversify them geographically but these efforts are made discreetly in order to avoid the charge that the Agency is engaging in an aggressive program of "propaganda," in violation of an amendment to the

Arms Control and Disarmament Act which prohibits the use of Agency funds for propaganda purposes.[1/]

The Agency is, of course, under a positive statutory obligation to inform and educate, as well as a negative one to refrain from propagandizing. These conflicting instructions cause some confusion. If a line can be drawn between informing and propagandizing, it would probably separate the candid, informative and well balanced presentation from high pressure salesmanship and puffery. Since speeches delivered by Agency personnel invariably tend to be candid, understated, factually accurate and reasonably thorough, these legal restraints should give no concern. But as a practical matter, they do tend to create inhibitions against the use of aggressive methods of establishing contacts. The Agency feels that its main business is the planning and negotiation of arms control measures, and that educational functions, being secondary, should not place the major work of the Agency in jeopardy.

1/ 22USC2589(d)

This situation results in a major emphasis on briefings in Washington. Organized groups of students and adults who come to the capital city on tours write in advance to the Agency to arrange for a briefing by one or more Agency officers. These briefings usually take place in the State Department building, and usually last for one or two hours. They have enabled a large number of citizens from all parts of the country to learn about arms control policies in some depth, to ask questions of men who are actually working on the problems, and to receive literature and documents. Audiences at these briefings include students, educators, organization leaders, members of local chapters of organizations, news and editorial writers from all parts of the country, military groups, clergymen, groups from individual churches, and others.

Since the establishment of the Agency in 1961, arms control has been transformed from a grandiose

dream into a modest reality. Several important arms control treaties are now in existence, arms control negotiations receive wide coverage in the general press and have broad impact on international relationships. Under these circumstances, a very wide spectrum of organizations, which are not primarily involved in the subject, but which have a general desire to keep abreast of important issues, call upon the Agency for information, for leadership briefings, and for speakers. On this basis friendly relationships have been established with a broad spectrum of organizations. Some of these, like the veterans organizations, had preconceptions about arms control and disarmament which have been dispelled by knowledge of the subject. In some instances, the national staffs have become educated, but members have not, and ACDA officers are invited periodically to brief new officers and committee members.

In dealing with organizations of various kinds, Agency officers usually find themselves in a middle position, disputing extreme views on both sides. With the peace groups and the church groups ACDA officers are often confronted by viewpoints which pay insufficient heed to the needs of national security, or with impatience with the slow pace of negotiations. Among veterans groups and at service club luncheons in various parts of the country it is necessary to deal with the fear that any kind of agreement with the Communists is dangerous and that any arms control agreement weakens national defense. In both types of situations, ACDA officers usually report friendly receptions and leave the meetings with a sense of accomplishment: they have helped serious citizens to achieve a better understanding of the complex realities of our times.

While we hear a great deal about an implacable opposition from right-wing extremists, our only visible evidence of their existence is a slow trickle

of letters -- usually forwarded by Members of Congress -- which view with alarm an imminent dismantling of U.S. defenses. Their letters usually ask us what stage of the general and complete disarmament program we have now reached, or seek copies of the draft treaty or some of the old pamphlets which were issued before the draft was prepared. When some of these old pamphlets on general and complete disarmament went out of print, right wing groups reprinted them!

As progress has been made in international negotiations for arms control, the academic community has given it increasing attention. Arms control content is now included in most general courses in international relations, there are graduate seminars in arms control at many institutions, and numerous papers and theses on related topics are turned out every year.

The Agency assists instructors in the preparation of course syllabi and in building collections of

documents for study purposes. It also assists scholars who are gathering materials for papers and articles.

Possibly the most difficult task that confronts the Agency is the problem of keeping interest alive during the long periods of negotiations and policy planning. Negotiations require secrecy, and when it is not possible to release information it is very difficult to start a public discussion. The maintenance of enlightened interest is important, however, and for this reason both defenders and critics receive very generous assistance from the Agency whenever they request it.

In the section describing the administrative support furnished to the Agency by the Department of State,[1] it was pointed out that reimbursement of funds equivalent to three positions is made to the Department to cover "public affairs" support. This support is provided by the Bureau of Public Affairs,

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[1] Ante. p. 66.

primarily the Office of News. The Department Spokesman holds a daily noon press briefing and includes arms control matters in the scope of his response to press inquiries. Guidance on which to base replies to anticipated questions are prepared in ACDA and an ACDA Public Affairs officer is present at the Spokesman's pre-noon-briefing staff session each day to go over potential questions and answers to them.

In addition, ACDA public affairs staff officers deal directly with press representatives, magazine writers, and radio and TV correspondents.

The Office of Media Services in the Department of State distributes taped and/or filmed interviews with ACDA officials on timely subjects relating to arms control. These tapes or films are distributed to some 1000 radio stations throughout the country.