

State
Dept~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 18, 1970

Tom Whitehead

In a visit to the State Department September 17, 1970, I was present in the Office of Economics Bureau's senior officer when he received a call from Deputy Assistant Secretary Ward Allen. Ward Allen is in the Bureau of International Organizations and works with Sam dePalma. Ward's call was to inform the officer I visited that he is "irate" about the Executive Order (11556), which he had just read upon returning from a trip to the U. N.

Ward Allen is the senior State man below the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations responsible for U. N. activities. He has survived in his job despite changes in administrations, largely because he is successful in jealously guarding State's prerogatives by keeping other agencies out of U. N. business.

Ward indicated he intends to fight to the top any implication in the new Executive Order that OTP is going to tell the State Department anything about how to conduct its business in U. N. forums, regardless of subject matter. The officer reported that, upon reading the Executive Order, the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Phil Trezise (Rein's boss), observed that he saw no great harm in the Executive Order unless OTP intended to "muscle in" to State affairs. The officer told Allen that Trezise's philosophy was "don't fight such things in the abstract. Wait and see if a problem develops, then take appropriate actions."

Allen refuses to accept this philosophy and practically demanded a meeting with Bert Rein upon his return from Europe to discuss State Department "tactics" vis-a-vis OTP to protect State's prerogatives.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	NSC waiver
By	SO NARA, Date 4/15/10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

Recommendation:

Ward Allen is a highly volatile, very sincere, genuine, and well-meaning civil servant. I believe his anxieties with regard to the Executive Order and OTP could be totally diffused by an appropriate approach by you. I recommend strongly that, as soon as possible after you are recovered from your operation, a luncheon meeting be held with Ward Allen, at which you should convey the following:

1. OTP has a job to do in coordinating national telecommunications matters.
2. We are inevitably involved in anything relating to satellite communications by virtue of responsibilities delegated by the President.
3. OTP recognizes that the Department has primary responsibility for conduct of U.S. participation in the U.N.
4. From time to time matters within OTP's purview will arise and, as Director of OTP, you want to offer and pledge the fullest assistance and support possible to the State Department in all matters which touch upon telecommunications policy.
5. OTP does not want to get into the business of conducting foreign affairs but we do look forward to the fullest cooperation and coordination with all facets of State Department work, and we hope that we can be of assistance to Mr. Allen and his Bureau at any time they may require support or advice from the White House.

If you agree with such a meeting, I recommend that the invitation for lunch with you (preferably in the White House Mess) be extended as soon as possible so that Ward will await his discussions with you before descending on Bert Rein to formulate war strategy.

Steve Doyle

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1973

TOM :

By coincidence, just about the time you sent me John Richardson's memorandum I had a call from John Moellering in Mrs. Anne Armstrong's office. He said he has been given responsibility for coordinating the international Bicentennial activities, that he had read the ICY file in Len Garment's office and "it is the best single thing I've seen to date."

He asked where matters now stand. I told him Secretary Rogers had been scheduled to float the ICY idea in a speech, but that events had intervened. He said he hoped that the effort could be "put in train soon" and offered to be of help.

May we discuss soon? I have a couple of procedural suggestions.

- A.
ABBOTT

*State
Dept.*

APPENDIX

Technical and Economic Background

This appendix is meant to give a concise overview of the economic and technical issues surrounding cable television. In order to make the discussion reasonably defined and clear, many facts about which there is controversy have been treated as if they were everywhere agreed upon. All of the numbers cited are rough estimates, meant to give a general idea of the quantity in question.

1. Technology

Because cable television systems are wired to transmit TV signals, they are something of a cross between TV stations and telephone companies. However, unlike TV stations, cable systems can carry lots of channels simultaneously. Modern systems generally have about 20 channels. And, unlike telephone systems, most cable systems are "one-way" - subscribers cannot talk back to the program originator, or to each other. ("Two-way" cable systems, still experimental, allow a highly restricted degree of response by subscribers. This response is limited to simple coded signals which can be received only at the system's headquarters, not by other subscribers.) Cable systems are configured as follows: There is a headquarters or "head end" where all the signals are originated. The signals are fed into trunk cables which are either buried under the street or attached to telephone poles. The "drop lines" connect the trunk to subscriber's homes. The trunk lines need amplifiers at periodic intervals, and it is the capacity of these amplifiers (rather than the size of the cable) which determines the number of channels which can be offered. The cable generally replaces the roof top antenna, although a switch can be installed to permit either device to be used. If the cable is equipped for "two-way" service (which means that it has special amplifiers and other equipment) then a special terminal

device is installed on top of the subscriber's TV set. This device is equipped with buttons, switches, or other means of generating signals which are transmitted to the headend, usually for computers to "read."

The headend of a simple cable system is just a tall antenna and some electronic equipment which amplifies the over-the-air TV signals received, for transmission over the cable. Sometimes UHF signals are translated onto empty VHF channels so that subscriber tuning is easier. More sophisticated headends have studio facilities for generating their own TV shows. Many systems also have built microwave communications links to bring in signals from far-away TV stations. This is called "distant signal importation."

The important points to note about this technology are:

- (1) There is clearly likely to be only one cable operator or system in any given neighborhood.
- (2) The cable operator controls all the channels to each subscriber's home, not just one as with TV stations.
- (3) Once the cable subscriber has removed his roof-top antenna, cable is the only means by which a TV station can reach him.
- (4) To the extent that cable systems supply more signals than a roof-top

antenna can pick up, subscribers have more choice and TV stations have more competition. (5) It is perfectly feasible, technically, for a cable operator to lease channels, or lease on channels, to third parties.

2. Costs

It is very difficult to generalize about the cost of cable systems, since costs vary widely depending on the number and density of subscribers, the number of channels and the location of the station where they originate, and whether the system is buried or on poles. In a very densely populated urban area, a buried 20-channel cable system may cost \$1 million per mile or more. In rural areas the cost may be a few thousand dollars a mile. Average costs (capital costs per subscriber) depend on the "penetration rate," which is the number of home net subscribers on a percentage of those passed by the cable. Then costs typically run from \$150 to \$300 per subscribing home for penetration rates of 25% to 50%. Operating costs, of course, are much smaller than capital costs. In this respect cable is much like a typical public utility. In particular, although urban construction costs are very high, it is urban areas which are most economical to wire, because the density of subscribers is greater. Wiring remote rural areas, where homes are widely

separated, is much less economical.^{1/} If we leave aside these rural areas, comprising perhaps 15% of the network homes, then the total cost of wiring the entire nation for cable would be about \$10 billion. This compares with about \$50 billion invested in telephone service, \$_____ billion in existing TV stations, or \$_____ billion in electric utilities.

Cable systems today usually charge an installation fee plus about \$6 per month for each subscriber, which works out to an annual revenue of \$70 - \$80 per subscriber. There is a fairly active market in which cable systems are bought and sold, and the prices paid for such systems vary in the range of \$200 - \$500 per subscriber.

3. Economic Considerations

Consumer demand for cable service depends on the price charged, the technical quality of the signals, and the number and type of channels offered. Other things equal, there will be more subscribers the more network-quality programs are offered, relative to those available with a roof-top antenna. In urban areas, where consumers already

-
1. Rural hamlets are economical to wire; most present subscribers live in such areas.

have several good-quality signals, this means in practice that the cable operator must import signals from district cities with strong independent TV stations. (This explains why cable operators were so anxious for the FCC to lift the 1968 "freeze" on distant signal importation. It also explains why the question of copyright liability for these signals is so important.) The only practical alternative to imported TV signals is for cable systems to produce or purchase their own programs. This is perfectly feasible, but it will not be economic until there are enough cable subscribers to support network-quality programs. Such programs cost about \$225,000 per hour, but are viewed by 10-20 million homes. Cable systems could produce such programs with fewer viewers if per-program charges were possible (pay-TV), and this would increase the demand for cable subscriptions.

The business of producing TV programs is a highly competitive one. There do not appear to be economies of scale or other conditions which would lead to economic concentration. This is in marked contrast to the existing structure of TV networks, where three firms control programming choices for most viewers. The networks bring programs from a competitive industry. The amount of choice available to the public is thus constrained by the number of channels and

the degree of control over them by networks, stations, or cable operators, rather than by the program production industry. The situation is comparable to that of the magazine industry. Consumers have far more choices among magazines than among TV programs, even though the business of writing and producing TV shows is just as competitive as that of writing and producing magazines. The difference is that the magazines are not delivered through a system of limited "channel capacity" or one in which one or a few persons control access to that capacity, nor does it select the content of the "programs" which pass through it. If one could imagine the postal service actively deciding which magazines should be delivered, then one would have a situation _____ to network television or to cable television with operator control of channel content.

The incentive of a cable operator to offer "original" programming, as we have seen, increases in an urban area where existing TV signals already offer a relatively wide choice. It makes no difference whether this original programming is provided by the cable operator or by persons who lease his channels for that purpose, although the cable operator clearly has an incentive to offer bargain prices to potential leasees, since he will share in the revenues

that accrue from the new subscribers. It is conceivable, in the early stages of cable growth, that the cable operator is the only one with a sufficient incentive to offer original programming. But this cannot be true when _____ water became high, because at that point new programs no longer increase the number of subscribers.

No matter whether programs are paid for by subscribers or advertisers, more channels mean more competitors and more competition means a reduction in monopoly profits. TV stations are limited in number of FCC spectrum allocation policies. Economists believe that this situation leads to "economic rents" or profits in excess of what is "normal." These profits are associated with the scarce channels, and since the FCC charges only nominal licensee fees, they are captured by the owners of the licenses. Naturally, cable threatens to destroy this "economic rent" by increasing the number of channels and hence increasing competition for viewers and for the advertiser's dollar. It is not surprising that the television industry has opposed cable growth.

The other side of the coin is that more channels means lower advertising rates and more choices for viewers, if the channels are competitive. It can be demonstrated quire convincingly that an increase in the number of competing

channels increases program diversity and makes viewers better off. (The same is not necessarily true for an increase in channels under monopoly control by the cable operator or anyone else.)

The value that viewers place on increases in the program choices available to them is difficult to calculate, but many viewers demonstrate that this increase in choice is worth at least the \$6 per month price of cable service. Various economic studies have estimated the total value of TV service to viewers at up to \$25 per family per month.

The economic effect of cable television on TV stations depends on many factors which are subject to policy determination. Generally speaking, cable helps UHF-TV stations (by improving the technical quality of their signals). VHF-TV stations are probably hurt by cable's tendency to increase competition for a limited audience. This effect is aggravated by the copyright question. (The legal liability of cable for copyright payments to TV stations is sub judice.) Clearly, much depends on how many and what type of distant signals can be imported. Probably more important in the long run is the question of pay-cable television (per-program or per-channel charges). When technically feasible, the amount of this kind of service will greatly effect cable growth

and the impact on TV stations. The present FCC rules minimize the possibility of pay-cable programming. There is little doubt that if cable grows as rapidly as most observers expect, some TV stations will be hurt, perhaps fatally. This has no particular effect on cable subscribers, since the stations that fail will only fail if cable viewers make other competitive signals to them. But the failure of TV stations would affect non-subscribers, particularly those who do not have access to a cable (in rural areas) or those who cannot afford a subscription. There is no way of estimating the size of these two groups, but it is possible to argue that neither group is likely to be very large.

The prices that the cable operator can charge for his services is limited by the availability of over-the-air signals, by the need to promote his service to new subscribers, and by the prospect of competition from another cable system with an overlapping franchise. It is at least arguable that these industries will keep prices low at first, but that there will eventually be a significant degree of monopoly power in each local system. This monopoly power can be used to raise prices to subscribers and channel leasees above competitive levels, and therefore to reduce the quality of service below that level which would be desirable. (It

*TV stations hurt only if viewers are
willing to pay for programs instead
of watching what is carried for free*

is not true that a monopolist will fail to increase capacity when demand grows. It is true that he will not increase capacity by the full amount of the increase in demand.)

The cable operator's ability to engage in this behavior will be limited by whatever regulatory and franchising authorities decide to do. The economic problem here is to decide when and how to introduce regulation. If it is introduced too soon, cable growth may be stifled. Too late, and some conference and program suppliers may have been hurt.

There are three groups who are _____ better off because of cable: consumers who, having a choice, choose to subscribe; advertisers; and program producers. The last two groups are not unimportant forces in the economy. Advertisers will benefit from cable for two reasons: The increased competition will drive down the price of advertising and the increased diversity will provide specialized audiences tailor-made to particular products, as with specialized magazines. There seems little doubt that cable will increase total advertising expenditure on television, reducing advertising expenditure on magazines and newspapers.

The program production industry will experience a considerable increase in the demand for its products, especially if pay-cable programming is possible. This industry is presently concentrated in Los Angeles and New York, but

there will be considerable growth in local and regional production as well.

Cable television has been growing at a very rapid rate in recent years. The industry definitely will have a "chicken and egg" situation with regard to the programming it needs to wire the great cities. This is the most risky and hence least predictable part of the cable story. It is also the part most sensitive to effective policy choices.

Hite

August 18, 1972

Honorable Samuel DePalma
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of International Organization Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. DePalma:

It is my understanding that the United States will be required this Fall to state a position on the international aspects of direct television broadcasting from space. Despite the unlikelihood of such broadcasting being technically or economically feasible in the near future, the upcoming consideration of the UNESCO Draft Declaration of Guiding Principles for Space Broadcasting set for this October and the recent request of the Soviet Union to add a proposed convention on direct space broadcasting to the U.N. General Assembly's agenda will require us to move expeditiously and forcefully to reaffirm both our domestic Constitutional principles of free expression and our long-held goals of fostering the free flow of information in the international sphere.

I am most familiar with the background of the UNESCO Draft Declaration which resulted from the May 1972 meeting of experts, and which was forwarded to our Office on July 13. It is here that I am afraid we have lost the most ground. In several respects we believe this document to be opposed to our national interests. We deeply regret that it was adopted unanimously, without any reservations on the part of the United States participant.

The most disturbing aspects of both the Draft Declaration and the U.S.S.R. proposed convention are the controls they would have the United States impose on satellite broadcasts originating on our soil - a kind of preemptive jamming - and the leeway they would give the United States and any country receiving direct broadcasts from foreign countries to jam and otherwise preclude reception. There is, in my view, no doubt that such provisions in both proposed documents are in direct contravention of the principles of free expression embodied in

our Constitution and of any goal of "facilitating" the international free flow of information. We have previously expressed these views with respect to the Draft Declaration (Memorandum from Bromley Smith, Assistant Director, OTP, to Mr. Landfield, January 31, 1972). They are also briefly summarized in the attached memorandum prepared by OTP's General Counsel, which discusses the legal effect of the proposed provisions on space broadcasting.

We realize that the United States has had relatively little support for its position on the free flow of information, both in UNESCO and the General Assembly. We also appreciate that the language of the Draft Declaration may be the most favorable that was possible to achieve. We do not believe, however, that the United States can remain on record in support of provisions such as those discussed above. Formal action should be taken as soon as possible to disassociate our Government from the unanimous endorsement of these provisions of the Draft Declaration, and to make it clear in the international community in general that we cannot support such provisions even if adopted by UNESCO or considered by the General Assembly.


Since both the General Assembly and the General Conference of UNESCO will be convening within several weeks, we think the U. S. Government must take immediate action to develop a firm position on direct television broadcasting from space that is fully consistent with our national principles and international goals regarding the unrestricted flow of information. In this connection, I offer OTP's assistance in formulating such a position, given our responsibilities and experience in the communications area. We would be pleased to continue participating in discussions with the State Department and with other agencies, and with the various governmental and non-governmental groups and committees that have been considering the problem.

In closing, I must emphasize that, if we do not formulate the kind of policy position I have referred to, we will be abandoning nothing less than the principle of freedom of information which we have defended at great diplomatic cost in prior international negotiations. I consider it, therefore, most important to take action on this matter as soon as possible, and I look forward to receive your comments or suggestions at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Clay T. Whitehead

Enclosure



cc: Mr. Frank Shakespeare, USIA
Mr. Dean Burch, FCC
Mr. Bert Rein, DOS
Mr. Charles Ablard, USIA
Mr. John Petit, FCC

bcc: Mr. Albert Horley, HEW
Mr. Nick Zapple, Senate Commerce Committee
Mr. Ward White, Senate Commerce Committee

Robert Hutchins, House Interstate & Foreign Commerce Comm.

DO Chron

DO Record

Mr. Whitehead (2)

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GC Subj File

NScalia/HGoldberg/tw: 8/18/72

MEMORANDUM

Re: UNESCO Draft Declaration of Guiding Principles
for Space Broadcasting and USSR Request for a
Convention on Direct Television Broadcasting

The most offensive provision of the Draft Declaration is the second paragraph of Article VI, which asserts that "[e]ach country has the right to decide on the content of the educational programmes broadcast by satellite to its people. . . ." This provision is so fundamentally contrary to the principles of our democracy, and breathes a spirit of governmental paternalism so incompatible with our institutions, that it is unthinkable that we should support it. There is in my view no question that, if our Government attempted to enforce this asserted Guiding Principle, it would directly contravene the First Amendment of our Constitution.

While the state has the right to prescribe the acquisition of a minimal education by its citizens, that is a far cry from the power to forbid or prevent education which goes beyond -- or even contradicts -- these minimal requirements. Such a power is clearly not permissible under our system of government, whether exercised with regard to information obtained domestically, or information obtained from

abroad. "[T]he State may not, consistently with the spirit of the First Amendment, contract the spectrum of available knowledge."

Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479, 483 (1964). See also Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284 (1927); Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510 (1925); Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923); Lamont v. Postmaster General, 381 U.S. 301 (1964).

Of course, once we have acknowledged an international principle permitting each country to "decide on the content" of satellite-broadcast programs, we will be hard put to refrain from preventing our nationals from violating that principle from United States soil. Thus, even if we do not apply the principle ourselves by unconstitutionally controlling the programs to be received by our citizens, we will be pressed to assist other nations by policing the broadcasts originating on our soil. The first indication of this unavoidable development is contained within the Draft Declaration itself, in the provision of the first paragraph of Article IX, asserting that "it is necessary that States . . . reach or promote prior agreements concerning direct satellite broadcasting to the population of countries other than the country of origin of the transmission." It is true that we may avoid the rigorous application of this provision by relying upon the phrase "or promote", but it is indicative of the kind of

pressure to which we are exposing ourselves by acknowledgement of a political principle with which we do not agree. My understanding is that while United States Government control of information transmission by its citizens has not been as fully explored as that of information reception -- which has obtained judicial disapproval -- it is at least highly questionable that fundamental constitutional rights may be suppressed merely to facilitate the conduct of foreign affairs. A number of cases have considered the question in contexts other than international broadcasting and have ruled in the negative. See e.g., Afroyim v. Rusk, 387 U.S. 253 (1966); Reid v. Covert, 354 U.S. 1 (1956); Powell v. Zuckert, 366 F.2d 634 (D.C. Cir. 1966).

Finally, we are seriously concerned with the second paragraph of Article IX of the Draft Declaration, which appears to impose an outright prohibition upon commercial advertising in satellite broadcasts unless the agreement of the receiving country is obtained. This is an unnecessary compromise of our commercial interests, and an implicit denigration of a free market practice that we should not hasten to censure. Moreover, while our Government's power to restrict purely commercial advertising is doubtless broader than its power over other forms of free speech, (see e.g., Valentine v. Chrestensen, 316 U.S. 52 (1942)), that power is nevertheless not unlimited. It is not clear that we can prohibit our citizens from

broadcasting commercial messages abroad simply because foreign governments do not wish their citizens to receive them.

Essentially, similar objections must be raised with regard to the recent Russian proposal for a convention on direct broadcasting. Unlike the UNESCO Draft, the convention would have the binding force of a treaty, and would compel our Government to do that which the Draft only exhorts; thereby clearly running afoul of the First Amendment's proscriptions. Moreover, the proposed convention would enlarge the class of forbidden programs, permit jamming, and enable nations to take measures against activities considered detrimental even if undertaken outside their jurisdictions.

Antonin Scalia
General Counsel

August 18, 1972

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY

WASHINGTON

10-10-73

To: Abbott Washburn

From: Tom Whitehead

From the communications standpoint, do you have any thoughts on the attached -- for me to send to John Richardson.

ICPG Luncheon

Tuesday, October 9, 1973

Expected attendance:

Dr. Austin
Dr. Berman
Miss Harford
Mr. Kopp
Mr. McWhorter
Mr. Richardson
Mr. Whitehead
Miss Elam

Possible Topics:

- A U.S. "cultural policy" as part of foreign policy?
- TV program interchange -- facilitation needed?



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ACTION MEMORANDUM

CU
7317805

S/S *[initials]* September 27, 1973

To: The Secretary

From: CU - John Richardson, Jr. *[initials]*

Copies to: Suggestion for an Early Initiative
CU (orig) in Cultural Relations

PA

RF

As you ponder action possibilities for the period ahead, I suggest you consider the merits of an early initiative in the area of cross-cultural communication. Such a new thrust in our foreign policy could draw on significant resources here and abroad in support of widely shared ends (such as those identified in your UN address)--by universally accepted means.

The goals would be to increase support here and abroad for purposeful efforts of official and unofficial agencies to reduce cultural, ideological and other barriers to human communication, to build habits and mechanisms of intercultural cooperation, to strengthen trends toward world community. Instrumentalities in this country which could contribute in important ways toward these goals include government agencies, business corporations, school systems, professional associations, museums, universities and the mass media. Support could be expected from a wide range of scholarly and journalistic commentators, Congressional figures (Chairmen Fulbright and Hays, for example), religious spokesmen and civic leaders.

My experience here over the last four years convinces me there would be a widespread, grateful and enthusiastic response to leadership in such a cause. It is equally probable that there would be favorable reaction abroad at this juncture when expectations for a strong note of idealism in American foreign policy are not universally high.

I have no doubt at all as to our American capacity to design and carry out programs capable of influencing the environment of our foreign relations in ways favorable to the achievement of broad national objectives. The problem in this, the most communicative society on the planet, is no longer so much one of technique as of will.

Given such an effort of will, we could anticipate, without substantial additional Federal expenditures, not only substantive progress over time toward your goal of a "comprehensive institutionalized peace"... based on "shared aspirations" and "anchored in the hearts of men" but also, more immediately, increased appreciation among relevant elites at home and abroad of the moral dimension of our policy.

If you wish to move in this direction, these are the initial steps I would suggest:

1. Development of a major address for the President or yourself, drawing on your UN speech, Bicentennial themes and the growing world interest in transnational cooperation; the title might be "The Human Foundations of the Structure of Peace."

2. Development of cultural policy guidelines for U.S. agencies emphasizing:

- Restraint, e.g. international behavior reflecting sensitivity to the perspectives and aspirations of other peoples;
- Awareness, e.g. a new focus in this country on intercultural education, formal and informal, as already advocated by the Office of Education, Reischauer and others.
- Aesthetic and humane values, e.g. a conscious effort to take advantage of idealistic American concerns having universal resonance.

3. Development of a comprehensive plan for the stimulation of public and private agencies and enterprises to develop -- through exchanges, joint projects and otherwise -- new bridges to intercultural and international understanding.

4. Development of an article for "Foreign Policy" or "Foreign Affairs" setting forth the conceptual approach.

There is much in our history and in the current reality which seems to me to argue powerfully for such an initiative at the earliest feasible date. In any case, we should not long defer an effort to respond thoughtfully and coherently on the international level to the disruption of belief systems and social systems which characterizes our time.

Alternative Recommendations:

(a) that I see you to discuss these ideas;

Approve _____

Date _____ Time _____

Disapprove _____

Or,

(b) that I develop these ideas further by preparing for you individual papers on the four initial steps suggested above.

OCT 3 1973

Approve HK Disapprove _____

Drafted: CU:JRichardson,Jr.:mdh:dm
x22464:9/27/73

Concurrences: PA - Amb. Laise (by R)
Mr. Blair B



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

*State
Dept.*

June 28, 1973

MEMORANDUM

TO: International Cultural Planning Group

FROM: John Richardson, Jr. *JRJ*

SUBJECT: "Reconstituting the Human Community"

As agreed in the meeting of Monday, June 25, I attach a copy of a little pamphlet on cultural relations which I find more satisfying than anything I've ever read on the subject.

I'm told the most influential contributors were Frank Thompson of the Rockefeller Foundation and Soedjatmoko, the Indonesian statesman.

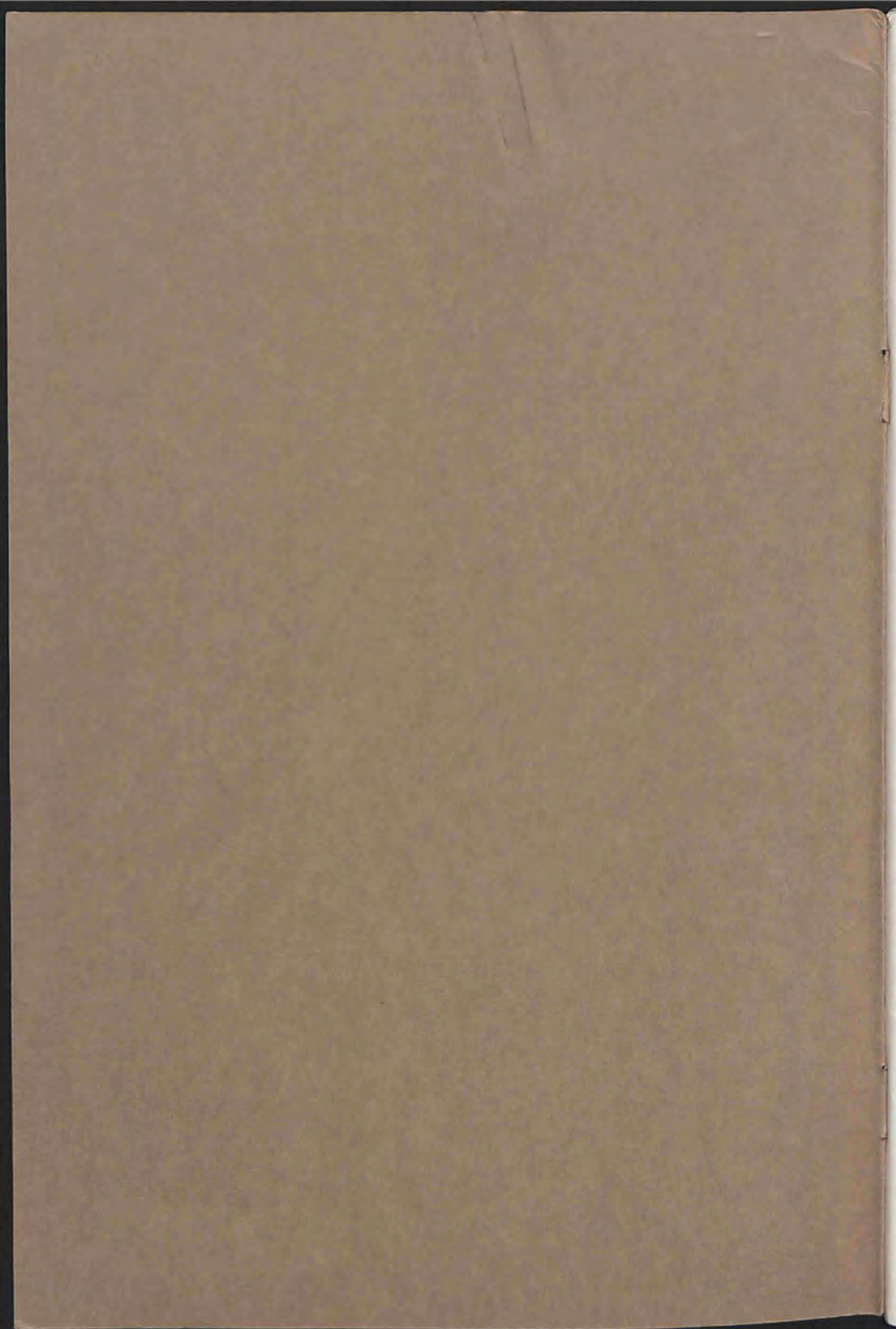
Attachment:

Pamphlet.

RECONSTITUTING THE HUMAN COMMUNITY

A Report of Inquiries Concerning

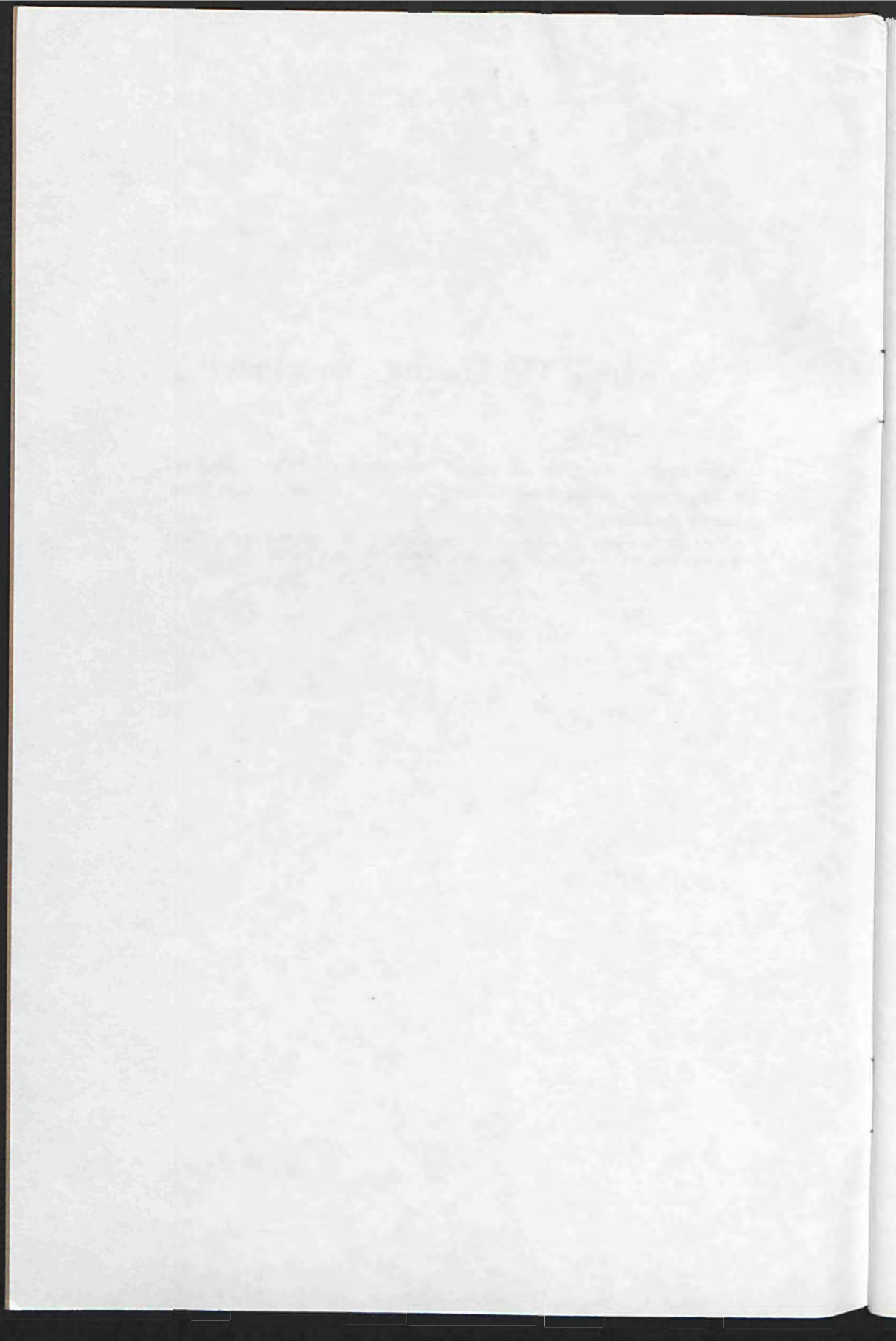
CULTURAL RELATIONS for the FUTURE



Reconstituting The Human Community

A report of Colloquium III, held at Bellagio, Italy, July 17-23, 1972
for the program of inquiries, *Cultural Relations for the Future*, sponsored by the Hazen Foundation.

Additional copies may be obtained by application to the Secretary, The Hazen Foundation, 400 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511, U.S.A.



Contents

Now understand me well—It is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.

—Walt Whitman

I	THE CONTEXT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS	9
	The instability of international life 10; The scope of cultural relations 13; The importance of cultural diversity 16.	
II	THE ROLE OF AFRICA AND ASIA IN CULTURAL RELATIONS	18
	Historical perspectives and processes 19; Some guidelines for the future 21; Overcoming obstacles and hindrances 24.	
III	CULTURAL SEARCH FOR MEANING: MAN, YOUTH AND VALUES	27
	Redefinition of the nature of man 27; The contribution of youth 30; Implication of values differentials 31.	
IV	STRENGTHENING LOCAL CAPABILITIES OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	35
	Types of exchanges 35; Recommendations: Science and Technology 37, Education 38, The Humanities 40, Polity and Policy 42.	
V	RECONSTITUTING THE HUMAN COMMUNITY . . .	45
	Challenge of the divided world 45; What we have learned in our inquiries 47.	

Contents

The following are included in the volume as
 separate chapters or sections in order to
 show their relationship to the main body of the work.

I	THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS	1
	The meaning of the term "cultural relations" is explained in the first chapter of the book. The term is used in a broad sense to include all relations between different cultures.	1
II	THE ROLE OF AFRICA AND ASIA IN CULTURAL RELATIONS	15
	The role of Africa and Asia in cultural relations is discussed in the second chapter. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the role of Africa and the second part with the role of Asia.	15
III	CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PRESENT DAY	35
	The third chapter discusses the cultural relations in the present day. It is divided into three parts: the first part deals with the cultural relations between different countries, the second part with the cultural relations between different peoples, and the third part with the cultural relations between different religions.	35
IV	CONCLUSIONS	55
	The fourth chapter contains the conclusions of the book. It is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the general conclusions and the second part with the specific conclusions.	55
V	APPENDICES	75
	The fifth chapter contains the appendices of the book. It is divided into three parts: the first part contains the list of references, the second part contains the list of abbreviations, and the third part contains the list of symbols.	75

Preface

We, the undersigned, after an intensive final week of dialogue at Bellagio, Italy, in Colloquium III of Cultural Relations for the Future, want to share the following convictions and urgent recommendations with all who are interested in the improvement of cultural relations in our time.

We brought to our work the results of inquiries carried on for more than two years by Study Groups in Japan, Africa, the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia and the United States. This diversity of viewpoints enriched our experience and provided many insights which came to shape our thought. Within that diversity we discovered a new unity. At the same time, we were acutely aware of others, missing from our councils, with different viewpoints but equally essential to a world-view, whether in Eastern and Western Europe, the People's Republic of China, Latin America or the Soviet Union. Although it was not possible to form groups in these places at this time, we sincerely hope that from them individuals and groups will be part of continuing inquiries along similar lines in the near future and that we may have the opportunity to participate in some way.

We are aware of a growing network of individuals concerned with the improvement of long-term cultural relations among peoples and countries who wish to transcend the barriers—political, military or ideological—which often distort or handicap the fulfillment of human relationships. At the conclusion of our deliberations we have agreed to share our thoughts and convictions through a series of publications, to continue our inquiries in various specific ways through the Study Groups and in new regional intergroup programs and to endeavor to create channels of communication with other concerned individuals and groups. We invite reflection upon the main themes presented here, collaboration and initiatives in the innovative planning and activities visualized and participation in enlarging a communications network concerned with the future of cultural relations.

Reconstituting the Human Community, first in the series of publications, will be followed by Study Group reports elaborating issues of special relevance in particular areas. Finally, a volume of essays on selected main themes of the entire program will be published in the summer of 1973. Thus, hopefully, the circle of inquiries will be widened and result both in additional writings and in meetings to explore

the implications of these and other findings for policy and programs of educational and cultural exchange.

We wish, finally, to express our gratitude to the Hazen Foundation, which initiated and sponsored this inquiry, and to The Rockefeller Foundation which provided the hospitality of its study and conference center in Bellagio, Italy, for Colloquia II and III in 1971 and 1972.

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I. The Context of Cultural Relations

Our inquiries began with an earnest desire to improve educational and cultural exchanges. While we were interested in evaluation of past or present assumptions and selected experiences of special significance, we were concerned primarily with the search for new perspectives, imaginative new concepts and approaches for use by policy and program planners. It became apparent at once that this could only be done by a fresh evaluation of certain aspects of contemporary culture and their implications for cultural relations as a whole. Among these factors were:

1. The interdependency of peoples, now an inherent part of all basic problems, an important aspect of the developing life of all nations;
2. New developments in science, religion, the arts and philosophy, which are creating changing views of man, of his world and of his society which need critical examination;
3. Accelerating technological change, which both produces cultural problems and creates new opportunities for imaginative cooperative activities;
4. Urban, population, ecological and other problems, calling for new ideas and actions.

It also became obvious early on that a discussion of cultural relations for the future could not simply be limited to methodology, instrumentalities and their effectiveness or the scope and magnitude of cultural exchange. It is clear that these elements are affected by the

setting in which we are and will be operating and especially by the differential in power that exists between nations and cultures. These differentials in power have inevitably distorted the nature and expression of cultural relations and yet the imbalances which constrain cultural interchange also, by their very existence, give added importance to efforts for such exchange. Indeed one of the questions to bear in mind is how to overcome, limit or compensate for the distortions and limitations imposed by the power configurations among nations.

In any case, cultural relations cannot be seen apart from the setting in which they occur. Put more broadly, the setting itself is part of the problem, especially because now it is becoming clear that the setting has become dangerously unstable. It is no exaggeration to say that all systems on the basis of which the world is organized are facing a dead end, at least if present trends are allowed to continue. And insofar as they do not face a dead end, they are on a collision course.

The instability of international life

Without subscribing to all the conclusions of a recent report of the Club of Rome, it is well to remember that it states a problem from which, given present projections, there is no escape. It posits the grave danger, within the near or foreseeable future, of the destruction of man's life-support systems because of pollution, population pressure and the raw materials crisis. But quite apart from that report, we realize that other imbalances in the world cannot be maintained. The present world system is bound to undergo considerable change and most likely rather violent change. There is the growing gap between the rich and the poor countries which, in the coming decade, seems bound to become even greater. There is an apparent incapacity to come to grips with this problem—not so much because of a lack of awareness among either the rich or the poor countries, but because the problem requires adjustments beyond the present political capability of nations, since the causes are rooted in the social and political power structure in the rich as well as the poor countries. These global imbalances are untenable also because at some point the underdeveloped countries may insist that the larger part of the raw materials which they provide be used to deal directly with their own problems. This would require a fundamental restructuring of the present world system.

The growing instability of the international order affects cultural relations, among other things, by the differential in access to the international communications system. The problem is, therefore, not simply

a matter of a gap in wealth, nor a gap in knowledge; it is also a gap in access to opportunity. It is, in short, a gap in power.

There are, of course, signs of new directions slowly emerging. The signals may be weak but they are there and it would be a mistake to overlook them. There is the *détente* among the great powers growing out of the realization that the manner in which the powerful countries try to protect their security is becoming increasingly senseless and the resultant movement toward a new multipower equilibrium in the world. Its evolution is slow and uncertain, but unmistakable. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm, 1972) bore witness to a growing acceptance of international responsibility for the care and maintenance of the planet. There is a growing awareness of the total interdependence of all countries, rich as well as poor, that forces upon people greater rationality.

However, these trends and directions are still halting and uncertain. It would be wrong to conclude from them that there is an inevitability about convergence and that historical determinism has now taken hold. There is nothing automatic in what is going on in the world and there are strong counter-forces at work. The Stockholm Conference, itself, showed that concepts of absolute national sovereignty still exist among some very powerful and diverse countries. There is internal violence, urban and rural guerrilla warfare and an almost compulsive struggle for recognition and power by smaller and newer groups.

Yet the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state is challenged by the growth of multinational corporations; portfolio investments have become more and more worldwide. The World Bank and its activities represent a significant expression of a new type of international sovereignty. The growing satellite communication system is another. While the developed world seems to be moving towards larger and larger political and economic units, one also sees an incapacity to deal with internal violence, let alone international terrorism. Such instances point up the need for smaller internal groups within larger social and political units—groups in which a sense of identity and authenticity give meaning to man's existence.

It is, therefore, no exaggeration to state that while there are signs of new directions and of a new attempt to take command again of impersonal processes that seem to be dominating our societies, it is possible that things will get worse before they get better, if they get better at all. It is this changing setting, then, and the many questions

that are involved that lend drama and urgency to inquiries about cultural relations in the near future.

Other questions arise about the nature of the changes in the context and setting of cultural relations. Are we simply concerned with political, economic and social shifts within the existing setting and world structure—shifts, for instance, in the relative power position of Japan, China, the Soviet Union and the United States? Or are we involved in profound cultural trends that can change the setting itself and lead to a new international order in which the North-South dichotomy will become manageable through evolving international mechanisms based on a different distribution of power? Or are we involved in an even larger process of epochal change in the category of the rise and fall of civilizations? We neither know nor can know. But the participants in this inquiry are convinced that these trends have had and will have an undeniable influence on the shape and character of international cultural relations. Taken together, they tend to support and reinforce one another in laying the basis for far-reaching changes that make up the tides of history. Because of their interaction, underlying forces and social structures have come under pressure and are now in flux, affecting cultural relations.

In addition, it is important to be aware that part of the setting is shaped by moods and intangible factors. Much recent writing adds up to a kind of doomsday essay on civilization, a consensus that it may end in 50-200 years from famine, over-population and exhaustion of energy sources. We must fight cultural pessimism, no new phenomenon but rather one which recurs in new guise in every epoch. We are witnessing a lowering of the threshold of patience and tolerance. We seem to be in a period of impatience and intolerance, a rise in demands for immediate gratification, a turning to instant utopias and a weakening of a sense of history. This mood must also be resisted. The structural problems in the world are intractable, requiring long and continued pressure, persuasion and education. We cannot afford to be swept along by a mood of despair. We need a strengthened capacity to see social problems steadily and historically, for despair and utopianism are recurrent in the history of civilizations. Their presence does not necessarily denote the impending fall of a civilization—moods of cultural depression come and go and are often little more than momentary phases in a civilization. In any event, we should not allow ourselves to be caught

up too much by the cultural pessimism that pervades the American and Western European scene and is reflected in the thinking of some developing countries.

The scope of cultural relations

In recent years cultural relations—that is, exchanges in education, the arts, science and technology and information—have become infinitely more numerous, complex and involved. So, the question arises how much can cultural relations really achieve? What are their limits? In one aspect, cultural relations can do very little. They certainly cannot overcome or deflect major historical events or eliminate acute power conflicts. But, they are the chief means to shape the future of men and nations, to change their directions through creative mutual borrowing and to strengthen an awareness of shared values. Cultural relations can be viewed as a tool contributing toward international community building, understanding, empathy and co-existence. In this critical era cultural relations can focus the massive experience and knowledge at our disposal upon the design and demonstration of new models of developing societies and cultures.

Cultural relations can heighten man's awareness of new interdependencies among nations. There is an urgent need to reinforce this sense of interdependence and the essential unity of mankind. The infinite threads that bind men together stem from their common humanity. Raymond Fosdick writing during World War II declared:

In peace as in war we are all of us the beneficiaries of contributions to knowledge made by every nation in the world. Our children are guarded from diphtheria by what a Japanese and a German did; they are protected from smallpox by an Englishman's work; they are saved from rabies because of a Frenchman; they are cured of pellagra through the researches of an Austrian.

This unity is most vividly seen in the conquest of disease but also in all fields of knowledge. This work which surrounds us, whether in war or in peace, from birth to death must go on. Toward this end, it is vital that cultural interchange be expanded and deepened wherever possible. The reason for this can be seen not only in health but in trade, international politics, and in the pressing problems of population and disarmament, as well as in education, communications, the arts and religion. In all of these areas, no nation can go it alone—extensive cooperation with other nations and organizations is essential. Cultural relations, with greater mutual understanding among peoples as their goal, are imperative both to smooth interactions among

nations through increased empathy among peoples and to heighten the world-wide consciousness that the earth is a shrinking planet. Mankind is faced with problems which, if not dealt with, could in a very few years develop into crises world-wide in scope. Interdependence is the reality; world-wide problems the prospect; and world-wide cooperation the only solution. As a tool for sensitizing people to the reality and the prospect, stimulating them to attempt the solution, and creating the kind of empathy and understanding essential to both sensitivity and stimulation, cultural relations are, and will increasingly become, a decisive aspect of international affairs.

There is a clear historical trend away from unilateral cultural relations, or the dissemination and imposition of a unified value system with implied universal and absolute validity, toward reciprocal cultural relations. This is based upon assumptions of the plurality and integrity of human cultures and the desirability of keeping cultural relationships free from the domination of political relationships and power structures. The essential feature of "cultural reciprocity" is the process of mutual interaction, free from the dictates of international politics. These principles do not contradict the idea of state-affiliated cultural exchanges; on the contrary, they coexist with the desire to widen such exchanges as much as possible. In the last several decades, there has been an unprecedented expansion of governmental and intergovernmental cultural and educational exchange programs. What is aimed at now is the addition of other, less politically-motivated forms of networks, linkages and other systems of cultural interchange. Given present international trends, opportunities are increasing. There is reason to hope that mankind may be moving in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect among cultures, toward a realization of a new humanism which will be a fresh expression of the humane and the human. It is well to remember that history and contemporary life amply demonstrate how unsettling cultural contacts can be. But more importantly, history also reveals with startling clarity that cultural contacts have been stimulating and have led to a creative and innovative cultural flowering. For instance, cultural historians can point to the results of Japanese borrowing from Tang China and later from the West; to classical Greek culture, a product of centuries of interaction between independent city-states and the Mediterranean and Valley cultures of the Fertile Crescent; to Arab culture, itself a product of interaction among the cultures of Greece, Persia and India; to the Renaissance and to American borrowing from Europe. These and

other creative moments in cultural history, illustrating mutuality and equality, deserve more profound study and wider recognition.

What may be even more important is this: when men start to look for new directions and assert themselves against what seems to be the present trend of history, from that time on they cannot do without cooperative cultural relations. At the point where they want to move toward a new international order as the basis for survival, they are faced with a need for a new vision of the future. They have to learn to develop and manage larger political and social units and at the same time find a place for smaller units, sculpted on a human scale and represented by traditional ethnic, religious and language groups, new community groups and, one should add, the family which seems on the verge of disappearing in some areas.

If men want to move in new directions, they will have to broaden the range of their potentialities and capabilities. They have to be able to manipulate and manage larger political, economic and business units at the same time as they learn to build and preserve smaller communities. Against the depersonalized impact of the laws of science, technology and the larger bureaucracies, men must find and fathom new religious and spiritual depths. There is a need for a new humanism beyond the superficial unity that is imposed upon men by the global communications system. We cannot be kept together to build a new future unless we are linked to our fellow-men by more than survival instincts. What each of us needs is a new moral vision or a new philosophy of history capable of giving us at least some notion of where we may be going and some sense of the value of our place in the changing world in which we live.

The manifestations of the destructiveness and evil of which human beings are capable keep reminding us of the darker side of all nations and peoples and of the need to keep these tendencies under control. There is now also a clearer awareness of our need to fulfill and to actualize those dimensions within ourselves that are non-rational, intuitive, expressive and transcendental. All this points to the possibility that what we need may be a new faith or a new religion or a new interpretation of existing ones. The major religions in the past have played a liberating role, not only in individual terms, but also socially. They have helped move men from mutually antagonistic tribal societies toward larger communities of the faith and have helped create larger social and political units as well. Perhaps the time is

coming, or has come, for some new spiritual awakening which may once again have wide political and social consequences and thereby enlarge men's capacity to survive. One can only speculate and hope because it is not something that can be contrived. But the need is clear. Maybe we are in a situation similar to that some twenty-five centuries ago when a number of prophets, teachers and religions emerged within a brief span of time in various parts of the world. No one knows, but one cannot escape the feeling that we are at some epochal turning-point in the history of mankind. Consequently, it is impossible to think constructively about new institutions, new programs, new instrumentalities, new methods, and new strategies without keeping these broader dimensions in mind. Whatever we do should enable us to reinforce the impulse and may help humanity move in new directions.

We should therefore think not simply of institutions and programs; we should also think of processes, directions, the speed and scale in which things have to be done. The great problem may be how to phase differential stages of development in cultural relations. While rich nations have moved into a post-industrial phase, transcending narrow national boundaries, the nation remains, especially for the less-developed countries, the most effective organizing unity. This constitutes an important area of tension that will require time and patience for resolution. There is a danger in advocating cultural diversity for its own sake but also danger in ignoring the differences which actually exist in the world today. Future activities in cultural exchanges must relate to these processes. Purposes and programs should be meaningful not only to the rich or the poor, but to both. They should have the capacity to reduce the impact of the power differentials that seem to be part of the human condition.

The importance of cultural diversity

In all our Study Groups, we have come to accept, and gratefully, a clearer understanding of the importance of cultural diversity. Irrespective of the pros and cons of the viability of a system built on cultural diversity, it is important to realize that simply from the point of view of mankind's mental health, capacity for survival and resiliency as a species, it is advantageous to have cultural diversity—in the same way that ecological stability becomes possible only by maintaining a large diversity of species. A fresh recognition of the fact and potential of cultural diversity has been a vital factor in the developing thought of each of our Groups, shaping its new perception of its own identity,

relationship to others and the need for policies for future cultural relations.

We must develop an institutional structure that will make diversity possible on a democratic basis. Since all cultures are not equally strong, the problem is how to keep the weaker, more fragile structures alive. This challenges us to make new advances in fashioning the tools of living together.

Toward this end, we need to take a closer look at why past concepts of universality have proven inadequate. The reasons are not only that some groups wanted to dominate, but also that concepts of universality have sometimes been too remote and too rationalistic. There are other dimensions of universality and our urgent task is to work out social systems that give room for both universality and diversity on an open-ended basis, with a broader distribution of power. Such open-ended dialogue is possible only when the relativity and integrity of each culture is accepted and each is assigned certain responsibilities. The more flexible the system, the greater its capacity. Most systems of the past have postulated truth and gone on from there. Now there is need to allow the workings of continuous counter-pressures against the impact of groups or ideas within the systems and to recognize and rely upon a social dynamism deeper than ideological confrontations or strategic concepts.

Nations everywhere must now relate to the changing context of international cultural relations in the light of their own specific problems. Man cannot free himself entirely from the older structures and forces, but neither can he be free of the new strains and tendencies. What is needed is a creative act, as each nation from its present position confronts the changing patterns of cultural relations. In this context Africa and Asia, from a fresh and unfolding vantage point, have an unique and constructive role to play.

II. The Role of Africa and Asia in Cultural Relations

In today's swift tides and cross-currents the central fact for the future of cultural relations is the changing role of the recently independent states, particularly those in Africa and Asia. As their own leaders point out, the post-independence period opens to them unanticipated and unprecedented opportunities. These exist, however, in the midst of interdependent world-wide cultural contacts and hence require a fundamental rethinking of identities, roles and relationships on the part of the older and more affluent nations, as well as the younger and at present poorer countries. The current situation presents a challenge to all peoples and nations but, in a special sense, a challenge and opportunity to Asia and Africa in the shaping of the new world.

Asia and Africa are rich in resources for this task, particularly in the realm of values and ideas. The developed world needs help because of the failure of its leaders, with notable exceptions, to do much about value problems such as equality and justice. There is often more rhetoric than rethinking of these values, more propaganda and politics than policy. The religious dimension is characteristically excluded by pragmatists and intellectuals. Thus we gravitate between the exploiting of values and their neglect. The widespread removal of the religious dimension from daily life and the strict institutionalization of religion aggravates the problem.

Asians and Africans have sometimes avoided this myopic view of life and in such moments have achieved a new degree of cohesiveness with the young in all civilizations. Values for them are both transcend-

ental and functional and the interrelationship of the two is of far-reaching importance. Functional values include the goal of survival, ecological balance and values in relation to nature and spaceship earth. Yet such values may and often do leave unanswered the question of what we survive for. It is possible to survive and reject the meaninglessness of human existence; we may discover that we live in a small and inter-dependent world while asking "What does it mean?" The West has moved out of the era of great ideologies even though it may still be saddled with some of the residues. It has learned that society cannot act with impunity toward the self-conscious and in this it may find unity with Asia and Africa.

Historical perspectives and processes

A sense of history and of process is required, and all need to think of antinomies or dichotomies, not of simple, one-dimensional issues. The context of international cooperation and cultural relations is best seen in such terms. The antinomies of international cultural relations include the need to develop national self-confidence for grappling with national problems vs. the need for international cooperation to solve common problems; technological advance vs. ecological balance; efficient development through the centralization of power vs. popular participation and the generation of individual initiative through decentralization; and the preservation of traditional values vs. the appropriation or creation of new and modern values.

No one can foresee the shape of the future or the prevailing role of one or the other of these dichotomous forces. What must be self-evident, however, is that he who would be a leader in helping mankind to find its way through the perplexities of the late twentieth century must understand these antinomies that make up the basic patterns of national and international life. At least for the near future, they are fundamental and decisive, and to pretend they can readily be wished away is to run in the face of present-day actuality.

It is abundantly clear that newly independent states must achieve self-confidence and a sense of identity as they grapple with urgent national problems. Newly formed governments must demonstrate their capability to meet the needs of their people. Moreover, as there are assets to international cooperation, there are also liabilities. Sharing oftentimes entails dependency relations with accompanying obstacles to national self-determination. Thus, there is tension, potentially at least, between international cooperation and national development.

Likewise, newly independent states find themselves at differing stages in their growth and development. A shadow has been thrown over their claim to the right to modernization and the building of contemporary societies by a new awareness of the human and ecological costs of industrialization as observed in the more developed world. And yet it is important that poorer nations not feel that the talk about ecology is one more way for the rich to deny the fruits of progress to the poor, and also important for the poor and the disadvantaged not to feel that those who speak of long-term approaches to ecological problems are secretly planning to cut off continued advance for the disinherited.

Already there are fundamental changes in the outlook on cultural relations of the western countries with the countries of Asia and Africa. During the post-World War II period the emphasis and relationships changed fundamentally from the older period of cultural contact when missionary zeal, trade or curiosity provided links with the "exotic" countries of Asia and Africa. During the post-independence period development was the main concern. Thus, cultural relations took the form of modalities for the transfer of knowledge, science and technology and the ways in which the countries of Asia and Africa could be plugged into the international systems of the scientific world. Essentially, cultural relationships were characterized by the naive assumption that it only required the reshaping or rebuilding of the minds of these peoples into the image of the minds of western peoples, without any particular awareness of the way science has developed. This has led to the creation in some countries in Asia and Africa of a generation of social scientists of narrow vision who have difficulty in relating to social and political realities once they return from studies abroad. Likewise, it has led to a lack of imagination in some engineers and technologists when faced with the problems of relating to and nurturing local capabilities serving local needs in ways that are within the resources of their own countries. Cultural exchange has too often been viewed as a technological problem whereas in essence it is social, cultural and spiritual.

In this connection, there is need to re-evaluate the role of foreign "experts," who have descended in droves upon the countries of Asia and Africa, confidently offering solutions, often in "monologues," in areas which were sometimes unrelated to the political realities and the institutional framework within which ideas would have to be implemented. It was a relationship dominated by the patronizing air,

whether intentional or not, of donor and recipient. Today, considerable, although still limited, rethinking is being done on both sides to reshape this pattern.

Some guidelines for the future

A fundamental guideline in developing new forms of relationships is the concept that cultural relations should be based on the principle of human equality. Great diversity exists in the interests and the goals of the different parties to any cultural relationship. But the interests of and participants in any such relationship must be treated equally in every cultural transaction. To achieve this requires persistent efforts by all concerned. Efforts are imperative to keep in view the colonial experience of newly independent peoples and their consequent fear of domination in new guise. European and American cultural ambassadors, among others, have to find ways to avoid the appearance of condescension, a stubborn, often unrecognized, barrier to mutuality and cooperation.

Population pressure, especially in the more populous underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa, is creating a new and acute awareness that the various early models which consciously or unconsciously guided development strategies are inadequate to deal with the current problems of population and unemployment. In certain forms of technological development, such as the "Green Revolution," inputs of the new technology have contributed to the solution of very important and pressing problems. At the same time, the thoughtless introduction of modern technology unrelated to local needs and resources has led to increased dependency of some Asian and African countries on the developed countries, rather than an increased independence. It is becoming increasingly more evident that there is need for an intermediate technology, falling more nearly within the range of local development needs, resources and purchasing powers. For this reason, thinking about development and development processes in developing countries has changed in the last few years. It is now understood that economic development is not only discontinuity, but discontinuity within a broad stream of cultural continuity, and that economic development is not simply the implementation of projects, but the movement of a social system. In that process, it may be that the most important thing is to create conditions that will spark revitalization of the culture and the social system related to it.

The other major factor that has forced leaders in some developing

countries to review cultural relationships between the western, industrially advanced countries and the countries of Asia and Africa is the cultural crisis in the West. The notion that the western model is the most attractive or efficient model to guide the choice of development goals and strategies has come under question. Two points of consensus are beginning to merge:

1. The developing countries will have to work out their own solutions to their problems, and models derived from other countries and cultures can serve primarily to clarify their thinking, evaluation and choice among options available to them. Africans and Asians must see their cultures and capabilities as valuable in their own right, base decisions on local criteria and achieve a firm sense of national identity.
2. The key to the development processes will be the nurturing of local capabilities in relation to local needs and resources. This means that, aside from and in addition to the need to develop capabilities in high technology, there is urgent need to develop intermediate technology—and for two fundamental reasons. First, intermediate technology will enable newly emerging countries to develop labor-intensive production techniques suited to their own situations and needs that will make possible gradual emancipation through diversification into non-agricultural activities. Second, unless they develop such intermediate technologies, they are doomed to remain captives of social and economic dynamics that will lead them to repeat the now largely irrelevant development patterns of the industrialized nations.

Asia and Africa must also seek more appropriate solutions in education. They will have to develop educational systems that are less expensive, more related to the developmental needs of their countries and to local capabilities and resources. Their present educational systems are too expensive and cannot expand with population growth, whether in classrooms, teachers, or teaching materials.

Perhaps their most important need is the realization that they will have to face the future in terms of their own level of expectations, rather than with expectations based on the history and example of the rich countries. Any developing nation now, except those small and prosperous ones such as Singapore and Hong Kong, that can afford to be part of the international trading system, will be fostering an illusion if it encourages expectations of a \$3,000 per capita level or the level on which Europe and America live. Only a much more modest level of expectation is possible if they want to maintain the

social fabric and cohesiveness of their nations. They will have to develop the capacity to live on a level of consumption that makes sense in the country itself and that will not tear the social fabric apart. Clearly, this can only be done if the countries of Asia and Africa develop the capacity to look at the limitations that their own situations impose upon them and the differing phases of development that they will have to go through. This will only be possible if they develop a clear sense of their own identity and their own value as persons and as societies, based on their own criteria and the meaning that life has for them. Some have emphasized that in Africa, for instance, considerable time will be required to discover, clarify, and accept their present identity before they can fully participate in the world-wide flow of cultural cooperation.

If this changing outlook continues to unfold, as we are confident it will, the door will be open for a new role for Asian and African countries in the world. They will have a valuable contribution to make to the manner in which man reorganizes himself and his life on this earth, both for the survival of individuals and that of civilization as a whole. What we now know about the care and maintenance of the planet, the whole problem of shifting ecological balances and the fragility of the life-supporting systems makes us realize that it is impossible for people everywhere to live on the advanced consumption level of the affluent societies. Indeed there is a growing feeling in the United States and Europe that even there per capita incomes and levels of consumption may have to be adjusted down. The social systems and civilization of rich countries as well as poor ones are inadequate to enable us to meet the requirements for survival. Thus out of the inadequacies of the rich countries and the poverty of the countries of Asia and Africa, men are joined in searching for new economies and civilizations befitting our respective situations in the world. Whatever our starting points, whether in affluence or poverty, we seek new life styles and new forms of social organization. But we are all united in this search. It is here that the Asian and African peoples may be able to contribute to the general search—not because they have any ready-made answers, for none of us have, nor because their own civilizations have proven to be either adequate or inadequate to deal with their own problems, but because in the course of rebuilding their countries they may come across valuable clues or elements that are capable of broadening the options that are open to all of us in reordering our lives and life-styles.

History demonstrates again and again the alternating ebb and flow of the world's main currents of culture. The flow of culture is often a function of the differentials in power, of political and economic strength, but it can only be maintained if the stronger power is culturally productive as well. At this moment in history, in a time of redistribution and rearrangement of the configurations of power in the world, we stand at a point where a new intermingling of cultures is to be welcomed. The increasing awareness of the inadequacy of many of the present societal forms, among the developing countries as well as the industrial countries, in facing problems of the future opens an opportunity for a two-way flow of culture. Thus, the peoples and countries of Asia and Africa need no longer be predominantly consumers of culture, but producers or contributors of culture as well. This presupposes a clearer sense of identity, heightened concern for the quality of life, less slavish pursuit of consumerism in western terms, and more relevant development goals and strategies.

It also requires that the people of Asia and Africa come to terms with their past and with their traditions, develop the capacity to look both backward and forward, to relate their forward movement to their past and to look at the present in terms of the emerging new opportunities.

Overcoming obstacles and hindrances

The new intellectual leaders of Asia and Africa are coming to recognize that this changing role is possible only by rising above the resentments and the pain of unequal relationships in the world and the humiliation and distortions of soul resulting from colonial domination. They call on their people to recognize that if they continue to look at the future only out of this pain and distortion, it may be impossible to make a contribution and play the creative role that they have an opportunity to play. They can play it only if they look at the remnants of their cultural heritage and the stagnancy of their social situation in new terms and breathe new relevance and new life into this cultural setting. If they can generate within each of their countries a new breed of leaders, the revitalization of the past in relation to the creative forces within their countries can lead to a reconstituting of their societies. The new leadership groups will remain minorities in their societies, but perhaps they and their friends abroad, making up a new brotherhood of men who share common human values, can form

"mutual protection societies" for shaping a better world. The goal is worth the striving.

The obstacles and handicaps to be overcome if these ends are to be realized are immense. The development of the requisite new technologies will be expensive and beyond the resources and the scientific and technological capabilities of some countries. To compensate, new forms of cooperation are needed, eschewing paternalistic relationships with the industrial countries. Businesses can and should play a more active role in helping the economies of host countries to move in this direction, but the sheer efficiency and power of multi-national corporations, for instance, make it very difficult, if not impossible for intermediate technologies to develop. There are other factors, such as the presence of large foreign business and professional communities with alien consumption levels and patterns and the further aggravation of the unintentional but disruptive impact of the outside world on a new nation through trade, aid, investment or the almost random messages that reach the population of the developing countries through radio, film, TV, books and magazines. The impingement of these forces tend to create not only unattainable expectations, attitudes and life-styles totally unrelated to the developing nation's own situation, but worse, threaten to overwhelm and stifle indigenous cultural creativity. They constitute some of the difficulties confronting the new leadership as it attempts to deal with the possibilities of creative acts made possible by the changing context of the world situation. The fact that such leadership groups are only a minority must not be ignored, but accepted, for inherent in them is the possibility of a creative force strong enough to shape the emerging situation. In linking up new resources and new capabilities with the new international system, they can become part of the new network, "new brotherhood of the mind" of people who have a commitment beyond the love of their country, a commitment to the survival of mankind.

Thus as a corollary the new creative role for Asia and Africa in cultural relations defines new and reciprocal opportunities for the producers of a scientific, technological civilization, the affluent donors of aid. They can join a quest for a deeper comprehension of the values of other cultures and of their own. From this can come fresh perspective in which cultural relations will be enriched by new appreciation of the rich cultural heritage of mankind as a whole; all can join in initiating and developing new forms of relationships. In

real life, mutuality, reciprocity and cooperation are not abstractions but are expressed through human beings. It is they who realize the sensitivity and openness and resulting humility of mind so central to these ideas. The process of value transfer takes place among people: with elites, different interest groups, those in and out of power, and the masses.

III. The Cultural Search for Meaning: Man, Youth and Values

The forces that shape the context for cultural relations, and the emerging role and opportunities of Asians and Africans therein, raise fundamental questions of values and meaning. Young people across the world are looking for alternatives and seek deeper understandings of the nature of man and society. They are open to imaginative insights that might lead to a more humane future. In the world in which we live, one of the most valuable and promising forms of cultural exchange is to increase the range of human interests and skills that shape the life-style of a whole civilization. These concerns go to the basic factors that determine what each civilization is and can become, and therefore, are of primary and continuing importance, not to be neglected until economic development and environmental problems have been "solved." Cultural relations widen the range in which man can live his life, including working out the relationships of means and ends, technology and social purpose and one set of cultural goals to another. In preparing for the future, it is vital to see cultural exchange as a means of broadening the area of choice and widening the fund of human experience, thus making it possible to build a new and happier and more civilized life.

Redefinition of the nature of man

It is important to identify the first part of this topic as man, and not as "citizen" or "world citizen" or "economic man," but boldly and unequivocally as man, because there is more at stake than man's position as an element in political restructuring of the world or in

relation to his obligations as a citizen. The problem we are all facing is the redefinition of the concept of man as the whole man. It has become an urgent problem because of a new plasticity that the concept of man has gained in recent and emerging cultural relationships, but also in the light of advances of science, including genetic intervention of various kinds, organ transplants and so-called mind-expanding or memory-building drugs. They all reopen the question of how we define man. There is also a whole range of problems opened by developments in the biological and other sciences. It is not enough to say that future civilization should be man-oriented or man-centered. It is also necessary to inquire into the "quality" of the man of the future and also that this quality be such that it has meaning and is a source of motivation. Man is man to the extent that he wants to be more than he is, to transcend himself, and to be certain that this quality will indeed insure survival and progress. The danger is that he may become hypnotized by self-love and thereby fall prey to the dangers of pride and arrogance. Impending developments cannot be truly beneficial unless men are able to overcome or channel their egoism, vanity and aggressiveness and nourish characteristics of openness and humility, developing a readiness to concede and to share. These qualities grow out of a deep faith in the dignity of the human person and an alert consciousness of and respect and concern for "the other" (whether an individual or a group). This concern for the other, this transcendence of self, whether that "self" be an individual, nation, class, race or creed, is, we venture to affirm, the essence of morality. Without such morality, not only will the human condition remain highly precarious, but the needed universalism, even if achieved, will prove to be impotent and without content and the desired humanism will bring more evil than good.

Still another dimension in which man will have to seek redefinition is in terms of the crowded world in which he will have to live. Until the present, his preoccupation has been with freedom as the essential condition for the flowering of his potential. That may not any longer be the central problem for him, although we are fully aware of restrictions on freedom in most societies. Man's individual and human rights are still too often impaired and we must all keep striving for the creation of those conditions that improve the conditions under which he lives. However, another focus is emerging, involving the restraints that men have to put on themselves to live in a more crowded world. The population crisis is creating moral problems of tremendous com-

plexity, such as abortion, birth control and the need for a more rational and spatial distribution of population, focusing on the balance between individual human rights and the collective survival needs of a nation or community. Thus, the problem of human rights and freedom entails a search for an appropriate balance between individual human rights and the social obligations essential for man if he is to live in a civilized manner with more neighbors than his ancestors knew. His personal living space is becoming severely limited. In this connection, Japan is an example of a civilization that for centuries has responded to extreme crowding on a few islands and which has, as a result, evolved a social system giving priority to the needs of community life. In many and diverse situations what is most needed is more self-knowledge, more about what we can expect in the new crowded world so we may identify emerging problems before they become critical and we are forced to react in panic.

Another aspect of the redefinition of man's concept of himself is the need for greater sobriety in viewing the place of material goods. In the rich countries ecological necessities will force a slowing down of the growth rate, new consumption patterns, new concepts of happiness and the good life and a reexamination of basic drives. Some very basic cultural questions are involved and can lead to new images of man in society, involving renewed stress on participation with accountability. We will become acutely aware, once again, of the urgency of various concepts of coexistence, the ways of resolving conflicts and the rebirth of the notion of public responsibility.

These considerations raise questions about the appropriate role of science and technology or, more precisely, of man's use of them. While science and scientific knowledge are in themselves a product of man's quest and achievement, there remains a problem of the relevance of new knowledge to the urgent problems of the world and of society. A strong case can be made for a redirection of some of the resources that are available to science and the scholarly world toward an attack on international poverty, overpopulation and other emerging problems. This will inevitably mean a reduction in the amounts available for the creation of technologies of convenience for the saturated markets of rich countries, which spill over into developing urban areas around the world. The test will come in the ability of the rich countries to respond to the challenge.

Finally, man has to redefine his relationship to society and to art.

Part of the problem is the rediscovery or identification of patterns for happiness and the good life. Art has perennial and enduring relevance, for aesthetic expression is a basic human need. Furthermore, art expresses the convictions and commitments of Man. Perhaps we have to look for a revitalization of the concept of art in terms of community life, rather than as exclusively an expression of individual self-consciousness. In the emerging world order, in which fuller and more rewarding community living in both cities and rural areas will be achieved, it is important from the outset to consider ways in which men can express themselves aesthetically in community life. In this connection it is important to recall that many of the traditional arts of Asian and African peoples are activities in which a whole community participates. This is an area for study, experimentation and innovation which may yield large benefits, not only in those areas, but in the affluent countries as well.

The contribution of youth

Again and again in our inquiries, we have found ourselves absorbed with the concerns and interests, the aspirations and frustrations of youth in whatever situation they find themselves. Here we do not address ourselves to "youth" as such because our primary concern is with new ideas, perspectives and problems which all will face in a world where the whole population is steadily getting younger. In a country like Indonesia, for instance, more than half of the population is below nineteen years of age, and in the United States thirty million are between eighteen and twenty-five. The World Bank now reports the median age world-wide is seventeen years. Under these circumstances, it is not possible to speak with detachment of "youth" as a rather minor problem apart. Contemporary youth are in a particularly strategic situation since they will be most affected by future developments and inevitably will be involved in cultural relations.

As a recent United Nations study has pointed out: "There is a growing sense of unity among young people, a feeling of world solidarity and a sense of common responsibility to achieve peace. Youth of the world is seeking a universal identity. This is a new kind of population, more resilient and adaptable than their elders, ready for change, open to new ideas. Youth of the world will soon predominate in world affairs." Thus we must recognize and encourage thoughtful young people to build more networks of relationships nationally, intra-regionally and inter-regionally. The problems of youth are our

problems and we must think of them in terms of the totality of our communities and our societies.

A central problem in cultural relations for the future is the need to reconsider and facilitate the role of young people in the creation of a new and different world. This may mean institutional changes, making it possible for younger people to assume greater responsibility earlier in life. It may mean establishing educational methods to enable youth to learn certain essential things more quickly and to prepare for a career or careers more effectively than under traditional educational systems. It may mean the development of new patterns of work and learning and different career perspectives in business, government or education. And these are but a few of the ways in which urgent efforts must be made to harness and channel the creative and dynamic social energy of youth.

Thus new concepts of the future and new patterns of work will have to be worked out. The young must participate and share responsibility. This will require tremendous institutional change in all societies. But it does not mean that the older generation should abdicate its responsibilities. They ought never hold back suggestions, ideas or solutions drawn from their deeper knowledge of history and broader experience. The older generation owes it to youth, as to itself, to fight for its ideas and principles and in no way deprive youth of the right and the privilege, in return, of fighting for its ideas. An Asian proverb states, "It is a terrible thing to have a reasonable father!" It is only in struggle that the identity of youth can be delineated and their ideas and notions hardened and refined into useful concepts. Thus one cannot speak helpfully about youth and the cultural changes in society that will be essential for the future unless he speaks of both generations, the older and the younger. Their relationship will vary within each civilization and society. A great deal of thinking and searching is essential on the part of young and old, and especially of both together.

Implication of values differentials

One aspect of this search will be a working through of new and emergent ethical problems and the search for a new ethics of survival. In fact, when man faces the future he in reality faces himself; so the problem is to help devise the instrumentalities that will make this search feasible. We shall have to think in new directions, not only on broad philosophical problems but about hard specifics such as the writing of children's books (which shape values), and about the opera-

tional and functional values which will enhance the survival capacities of man. We must think about new rituals, and new forms of celebration of those values that will be functional in the future. These are some of the contours of this important subject that bespeak urgent and continuing consideration.

The problem is very real and crucial. It is close to the heart of any program for the improvement of cultural relations in the future. It arises because of the values differential in the world. The value systems of the young, insofar as they have an integrated and overall system, are reactions to their own personal and societal problems. These reactions are broadly of two types: tending either toward social activism in responses ranging from blind violence to experimental and alternative types of social organization; or to religious and spiritual experiences, with or without drugs. Youth in the developing nations are to a considerable degree social activists in reacting to their own societal situation represented by inequality, poverty and backwardness. At the same time, the values of many youth in the developing nations represent personal philosophies that have been abandoned elsewhere, particularly as they relate to the inner world.

What then is the problem? And what means should be used to link up the potential for social change and transformation in the rich and the poor countries seen through the eyes of the idealistic young? Simple exchange is probably not the answer because it will only emphasize the distance between the rich and the poor. The hope that there will be a common revolution that will link them up in a kind of natural fashion is also an illusion because there is little revolutionary potential among young people in the West. The latter are limited by an essentially particularistic and anarchistic concept of society. Their reaction to the over-organization and over-bureaucratization of modern society is to form themselves into spontaneous small groups that appear and disappear according to needs. This prevents continuing organization for recurrent needs. What is possible is less a restructuring of society than a revolutionary dissolution of organized society through increased chaos, both in the rich and the poor countries.

What is needed therefore is not simply increasing contact and exchange, but rather some unifying vision of the human person and of the world that gives proper place to the flight into the inner world linking up with the religious experiences of the past—and to search for new societal forms, grounded both in experience and imagination.

A world vision combining these two perspectives could provide a grand design for cultural relations for the future. How is this going to come about? The first requirement is a clear definition of the need—a unifying vision worked out by individuals and groups and modelled to fit their particular situations. For this the task is not so much to increase contact but to find exceptional and creative individuals, wherever located, who have the ability to see new relationships. This calls less for a formal organization and more for searching out extraordinary individuals wherever they can be found, finding ways to assist them, bringing them into touch with one another and encouraging them to foster creative impulses, rather than stifling them in the name of the *status quo*.

One element of this problem is the danger that communication across national boundaries among those who seek new approaches and new answers might be complicated by a phase differential of their cultures. A very important, even crucial, aspect of cultural relations in the future is to find ways of coping with this problem. Simple increase in contacts by number or intensity will not be sufficient. Communications of much greater intensity and longer duration are necessary—and for this various new or rediscovered small institutions of an Ashram sort, as recommended strongly by the Southeast Asian Study Group, deserve very serious attention and testing.

Another aspect of this situation is the increased antagonism between governments or administrators and the younger generation, particularly in parts of the world where dissent is feared and tolerance limited. The irony and tragedy of this is that it occurs at a time when social change is desperately needed and when the resources of idealistic and courageous youth are at a high peak. Their contributions should be welcomed and encouraged, and ways discovered to bring them into the decision-making and development planning of the future.

The urgent need, then, is for a higher vision, a clearer scale of values and a fresh sense of what is worth living and dying for. We would encourage individuals and concerned groups to seek ways to synthesize those fragmentary social and ethical impulses that are appearing in the world into a single, unifying world outlook—a kind of scenario of hope, but a scenario within the horizon of feasibility that could give direction and purpose to the striving of both young and old to find their place in the future world order. Such a scenario would have to include and inter-relate guidelines for understanding such

issues as the conditions and maintenance of peace, disarmament, the dividends of peace, a new ecological balance, the concept of social or distributive justice nationally and internationally and a political order dealing more relevantly with the distribution and utilization of raw materials. It would be a blueprint with a difference for it would provide for flexibility and growth.

IV. Strengthening Local Capabilities of Developing Countries

Another outstanding challenge to all who are concerned with planning international cultural exchanges in the near future is to develop a means for strengthening local capabilities in the developing countries. This emphasis, of course, stems from an acute awareness that new answers to developmental problems have to be discovered and implemented. More relevant and useful patterns are needed in addition to older ones. This search parallels that for greater ecological balance realistically related to the resources of the earth and of each particular country. In other words, invention of instrumentalities relevant to the development of local capabilities is an inherent part of the total effort to live rationally and equitably on spaceship earth.

In this endeavor, cultural relations can play an important, and even decisive, role in developing local capabilities. There is, first of all, the need for intermediate technology. Second, there is need for reform in education, of its content and duration and for a closer integration of learning and working. A third need is for instrumentalities that will make knowledge and technology available much more rapidly to developing countries, without forcing it on them.

Types of exchanges

Among the types of exchange that can be used for these ends are:

1. Informal cultural exchanges, sometimes incidental to business or other activities, which can oftentimes be more important than formal exchange programs;
2. The building of formal networks through a diversity of instru-

ments, bilateral and multilateral. Frequently small agencies have a freedom and flexibility to do tasks that larger ones cannot handle and should be welcomed by governments as one means of achieving human and social development goals;

3. Foundations and other private, non-governmental initiatives will continue to play an essential role. Foundations in various countries are part of a world-wide network useful in the transfer of knowledge and the initiation of programs realized in the development of local capabilities. It is hoped that new and relatively small funds may be created in developing countries or regions, funded where possible by consortia of foundations and local resources and fully autonomous in their areas.

It is vital to speed the establishment and increase of global networks on which, eventually, new national programs can be built and to which more ancient ones can relate. What counts is not so much the particular structure as the ties among people spread around the globe. There is need for the establishment of many more private agencies, foundations and other institutions to aid in new relationships within developing countries and regions where there are common problems.

Before stating the implications of this orientation for science and technology, for education, for the universities and for public policy, it is important to recognize certain basic guidelines. The most important may be the changing perspective on educational and cultural exchanges, from simple transmission of knowledge and techniques to a concern with the process of change itself. We can now discern a process of reappraising the recent heritage of cultural interaction and the emergence of new patterns of thought and action.

Of primary importance in future cultural relations will be a growing network of small, private organizations, each existing independently and acting autonomously. The present domination of cultural relations by nation-states reflects the fact that they are the most powerful components of international society; it does not prove that they are the most effective agencies for the conduct of such relations. We do not suggest replacement of governmental and intergovernmental activities, but the creation of supplementary channels based on particular areas of competence and concern.

Other guidelines for cultural cooperation are inherent in the lessons of a handful of so-called success stories such as Mexican corn and wheat research and its bearing on the "Green Revolution." Certain

principles can be derived from cultural relations efforts which apparently succeeded in realizing most of their objectives. Among the working principles are, first, the identification of a major human and social problem for which local people seek a solution; second, the development of relevant programs directed to this end; third, the phasing in and out of external assistance so that it diminishes as local capabilities are developed; and fourth, the rapid spread of newly found knowledge and solutions throughout the world. Experience indicates clearly that these principles are applicable in any culture when they relate to fundamental, human situations. They have proven dramatically effective in problems of wheat and rice genetic research and in health. Crucial to advance and underlying other principles is the creative interplay of individuals with varied backgrounds and the transferability of experience to other countries. A further guideline involves the delineation of identity roles within the rich and poor countries. Continuing clarification and recognition of who they are and how they relate with others is vital not merely for those who plan the strategies of development in the future, but for universities, foundations, governments and other institutions, as well as individuals involved at any point. Mutuality and cooperation are the keynotes of significant and useful cultural relations now and in the future, while every form of arrogance or paternalism is as intolerable and repugnant as it is self-defeating and futile.

Science and Technology—We recommend a major effort involving both developed and less developed countries to build local capabilities in science and technology in the developing countries. Aggregate investments of from twenty to thirty billion dollars may be required. The basic consideration is the growth of the scientific attitude and understanding in education, beginning at primary and secondary levels. This has the highest priority, for throughout the system there is need for an atmosphere supporting and encouraging scientific curiosity in all aspects of the environment. In certain regions, such as Africa and the Middle East, science training has lagged far behind education in the humanities and social sciences. To some extent this is also true in other regions where educational systems are part of the colonial legacy. An adequate program of science and scientific research is essential for every society, whatever its origins.

A second requirement is a fundamental redirection of research and development funds so that research in developed countries can be more consistently related to problems of international poverty. This

redirection of research requires a shift in the value orientation of a critical mass of scientists in developing nations.

In this connection social scientists of countries in the midst of rapid social change have a rare opportunity to identify and define their societies' problems in terms of the new sense of national purpose, sharpen the vision of the society they seek, relate emerging value patterns to changing social realities, search out alternative routes to their goals and help leaders to understand the stages of development the society has achieved. These are some of the intellectual challenges that will have to be faced; and in this framework social scientists will have to reorient researches in their own countries. It will be necessary to choose subjects of research and make experiments on the basis of relevance to the problems of poverty, backwardness and change throughout their societies, especially in rural areas. They should write for journals and readers in their own country and region, and not publish exclusively in professional journals in the West. Manifestly this also has implications for graduate and postgraduate education in the older universities which must discover new ways to train young students from developing countries for careers dedicated to the needs of their countries. Fewer efforts should be made to involve them in frontier research relevant primarily to the industrially most advanced societies and in "pure" research.

A primary qualification in the selection of "experts" for service in those countries, beyond their professional competence, must be their willingness to put knowledge and skills to work solving pressing problems in societies at a particular stage of development. Too often, experts selected by international agencies have been chosen because of political pressures operating within the bureaucracies and sometimes their primary concern has been to use their consultantship for the advancement of their personal or institutional interests.

Education—In addition to science training in the educational systems of developing countries, other phases which need emphasis are: 1. continuing professional training of teachers, leaders and researchers in their special competences, but with emphasis on the emerging needs of their countries; 2. the selection and training of young leaders, discontented with things as they are but willing and able to assist at various levels of society in developing new patterns of life and living; 3. exploration of new and more relevant primary education; 4. further experimentation with informal or non-formal

education; and 5. more experimentation in use of new media and new technology in teaching and education generally.

There is an urgent need for study and research into the many problems of intercultural relations and in the history of culture-contact and culture-change, a field largely neglected by today's social scientists. Here is an area deserving the highest priority, and it is necessary that it claim the interest and vocational commitment of young social scientists in many countries. The situations and perspectives in policy set forth above indicate something of the range of problems and questions which need thorough and continuous investigation. Among them are: What sections of society are or should be involved in programs of intercultural relations? What roles should they play? What policies are relevant to the new needs? Who makes them and are they deliberate or ancillary? What is the appropriate role of international or trans-national education in relation to development? What is the place of science, technology, the humanities and religion in the new education programs of the different developing countries? These are only a few of the questions that immediately suggest themselves, but they are among the most urgent.

Universities have a major role as a chief instrument in developing the cultural future of mankind; but as Dr. Constantine Zurayk pointed out to the International Association of Universities (Montreal, 1969), they will be successful only if there is "*a commanding attitude on the part of the university*, an attitude which is born of a new vision of its responsibility, as a pioneer in the reshaping of its own society and in the building up of the new world order and a will and determination to fulfill this responsibility to the highest degree." A most urgent problem arises from the fact that, while many universities of the West have developed the capacity to provide postdoctoral training for scientists and other professionals of developing countries, these scientists have yet to develop the essential competence for preparing students for leadership roles in the societies, professions, organizations and central institutions of their countries. What is needed is the intellectual experience which would enable them to gain the language and concepts to think creatively about the futures of their own cultures and about the relationship of their national cultures to the emerging world cultures. This means enriching university programs to expand conceptual thinking from "training" to "education" in the largest sense.

Regional universities, especially, can play vital and creative roles.

The experiences of developing universities, such as the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, the University of East Africa or its three successor national universities, Haile Selassie I University in Ethiopia and the American University in Beirut provide examples. In the same way, leading educational centers in fields such as agriculture and health have evolved in developing countries with an outreach far beyond their boundaries. This has special relevance to the tasks of cultural relations for the future because international cooperation is best achieved within a broader framework. Outside agencies are able to work more effectively and with fewer misunderstandings. From the standpoint of donors, help is better justified to institutions reaching larger constituencies than to purely local institutions. Assistance in these terms has a multiplier effect and scholars from one country find themselves contributing in turn to the growth of others. Finally, networks for educational cooperation are possible even across national and linguistic barriers, as in the case of cooperation between French-speaking and English-speaking African universities.

Provincial universities are of crucial importance in preparing leaders for regional development and their support needs to be coordinated, whenever possible, with national and regional universities.

The Humanities—We have already emphasized the need for countries seeking to introduce science to offer courses in science from the earliest grades on. But it must be recognized that an overemphasis here carries serious risks and hazards. It would clearly be disastrous if the developing countries were to follow the experience of many in the West where a prevailing emphasis on the practical, the immediate and the technical—all for very good reasons—results in less support and interest in the humanistic component in educational programs. It is self-evident that the cultural perspectives to which we are committed would be unattainable if this were to occur. Rather, we recommend that the developing countries make a major effort in revising their education systems to devise new patterns which incorporate both science and the humanities. In this way, they will be serving the best interests of their own futures and also will be giving a lead to some developed countries who have lost the way.

The proposed task is not an easy one. The humanities are concerned with the study of mankind's heritage. They cover history, philosophy and criticism, language and linguistics, the creative arts and religion. They differ from the study of the sciences and technologies primarily

in that the latter possess a method and techniques for mastery of a field, whereas the humanities with their own methods are concerned with universal human situations. Furthermore, the humanities have tended to become specialized and to neglect large overarching human and ethical problems. They offer fewer vocational opportunities. Thus, they have tended in some western universities to play a secondary role in international cultural relations, subordinated to strategic military and political or transient and faddist interests which determine the field or culture that will be studied. The results have brought distortions of various kinds.

What is needed is more people interested in the development of genuine cultural relations apart from specific political and military trends, people who will try to broaden the notion of the humanities in the direction of a community of teachers and scholars interested in focusing on the major problems of mankind, cutting across national and cultural boundaries. While to some this may sound too abstract, it is clearly in the intellectual tradition of all our cultures. It further emphasizes the capacity the humanities have for mutuality of interest and concern for all mankind because of common, shared problems and values. It may be thought that because humanistic studies have been by and large single-man enterprises, the sciences have a large advantage in cooperative team undertakings. We recommend that scholars of the humanities explore various possibilities for cooperative undertakings in fields such as the history of cultures, which might provide opportunities for historians from different countries, sharing a common interest, to work together on understanding their own cultures while developing the field of humanistic knowledge in general.

The arts reveal another strength of the humanities. After all, "a Balinese dance is a Balinese dance" and has its own identity, as does a Russian ballet, or any other similar cultural expression. It possesses what might be called instant equality and mutuality. It is there for what it is and it is immediately understandable. The same can be said of literature, once the language barrier is surmounted. Thus the humanities do, in fact, provide a strong basis for mutuality and understanding. Science, of course, has its own universal language, but in the arts the basis for mutuality of work and concern is certainly no less strong. In any event, the two strengths can and must support one another in building more harmonious, cooperative and successful relationships among cultures in the future. A special opportunity is in the field of comparative studies of different societies and cultures from

the social science point of view. We urge that the humanities and social studies place greater emphasis upon comparative studies and thereby multiply relationships between scholars and artists in different countries and cultures and enhance possibilities for mutual understanding and development.

In these days of preoccupation with economics and technology, it is important to emphasize the obvious, but neglected, role of religion in cultural development. Elsewhere we have noted the crucial importance in relationships and understanding among cultures and civilizations of the place of values and their inevitable reference to personal religious faith and transcendent Reality. It is important to emphasize that no civilization or culture can be understood apart from knowledge of what is considered good or desirable, the source of commitment to values and the link-up of precept to practice. Religious beliefs concerning the natural world, the nature of man and transcendent Reality have played and continue to play a role of major importance in shaping the cultures and civilizations of the world. Studies which minimize, neglect or denigrate this aspect of culture cannot fail to distort the social and human aspects. Development plans which disregard it or fail to gauge its inherent significance, often from preoccupation with economic growth or zealous promotion of science as the only significant modern value system, must do violence to the human and social elements of development. We present this view with the greatest urgency, and we would further urge upon universities and colleges the objective study of religion as an essential element in the understanding of cultures and their inter-relationships in the present and near future.

Polity and Policy—We recommend that each country establish a long-range cultural relations policy. This will add order, coherence and meaning to the aggregation of programs resulting from various motivations and pressures. It will permit long-range planning and advance mutual cooperation among countries and peoples. It can preserve the integrity and autonomy of cultural activities which are essentially long-term in nature and help shelter them from the quixotic interruptions and distortions of domestic or international pressures.

We recommend that while each nation's cultural policy will necessarily and rightfully reflect its own cultural heritage and present situation, some general guidelines be observed which have a special bearing for all in the near future. They include: 1. provision for major reliance upon universities and other cultural institutions as instru-

mentalities for implementation of the policies; 2. coherence with regional and international cultural policies and endeavors, especially those of the United Nations and UNESCO; 3. recognition of the necessity for inclusion of both science and the humanities at all levels of educational development and in other cultural undertakings; 4. contractual provision when receiving or sending "experts" of a local capability impact clause—to insure the intention, competence and practice of development of local capabilities and instrumentalities.

We recommend a major emphasis in development planning and allocation of resources on the establishment of cultural networks of human solidarity of many kinds, not as substitutes for regional or national universities, professional societies or other institutions, but as supplements to them. They would include groups of scholars in programs of research, teaching or educational planning and young scholars and youth associated in work and learning or planning experiences. A major emphasis upon such networks would strengthen the fabric of inter-cultural cooperation and a large and varied increase should be encouraged and supported.

We recommend that universities and educators explore new avenues and roles in cultural relations for the future and to that end: 1. that special thought be given to the innovation of programs of education at all levels of teaching, at the university level especially, and of research, which give special attention to the joint role of the sciences and humanities, each with its distinctive contribution to a human future (especially urgent in societies where science must be introduced and a scientific atmosphere developed, but also in those societies where science and technology have flourished and the humanities have languished); 2. that studies and teaching in the comparative humanities be designed and encouraged; 3. that the social sciences continue to develop comparative studies, but with a new and fresh emphasis upon contemporary and historical studies of culture-contact and culture-change reflecting a diligent search for working principles and practices to make possible comparable successes to those achieved in health and agricultural research; 4. that the arts be restored to a central place; 5. that provision be made for the objective study of religion as an inherent aspect of programs of exchange and development and of the training of cultural and other foreign service officers.

Recognizing that implementation of the above recommendations, and others found in this report, will require experimentation of many

kinds, we recommend that special thought be given to two overall concepts of a more general nature: 1. The establishment of regional funds for the financing of local capability improvement projects, science development, and the development of new activities not fashionable in the scientific establishments of the rich countries but relevant and urgent in less developed areas. Such funds for educational reform and intermediate technology might be provided by a consortium, but local and autonomous management should be assured. 2. The need for a much more intensive and continuous interchange of experience in development of what has proven useful. It has become clear in these inquiries that various areas could benefit more from the experience, successful or otherwise, of other areas. Apparently little is known about such experience and what is known is derived largely from foreign advisors rather than from direct information. Thus, more direct lines of communication are needed, journals filled with accounts of new project experience, both failures and successes, from which other countries would draw lessons on how to proceed and how not to proceed. What is needed here is something more than scientific and scholarly articles which appear in the professional press. The need seems to be for a new form of development journalism and for the encouragement of journalists from developing countries who would examine projects in various countries, write them up and help interpret them in necessarily different situations. This would supplement rather than replace scholarly reporting and would give both eye-witness reports and a more sophisticated type of review.

V. Reconstituting the Human Community

Rich and poor nations alike face the problem of helping to restore and build a humane world society, for we are a divided world, torn by factionalism, civil strife and deep national, ethnic, tribal and ideological divisions. The shackles and constraints of a divided world community lie heavily upon us and one of the first objectives of cultural relations for the future must be to break them down in the name of mankind.

Not only are there tensions within nations and communities, but there are also tensions between nationalism and the human race. Each nation that wants to play a role in helping to build the more humane world society of the future must relativise its sense of uniqueness and join others in a common endeavor. It must be prepared to live in an "open world," never forgetting its mutual dependence upon other societies. For every major nation-state this challenge is particularly acute. To lessen the claims of uniqueness deprives any nation-state of certain dimensions of its moral strength. The controlling question for all in this evolving status situation is how to find a new balance between uniqueness and commonality. Once more, however, we all confront the perennial issues of antinomies and ambiguities, and unless we are realistic, we are unlikely to contribute helpful guidelines.

Challenge of the divided world

The present theme, "Reconstituting the Human Community," derives inevitably from the challenges and opportunities. We have not been concerned with instant panaceas, nor yet with utopias either of

an older or more modern variety with charts and blueprints for the future and purposes proclaimed with missionary zeal. The practical challenges and existing opportunities which we have glimpsed are far more fundamental and significant. Two aspects have a particular bearing upon our recommendations. For one thing, we have been vividly aware throughout the inquiries of the past two years that in a quite unusual sense we as a group have become knit together. Within the microcosms of our Study Groups in different parts of the world and our international Colloquia we have become more aware of the possibilities of the human community. Mankind's predicament today is that we are torn by divisions and stand within different cultures. While we need one another, we make scapegoats of one another. Through this modest program of inquiries, each Group and individual, interacting and working together, has fundamentally altered long-standing views of cultural relations and of opportunities for the future. From listening to one another and from intense debate has come, not universal agreement, but the discovery of a fundamental unity on a different and higher plane. From this experience new confidence in the future has emerged with hope that men everywhere will come to practice mutuality and cooperation in their relationships.

A second point that we would underscore, borne in upon us from many quarters and different parts of the world, is that the audience for fresh and bold thinking about cultural relations for the future is broader than we had at first thought. It is made up of diverse men and women who belong to societies, not to communities—to societies where, as one sociologist said years ago, "Men huddle together as porcupines in terrifying fear, rather than in love and mutual trust." It is made up of youth, of women, of minorities, of victims of poverty and affluence, of victims of impotence and of too much power—power so staggering as to make it powerless—and of victims of change and future shock, of utopias and of fear of the apocalypse.

All these considerations remind us of the precariousness of human relations. Even the steadiest of human relations move along a precipice. The links that have been formed in our little network are being continued in various ways, both regional and world-wide. This is at least a small start, among many others, toward the human community that is desired. The remarkable solidarity which we have experienced, through moral as well as intellectual bonds, was born because the idea of diversity and unity was not only talked about but tested in the crucible of our experience. But beyond this little enterprise, there are,

as we well know, many more who seek to mold new communities, both small and large, and who share our feeling of need and common concern.

What is it, then, that we have in common? Basically, it is two things. We seek human community but without certainty of its possibilities, characteristics or attainments. On a personal level, we know what we want: something more than the depersonalizing effect of life's structures, margins for the expressive and intuitive and among fellow-men a new surge of trust. On the intellectual level, we seek theories to do away with violence and to bring more social meaning and coherence into what society does. All who share these concerns embark, as it were, upon a modern odyssey into the unknown, voyaging upon trackless, stormy seas of change without adequate charts, but with knowledge and experience indicating both the perils and challenges involved and with renewed confidence in one another and in our diverse heritages. The unique feature of the new adventure that awaits us is that we pursue our ends in the absence of affirmations. In the pursuit of critical reasoning, neither the question nor the answer comes easily. We know more about what is wrong than what is right, what is worse than what is better. We are against materialism, consumerism and militarism, selfishness and callousness, despoilers and oppressors, hypocrisy and moralism. We are better at talking about fallacies, contradictions and inconsistencies than we are about what we believe. So we are caught in a predicament such as Lincoln described when he talked about "a people destitute of faith and terrified by skepticism." But we also know that even today between countries that are opposed to each other in the political or other fields, there is a vast amount of cooperation. Little is known, or little is said, about cooperation, but a great deal is said about every outbreak or expression of conflict or violence, and so the world is overwhelmed by the idea that conflicts go on and we live on the verge of disaster. It would be a truer picture if the many cooperating efforts in the world today were recognized and put forward and we came to see that the world depends on cooperation and not on conflict.

What we have learned in our inquiries

In this world-wide atmosphere, so characteristic of the age, we have learned in our own little cooperative enterprise certain truths about the opportunity and challenge of reconstituting the human community. They are as follows:

1. We have learned that the human community is not one culture for the whole world, but many cultures in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, the Americas and everywhere. This requires, as Joseph Needham has pointed out, a transcendence of "only a European point of view" in regard to the origin of science, democratic development, nationalism and the United Nations, as well as a transcendence of the "psychology of dominance," especially in regard to the power of science and technology.

2. We have learned that the future lies not in remaking cultures in a single mold, but in discovering and reinforcing local strengths, in revitalizing traditions as well as giving birth to new cultures and new patterns. In this cultural advance the peoples of the new nations of Asia and Africa may provide the clue. In this context they have an especially exacting task of discovering their own roles as the true basis for creative participation in the evolving international community.

3. The curse of cultural relations has been the incubus of a dualistic view of a world divided between the powerful and the weak, the donor and the recipient, the dominant and the dependent. This nightmare can be and must be overcome if the world is to reap the full fruits of an interdependent future.

4. New patterns of relationships and institutions, of social and political inventions are needed, running across the whole gamut of cultural relations. One example, mentioned above, is the need to explore means of mutual helpfulness and assistance in the matter of developing intermediate technologies.

5. We are all in a state of cultural crisis, conscious of swift currents of change and aware that we share a common plight. We all have to work out our future and at the same time join in building a common future. It is a help to know that we are not alone. Each country, civilization and institution has an identity problem, but through it all, we know that each is valuable in its own right. Awareness not only of strengths, but of common inadequacies, may help prepare us for a little better understanding of each other's cultural problems.

6. We have come to realize and recognize new purposes and new approaches to problem solving. In this connection, some have said that the ability to think about these matters requires a transcending common perspective replacing the simple and fallacious dualisms that characterize much traditional and contemporary thinking. This dualism is expressed, for instance, in the division of mankind into we-they,

Christians and Barbarians, Muslims and Jews, but also permeates thinking which deals with problems of population, disease, the environment and conflict resolution.

Thus it is coming to be recognized more widely that it is never enough to talk simply in terms of problem-solving or the issues of a technical, economic and scientific age. The point has been well made in a report by one of the most powerful international agencies when it said that the national responsibilities of the rich ought not to be conceived too narrowly in simple economic terms. When countries are viewed as poor or less developed countries, they are bound to suffer from invidious feelings. While never ignoring the need for poor countries to become richer, it is essential that they should be regarded more inclusively for what they are. To paraphrase further, a better world must certainly be a richer world with less harsh contrasts of wealth and opportunity; however, it should be a world in which cultural intangibles go hand in hand with numerical comparisons. In this perspective, the idea of development assistance as an approach to the problems of the rich and poor countries is too narrow. An approach to countries which emphasizes their distinctiveness in cultural and historical terms implies different constellations of values than an exclusive stress on economics and technical development. It legitimizes diversity and the right of people to be proud in their distinctiveness, even if this involves a more restrained activism and modest emphasis on material well-being.

In these times, there is widespread dissatisfaction with rampant materialism. The poor countries are being asked to achieve a better balance than that worked out by western societies, a pattern in which material well-being, social contentment, a decent and dignified life all belong together. This accords well with the fundamental concerns of youth in the affluent societies as well as citizens of all ages in many countries. This provides the grounds for going beyond material advancement. There will be no significant, enduring development for the poor countries and no healthy human community of the older and newer societies except when social and political and human problems are considered as essential as the solution of technical problems.

7. Central to the long-range tasks of reconstituting the human community is a more imaginative awareness of the moral and spiritual potentialities of man, drawing on old and new concepts, neglecting neither the good nor the bad, emphasizing ancient truths like the

proposition that "man does not live by bread alone," but also new truths such as concepts of the "good life," the quality of life individually and collectively and in relation to the changing forces that come to play upon man in his interdependence with nature and the biosphere. It is central to any notion of a new and better human community that man remain master rather than servant of the changing world order. This will inevitably have profound significance in re-ordering thinking about all dimensions of human relationships in the future.

8. Reconstituting the human community will involve new roles, undreamed of twenty, or even ten, years ago for self-conscious and determined groups such as youth and women, or for universities, foundations and other social institutions. Reshaping the human community involves the restructuring of roles and opportunities.

9. Understanding the human community means facing, even welcoming, the inescapable differences in our community—the phase differentials, the old and the young, the rich and the poor and the changing arenas in which human conduct is possible. Only then will it be possible to make use of creative potential and to institute changes in the institutional setting that may facilitate emergence of the desired future society.

10. Recognizing all mankind's differences, there are still unities from which we derive strength, as does the world community. This unity is a different sort than that which was talked about in too simple terms twenty-five years ago. It is a unity which assumes and takes advantage of lesser unities, such as constructive regionalism and the struggle for recognition by smaller groups within societies. They are unities which those outside a particular unity or unifying tradition have to learn to respect and to esteem, without envy, whether included or not. There will be unities within local communities which strengthen the larger community within a country. And the West, particularly the affluent West, must learn to recognize and welcome, as a sign of true progress, worthy of support, the growth of self-confidence and self-reliance in nations and societies elsewhere in the world and their search for new directions. This, after all, is one aspect, varying in time and place, of the growing fabric of the desired human community.

Thus, this modest program of inquiries about cultural relations in the future is just a small beginning. We believe it will go on, among us and hopefully, within a widening circle, including individuals of socie-

ties and peoples who did not participate in the first phase and, also, in many educational and cultural institutions. A reconstituted humane future awaits the release of the moral and spiritual potentialities of men rising to a new level of unity and cooperation founded on common interests and goals.

C. J. Joyce

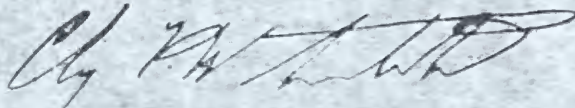
MAR 7 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Willis B. Haehner
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Communications
Department of State

Several responsibilities within the Office of Telecommunications Policy depend upon rapid message service, including overseas when we are traveling. Also, we receive a moderate number of incoming State Department telegrams from your switch every day. Because we lack a terminal to receive these wires electrically, we sometimes suffer from delayed or late information.

I understand that you may be able to help us by surveying our information center area and suggesting some types of terminal equipment that could be connected with your switch. I would certainly appreciate your looking into our needs. Charlie Joyce can arrange to show you our situation.



Clay T. Whitehead

cc: DO Records
DO Chron
GC Subject
GC Chron
Mr. Whitehead
Eva ✓
Tickler

REBeery:CCJoyce:kmj:2-23-73

DOCUMENT CONTROL

	SEC. CL.	ORIGIN	CONTROL NO.	
DATE OF DOC 1-7-73	DATE REC'D 1-11	DATE OUT 1-11	SUSPENSE DATE <u> </u>	CROSS REFERENCE OR POINT OF FILING ICPG
TO FROM SUBJ. Director Dept. of State Robert L. Elam Memorandum describing Harris' activities in international affairs.				
COURIER NO.	ANSWERED	NO REPLY		
				4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

January 9, 1973

TO: International Cultural Planning Group Members

Per Dr. Austin's request, attached is a document describing HEW's activities in international affairs which might be of interest to you.



Harriet L. Elam

Attachment

RECEIVED

JAN 11 10 15 AM '73

OFFICE OF
TELECOMMUNICATIONS
POLICY

OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Organization and Functions

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is deeply and significantly involved in international affairs by the nature of its responsibilities. Indeed, some crucial areas of public and political interest in the area of foreign affairs are the direct responsibility of the Department. These include, for example, disease eradication programs that, in addition to their humanitarian contribution, bring credit to the United States; public interest in cures resulting from foreign research, often supported by the Department; cooperative health programs, especially with Japan, the Soviet Union, and Eastern European countries; and environmental activities carried out under United Nations auspices, such as the Early Warning System to alert other nations about governmental actions having an environmental impact.

Each of the Department's agencies has an office responsible for international affairs, and there are several hundred HEW employees concerned with international activities on a full-time basis, nearly 100 of them stationed overseas. Many others are called on from time to time to contribute their professional expertise to the preparation of position

Page 2 - Office of International Affairs - Organization
and Functions

papers, to attend international meetings as members of U.S. Delegations or as technical advisers, and to serve as experts to foreign governments and international organizations.

The Office of International Affairs is a staff office within the Office of the Secretary. It is presently headed by a Director who is also Special Assistant to the Secretary for International Affairs.

OIA's purpose is to make the international activities of the Department better serve the interests of the Department and of the U.S. Government as a whole. It attempts this primarily by efforts to make current activities more effective through sharpening their focus and by intra-Departmental coordination. Secondly, it seeks a carefully planned, cost-effective expansion of international activities designed to further domestic goals. Third, OIA coordinates the Department's international activities when they affect other government departments and international organizations. OIA is the official channel for the Department's agencies with the Department of State - a time-consuming and frequently important function.

Page 3 - Office of International Affairs - Organization
and Functions

The Director of OIA advises the Secretary on international policy issues and provides staff support for his direct involvement in international issues, with foreign dignitaries, and with senior U.S. foreign affairs officials. This work ranges from providing the Secretary guidance on serious issues to being his social secretary. OIA often acts as a two-way channel on international matters between the Secretary and senior Departmental officials.

Desiring not to become a bottleneck, OIA has, however, never attempted to establish itself as the sole communications link in international matters between any points or any individuals. Informal communication abounds; OIA seeks to impinge on it at critical junctures.

In the view of its present Director and staff, the Department would profit from increased central coordination of its international activities. Several efforts to this end are already underway and further proposals are under consideration. One example is an attempt to determine how the Department can best take advantage of HEW-related knowledge and experience abroad and apply it domestically. A memorandum on this effort is attached.

The Departments' international activities take six principal forms.

1. Knowledge-gaining. This includes bio-medical and other research and acquiring information about the experience of other peoples on various subjects. Knowledge can be gained through written and filmed materials, etc. and through exchange of persons. Knowledge-gaining efforts, to be successful in the long - if not in the short - run must be cooperative and based upon the fair exchange of knowledge.
2. Participation in the work of international organizations - the agencies of the U.N., such as WHO, UNESCO, UNICEF, and activities like the Stockholm Conference on the Environment; the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society of NATO; and others. Many agencies and components of DHEW participate in these activities. The relationship between DHEW and WHO is particularly strong.
3. Financial, and some more substantive, aid for international studies in the American educational system, particularly in higher education.

4. Extension abroad of regulatory activities. FDA, for example, works with the Japanese, the Canadians, and other countries so that their exports will meet U.S. import criteria.
5. Technical assistance to single countries and to international organizations. The former is done by seconding DHEW personnel to AID for service, and the latter by making DHEW personnel available, usually as consultants, to WHO, etc. There is a certain amount of feedback to domestic programs through the experience gained by HEW personnel; other benefits accrue to the U.S., for example, through disease eradication programs. Only a few individuals are now working for AID. A small number work for AID within DHEW, and AID fully reimburses the Department for their services. In FY '72, DHEW provided approximately 1,550 man-days of service (travel costs reimbursed) to international organizations.
6. Training of foreign nationals on behalf of AID or international organizations. Once several sizable programs, this sort of training has dwindled to near zero. DHEW was reimbursed for the costs of these programs, and, to the extent

Page 6 - Office of International Affairs - Organization
and Functions

they continue to exist, still is. SRS and the health agencies are responsible for programming UN (and WHO) Fellows. All of the agencies undertake a considerable amount of programming for "non-sponsored" foreign visitors on an ad hoc basis. OE administers the Teacher Exchange Program in the State Department.

The Office of International Affairs is small, having three professional staff (including the Director), four semi-professional-clerical persons, two secretaries and one temporary management intern.

Outside the immediate realm of DHEW's international affairs, the Director of OIA has usually attended Trustee's meetings of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on behalf of the Secretary and has done the staff work on WWICS matters for the Secretary - who is a Trustee ex-officio of the Center.

Day-to-day functions of the Office of International Affairs include:

(a) the secretariat for the Exchange Visitor Waiver Review Board, which evaluates waivers of the two-year foreign

residence requirement for exchange visitors whose programs were in any way financed by the U.S. or a foreign government;

(b) distribution on an as-required basis of all State Department telegraphic communications, international organization documents, and publications of foreign governments received through the Consolidated Economic Reporting Program;

(c) coordination, preparation, and editing, of Departmental responses to requests for position papers and special reports and surveys for international organization meetings;

(d) coordination of foreign travel through establishment of ceilings, monthly reporting, and approval of DHEW participation in U.S. Delegations to intergovernmental meetings and provision of expert services to international organizations;

(e) membership on various interdepartmental committees such as the Under Secretaries Committee Subcommittees on Foreign Affairs Research and International Exchanges; Committee on International Environmental Affairs; Inter-agency Youth Committee; etc.

December, 1972

State

August 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable U. Alexis Johnson
Under Secretary for Political Affairs
Department of State

As you know, the Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union is due to convene in 1973. Preliminary documents have already been circulated for comment.

The Conference will involve telecommunications policy issues of major importance to both our private and public sectors. I expect to begin shortly the process of establishing our positions on these issues, and am anxious to proceed in a manner which provides close cooperation with the State Department.

I would appreciate your views on how our agencies can work together most effectively to assure that the responsibilities for policy formulation and negotiation be discharged in as coordinated a fashion as possible.



Clay T. Whitehead

AScalia:hmy
8-16-71

cc: Mr. Whitehead - 2 ✓
Subj File
Chron File

State

Friday 8/13/71

3:00 Mr. Whitehead asked that Mr. Scalia redraft this memo
to Aileen Johnson --

make it not too offensive but on the other hand work in
the points that need to be worked in.

Polite, not belligerent -- but working in the points of
view that we think should be worked in -- asking that
we have their ideas on how we can work together.

Have Mr. Scalia and Dr. Mansur agree on it and
have Dr. Mansur sign as Acting Director.

like to

(For information, Mr. Whitehead would have the process
established whereby Dr. Mansur would sign as Acting Director
in Mr. Whitehead's absence)

August 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

U. Alexis Johnson
Under Secretary for Political Affairs
Department of State

The 1973 Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union will reach decisions very important to this country. I expect to begin very shortly the process of deciding what the United States should seek to achieve at this Conference. In view of this Office's responsibilities for the formulation of policy objectives and the coordination of inter-agency activities in preparation for such conferences, and in view of the responsibilities of the Department of State in the conduct of foreign affairs and the negotiation of agreements at such meetings, we should work together as effectively as possible. I am convinced that in the past the United States positions and leadership in these conferences has not been terribly effective and that in view of the new era of international communications that we are already embarked upon, a major effort be devoted to the preparation for this Conference.

I would appreciate your views on how we can most effectively make use of the views and advice of the State Department in preparing our objectives and how we can cooperate most effectively to assure that the preparation and negotiation of United States positions is carried out in the most effective way possible.

Clay T. Whitehead

State

July 2, 1971

To: Nino

From: Tom

I would like to reply to this
if appropriate.

Att: 6/29/71 letter from Bruce Ladd encg
position paper for U.S. Delegations to WARC
for the revision of the Universal Copyright
Convention and the Berne Copyright Convention

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20504

July 1, 1971

DIRECTOR

*Spectrum
allocation*

Admiral C. R. Bender
Commandant
United States Coast Guard
Department of Transportation
Washington, D. C. 20591

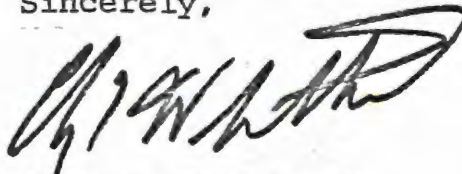
Dear Admiral Bender:

Thank you for your letter of June 18, 1971, bringing to my attention a proposal for spectrum allocations on an international basis for an emergency beacon system using satellite techniques.

Arrangements have just been made through the Department of State for the U.S. Delegation now at the World Administrative Radio Conference in Geneva to introduce a proposal that would identify two 100 kHz channels of spectrum for use on a worldwide basis for the purposes you recommend. I am impressed with the system you have described and hope the Delegation will be successful in getting the desired allocations adopted as proposed.

If I can be of further assistance on this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to ask.

Sincerely,



Clay T. Whitehead

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1971

Memo To: Tom Whitehead

This gives the Coast Guard Commandant the answer he wants with regard to spectrum allocations for an emergency beacon system using satellite techniques.

Attached for your information is a copy of the State Department Message to the USDEL at WARC setting it all up.


L. R. Raish

Attachment



Department of State

TELEGRAM

Geneva 28 JUN 1971

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PAGE 01 STATE 115714

90

ORIGIN E-15

INFO OCT-01 IO-16 CCO-00 CIAE-00 OTP-02 FCC-03 INR-08
NSAE-00 OC-08 RSC-01 DOTE-00 AF-12 ARA-12 EA-15
EUR-20 NEA-13 DODE-00 PM-09 L-04 NASA-04 NSC-10
SCI-06 COM-08 FMC-04 CG-00 /171 R

DRAFTED BY E/TD: TENELSON:AA
6/28/71 EXT 23405
APPROVED BY E/TD - TENELSON
OTP/IRAC - CAPT. RAISH

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TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 115714

FOR CHAIRMAN, USDEL, ITU WARC-ST

SUBJECT: EMERGENCY POSITION INDICATING RADIO BEACONS
(EPIRB)

REF: GENEVA 2522

PARA 6 REFTEL DISCUSSED IRAC MEETING JUNE 28 AND FOLLOWING
USDEL POSITION PAPER FOR EPIRB USING SPACE TECHNIQUES FOR
THE MOBILE SERVICES WAS APPROVED.

QUOTE

PROBLEM:

THERE ARE CURRENTLY NO PROPOSALS BEFORE THE WARC-ST WHICH
PROVIDE FOR EPIRB'S USING SPACE TECHNIQUES FOR THE
MOBILE SERVICES. NO APPROPRIATE FREQUENCIES ARE AVAILABLE
FOR THIS PURPOSE.

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Department of State

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PAGE 02 STATE 115714

DISCUSSION:

A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF LIVES COULD BE SAVED EACH YEAR FROM SHIP DISASTERS AND CRASHED AIRCRAFT IF EMERGENCY POSITION INDICATING RADIO BEACONS USING SPACE TECHNIQUES WERE CARRIED ABOARD MOBILE UNITS. THESE EPIRB'S, WHEN ACTIVATED, WOULD ALERT A SHORE BASED RESCUE COORDINATION CENTER (RCC) USING SATELLITE TECHNIQUES AND WOULD IDENTIFY THE MOBILE STATION IN DISTRESS AND WOULD ALSO PROVIDE LOCATION INFORMATION (PROBABLY RELAYING OMEGA OR LORAN SIGNALS).

IN ORDER TO UTILIZE EPIRB'S OF SMALL SIZE, LOW POWER, SIMPLE ANTENNAS AND LOW COST, FREQUENCIES ON THE ORDER OF 400 MHZ ARE NECESSARY. 100 KHZ IN EACH DIRECTION IS ADEQUATE. FLUX DENSITY LIMITS OF - 130 DBW/M2 IN A 15 KHZ BANDWIDTH AS RECOMMENDED BY CCIR COM ARE ADEQUATE.

U.S. POSITION:

SUPPORT OR PROPOSE EXCLUSIVE STATUS FREQUENCY PROVISIONS ON THE ORDER OF 400 MHZ, 100 KHZ IN EACH DIRECTION, FOR A WORLDWIDE EPIRB SYSTEM USING SPACE TECHNIQUES FOR THE MOBILE SERVICES.

ALTERNATE U.S. POSITION:

SAME AS ABOVE BUT UPLINK ONLY, AND IF NECESSARY, AN EPIRB POWER LIMITATION OF 5 WATTS. UNQUOTE

ILLUSTRATIVE PROPOSAL AND REASON THEREFORE AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE PROPOSAL:

THE BAND 335.3-335.4 MHZ IS RESERVED ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS FOR THE USE AND DEVELOPMENT OF EMERGENCY POSITION INDICATING RADIOBEACON (EPIRB) SYSTEMS USING SPACE TECHNIQUES, AND IS LIMITED TO TRANSMISSIONS FROM SATELLITE BORNE STATION.

THE BAND 406.000-406.100 MHZ IS RESERVED ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS FOR THE USE AND DEVELOPMENT OF EMERGENCY POSITION INDICATING RADIOBEACON (EPIRB) SYSTEMS USING

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 STATE 115714

SPACE TECHNIQUES, AND IS LIMITED TO TRANSMISSIONS FROM MOBILE STATIONS AND ANY DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED GROUND BASED FACILITY TO SATELLITE-BORNE STATIONS.

REASON:

TO PROVIDE FOR THE USE AND DEVELOPMENT OF A WORLD-WIDE DISTRESS ALERTING AND SURVIVOR-LOCATING SYSTEM FOR THE MOBILE SERVICES USING SPACE TECHNIQUES IN THE PORTION OF THE SPECTRUM OPTIMUM FOR SUCH OPERATIONS. RECENT TESTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT WORLDWIDE LOCALIZATION OF DISTRESS ALARMS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY SATELLITE-RELAYED RE-TRANSMISSION OF RADIONAVIGATION SIGNALS RECEIVED BY AN EMERGENCY SURVIVAL RECEIVER. THUS, LIVES AND VALUABLE PROPERTY COULD BE SAVED BY MINIMIZING THE TIME INTERVAL BETWEEN THE OCCURRENCE OF A MISHAP AND THE INITIATION OF RESCUE EFFORTS. UNQUOTE

IRAC NOT WEDDED TO RADIO FREQUENCIES SHOWN IN ILLUSTRATION ABOVE BUT USDEL SHOULD BE AWARE THOSE FREQUENCIES ARE ACCEPTABLE TO U.S.

USDEL SHOULD KEEP DEPARTMENT FULLY INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS ON EPIRB. ROGERS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

Address reply to:
COMMANDANT (OC/ATL)
U.S. COAST GUARD
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20591

3130
Serial 194-3-OC
.1 8 JUN 1971

Dr. Clay T. Whitehead
Director, Office of Telecommunications Policy
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C. 20504

Dear Dr. Whitehead:

As the head of the Federal agency with the responsibility for maritime safety, it is incumbent upon me to bring to your attention a matter which greatly impacts upon that area.

As noted in my letter to you dated 24 February 1971, we are greatly concerned that, unless radio frequencies of the order of 400 MHz can be made available for satellite-relay communications, smaller vessels may be denied the very significant safety benefits inherent in satellite communications systems. We appreciate the efforts made by the U. S. Preparatory team to meet this requirement on short notice and understand why it was not found practicable to modify the U. S. position for the WARC-ST. Nevertheless, the requirement remains and we feel that, to the extent consistent with overall U. S. interests, efforts to meet the requirement should be continued. Moreover, if allocations for general maritime mobile communications cannot be obtained in this part of the spectrum, we feel that, as a minimum, allocations that would provide frequencies for emergency position-indicating radiobeacons (EPIRBs) should be made.

Using simple circuitry, EPIRBs provide an alerting signal to access and acquire the satellite transponder, furnish the unique identification of the unit in distress and locate the incident with required precision; an additional module can provide an acknowledgement to the sender indicating that his call has been received and that help is on its way. The combination of these functions provides a mechanism for essentially eliminating the search phase of the Search and Rescue problem. It offers a potential for reducing the toll that each year claims hundreds of lives and millions of dollars on the world's oceans. However, a first and necessary step to implement these devices is the allocation of appropriate frequencies at the WARC-ST for which the satellite link could be accomplished.

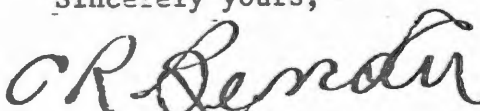
Given the twin constraints of lower power and smaller physical size to insure a truly portable EPIRB, one must conclude that frequency allocations on the order of 400-600 MHz are optimum and are required.

Our U. S. proposals do not support this requirement. For an operational system a bandwidth of approximately 100 kHz is needed for the uplink to the satellite, with a similar companion downlink band to provide for the acknowledgement feature. As an absolute minimum, the uplink proposal must be retained in the 400-600 MHz band while foregoing the highly desirable acknowledgement transmission.

I earnestly solicit your support in the attainment of this allocation in the interest of maritime safety and request that the U. S. Delegation to the Conference be given appropriate instructions.

Should you require further information, my staff is immediately available to assist you.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "C. R. Bender". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

C. R. BENDER

Admiral, U. S. Coast Guard
Commandant

Call Miss Wilson -

Is it going to
be a mob
scene —

if so, Tom

doesn't want
to go.

State

Monday 6/28/71

m

MEETING
6/28/71
12 o'clock

11:30 Mr. Whitehead did attend the ceremony for
Ambassador Ellsworth at the State Dept. at
12 o'clock today (6/28).

Friday 6/25/71

MEETING

6/28/71
12 noon

12:25 Mr. McComber, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration,
Dept. of State, invited you to attend a ceremony on Monday (6/28)
at 12 o'clock in the Delegate's Lounge of the International Conference
Room (1st floor) honoring Bob Ellsworth. They will present him
with the Ambassadorial Flag and other tokens for his distinguished
service. (enter on C Street)

Any questions, call Miss Wilson

632-1627

Will you plan to attend?

June 25, 1971

To: Dr. Russell Drew

From: Tom Whitehead

I had lunch with the Vice Minister of Communications for the Soviet Union while I was in Geneva last week. We had a very good and very friendly discussion. The one thing I did pick up that I thought might be of some interest to you is that in discussing the two Soviet Mars space probes, he very clearly indicated that they were intending to land on the Martian surface. I don't know that this is news to you, but thought I should pass it on for what it's worth.

cc: Mr. Whitehead

Subj. -- OST

INTELSAT ✓
State Dept.
Soviet (Safe)
Classified Chron
Chron

CTWhitehead:edj m

23 JUN 1971

SED Doyle/ec/22Jun71

To: Clay T. Whitehead

From: Stephen E. Doyle

I have given the question of Ambassador Washburn's future considerable thought. In discussions with him, I have determined that he is most interested in retaining some role involving international relations and communications. He believes his years with the USIA and time spent building strong contacts in the public relations and press fields ought not to be cast aside. At various times I have explored hypothetically with him a number of alternative future jobs.

He is not excited by the prospect of being an FCC Commissioner.

He is not interested in any job in the USIA other than that of Director, and does not see any prospect of Frank Shakespeare leaving, so he sees no opportunity in USIA.

He has noted to me several times that the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs is vacant and has been vacant for some time. Shortly after the election, he apparently wrote to Rogers and expressed a positive interest in that specific post. Rogers acknowledged receipt of his letter and indicated a positive willingness to consider him, no further word was ever received. I think Ab would still like to have that job.

He does not want to be an Assistant Secretary in another Cabinet Agency (HUD or HEW), because he believes that while those jobs would be interesting and challenging, he could not bring to them the interest and motivation he has in the fields of communications and international relations.

Ab still harbors the hope that the Administration will eventually pursue his President's Round Table idea, or some variation of it, which could involve him under contract through his firm in both the planning phase and eventually in managing the operational phase.

We may need an Ambassador to Chad!

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

June 23, 1971

St. L
DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM TO BERT REIN

Attached is a memorandum for the record on a conversation I had while on my recent trip to Geneva. I don't know the extent to which you may want to circulate the memo for information purposes, I leave that to your judgment.

I hope you will keep me informed of all the developments concerning the initiative taken in Rome by the Soviets last week.

T-
Clay T. Whitehead

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

DIRECTOR

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Bob Tyson and I met for lunch with A. L. Badalov (Vice-Minister - Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications of the USSR) and one of his assistants on Tuesday in Geneva. We discussed a number of general matters related to the WARC and to communications developments in general.

We discussed the forthcoming Plenipotentiary Conference of the ITU in 1973 and agreed that considerable thought was necessary with respect to how the ITU might be restructured to be a little less unwieldy from the standpoint of the countries who make the largest use of communications. Badalov indicated the USSR was thinking about this but gave no indication of any particular direction. We discussed Intelsat and he was unaware that agreement had been reached on the definitive arrangements. He agreed that it was important for all nations to make use of Intelsat and was clearly not averse to some Soviet use of Intelsat but he did indicate, somewhat lamely I thought, that Intersputnik was alive and well. He indicated the Soviets planned to launch a geostationery Molniya "within a year," and that geostationery satellites would supplement rather than replace the elliptical orbit satellites. I got the distinct impression that something was moving with respect to Intersputnik but this could well be an attempt to get some of the bloc countries to make use of the existing system. He was aware of the hot line discussions in Vienna and we both expressed hopes that detailed agreements would be reached. I indicated to Badalov I thought it would be useful for us to continue to exchange ideas with respect to telecommunications. He agreed and there was general agreement that this should include visits to each other's countries, but I did not pursue that subject.

Finally, we discussed the recent Soviet space activity. I congratulated them on their achievements. In discussing the two missions to Mars, Badalov clearly indicated that they intend to land on the Martian surface and radio back information.


Clay T. Whitehead

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

June 23, 1971

6/21/71

3:00

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Participants

Jean-Max Bouchaud, Counselor, Embassy of France
Pierre Audigier, Scientific Counselor, Embassy of France
Raymond Serradeil, Scientific Attache, Embassy of France
Clay T. Whitehead, Director, Office of Telecommunications Policy
Richard T. Black, Advisor, E/TD, Department of State
Stephen E. Doyle, Counsel, Office of Telecommunications Policy

Three officers from the French Embassy came to visit Mr. Whitehead on June 21, 1971, at their request, to discuss the laying of a new transatlantic cable. Mr. Bouchaud indicated he had instructions from Paris to make known "to the competent authorities in the U.S. Government" certain views of the Government of France concerning a pending proposal before the Federal Communications Commission for the laying of a new transatlantic telephone cable. After reviewing briefly the sequence of events related to the matter which have occurred since last October, he said his Government has two primary concerns involving this cable:

(1) France does not want to see the development of a satellite monopoly in international communications and the GOF believes that a denial of TAT-6 would be a positive step toward such a monopoly.

(2) Authorities in France who have studied the relative economics of cables and satellites believe that cables offer lower operating costs than satellites and are economically more desirable. He said his government hopes that the government of the United States will take the necessary actions to permit the laying of TAT-6. He also asked if Mr. Whitehead would communicate the views of the French Government to the FCC.

Mr. Whitehead said that he was well aware of the views of several European governments in this matter, including those of France. He noted that the FCC is conducting an inquiry (Docket 18875) into the

question of appropriate cable/satellite policy for the 70's. He said that he understood Mr. Burch, Chairman of the FCC, had discussed the matter with several European spokesmen in Geneva last week. He indicated that the Administration has presented its views to the Commission in this matter in a letter transmitted last month and said that the letter was based upon a staff study done by OTP personnel.


In response to questioning, Mr. Whitehead offered to make available to Mr. Bouchaud copies of the letter to Mr. Burch dated May 27, and the OTP study on Cable/Satellite Mix. Mr. Whitehead said he would be glad to inform the FCC of this visit and of the concerns of the Government of France.

Mr. Black assured Mr. Bouchaud that all competent authorities in the USG are aware of the views of the GOF and that these views are taken fully into account in all phases of consideration of this matter in the government.

Mr. Bouchaud emphasized that his information from Paris indicated that cables were, in fact, substantially more economical than satellites for use in long distance communications and he expressed surprise when told by Mr. Whitehead that OTP studies indicated that "cables were several times more expensive than satellites." Under questioning he stated more precisely that cables of the TAT-6 (SF) generation were several times more costly than comparable circuits obtained in INTELSAT IV type satellites.

Mr. Black explained that it is not possible at this time to predict the outcome of Docket 18875, nor the specific form the outcome would take. He said the Commission could adopt policy conclusions relating to the cable/satellite mix for the next decade and subsequently deal with the specific question of TAT-6. In response to questions from Mr. Bouchaud, Messrs. Whitehead and Black indicated that some FCC action could be contemplated within the next few weeks, possibly sooner. Mr. Black explained the nature of cable landing licenses and the role of the Commission (FCC) as the final decision maker in such matters with appropriate concurrence from the State Department.

In conclusion, Mr. Whitehead expressed a desire to enhance the cooperative attitude of European communication officials toward their U.S. counterparts and hoped that we could continue to have frequent and frank exchanges of views. The French representatives indicated that after French authorities had an opportunity to study the OTP paper, they would like to present their comments to OTP. Mr. Whitehead indicated he would be delighted to have the French views on the study.


Stephen E. Doyle

cc: Mr. Nelson, E/TD
Mr. Black, E/TD
Mr. Ende, FCC

Routing Slip *State*
Office of Telecommunications Policy

Date: 7/7/71

From: _____

To:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Whitehead, C. T.	
	Mansur, G. F.	
	Babcock, C.	
	Buss, L.	
	Cooke, A.	
	Culpepper, C.	
	Dean, W.	
	Doyle, S.	
	Ehrlich, M.	
	Enslow, P.	
	Hailey, L.	
	Hall, D.	
	Hinchman, W.	
	Jansky, D.	
	Joyce, C.	
	Lamb, B.	
	Lasher, S.	
	Lyons, W.	
	McCrudden, M.	
	Olsson, W.	
	Owen, B.	
	Raish, L.	
	Robinson, K.	
	Scalia, A.	
	Siling, P.	
	Smith, L.	
	Thornell, J.	
	Urbany, F.	
	Ward, D.	

REMARKS: .

For your info and files!

State

JUN 22 1971

Ambassador Abbott Washburn
United States Representative
INTELSAT Conference
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Ab:

It has been my pleasure to work closely with you during a period of more than two years in connection with your role in the INTELSAT Conference. In your initial role as a public member of the Delegation, through your tenure as Deputy Chairman, and eventually in your position as Chairman of the U.S. Delegation, you made profound and constructive contributions to the benefit of U.S. interests. In the final stages of the Conference, you not only effectively led the U.S. team but also had to play the role of Solomon as Conference Chairman.

I have admired the agility, the perception, and the effectiveness with which you led the U.S. effort. Your seriousness of purpose and determination to successfully conclude the INTELSAT negotiations were indispensable elements in bringing this demanding task to a successful conclusion.

Having reviewed the net result of all your effort, I want to congratulate you on your achievement and to express my admiration for the outstanding service you have rendered to this Administration, to this country, and to the world at large. The work you have done is its own best tribute to you and those who worked with you to make our participation in the INTELSAT Conference successful. I was privileged to have shared in assisting you in your effort, and I certainly appreciate the many hours of counsel and consultation which you gave me in order that I could provide whatever assistance I may have rendered.

- 2 -

Your assumption of the responsibility of leadership in the U.S. Delegation and in the Conference itself was a critical step in the long negotiations to produce fair, workable, and meaningful Definitive Arrangements for INTELSAT. I hope that in whatever endeavor you may now pursue, I will have the privilege of continuing to work with you and continuing to count you a close and invaluable friend.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Clay T. Whitehead', with a stylized, flowing script.

Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Mr. Whitehead (2) ←
Mr. Doyle

SEDoyle/ec/21Jun71

State

June 4, 1971

To: George

From: Tom

I agree that we should
let things go and not
send this letter out.

June 3, 1971

(expressions) are for
DOD letter.

To: Honorable U. Alexis Johnson
David Packard (DoD)

As you know OTP recently provided to the FCC the Administration's policy concerning deployment of new commercial facilities for international communications. The policy is rather broad in scope in that it established guidelines applicable to any communications media currently in use or which may be developed in the future. It is perhaps unfortunate that attention has been focused on the effect of the policy on AT&T's proposal to construct a new SF cable (TAT-6) across the Atlantic since it tends to obscure the basic policy thrust which we believe is sound.

The Department of State (Defense) letter(s) to the Commission ~~(is)~~(are) at variance with the policy in that it supports deployment of the proposed SF cable, and this proposal does not meet the economic and public interest criteria expressed in the policy.

The result is that there are now at least two differing views from the Executive branch before the Commission. I'm sure you agree that it is essential to have a ^{unified} single policy which represents the Administration's views and it was this factor which led us to initiate the international facilities ^{policy} study.

It may be helpful to review the activities preceding our policy formulation so that we can avoid similar situations in the future. Approximately three months ago I asked my staff to develop factual data concerning Atlantic basin traffic projections for both government and private sectors, special requirements for critical national security circuits, and relative costs between satellite and cable facilities. This resulted in a staff report which provided essential basic data, ^{and was} ~~This report~~ was circulated in draft form to all interested carriers and Federal agencies for comment ^{it} and was subsequently amended to incorporate factual data and substantive remarks received from government and industry. In my letter of 5 May, I requested the Department of State (Defense) and other agencies to meet with the Deputy Director of OTP to review the staff study and to formulate conclusions and policy recommendations. The Department of State (Defense) did not provide a representative (although written comments were provided after the policy statement was completed).

Consequently we now find the Executive Branch, and possibly the President, in the awkward position of expressing two conflicting views to the Federal Communications Commission. Certainly agency views may differ on many issues, but we both recognize the need for a single ^{unified} Administration policy -- in which it may not be possible to accommodate all conflicting opinions.

I believe that this letter may be helpful to you as background in assessing what has become a somewhat ^{controversial} emotional subject. My office and staff look forward to an improved dialogue in the future and I will be happy to discuss with you ways in which this may be accomplished if you think it useful.

Sincerely,

Tom

State

May 28, 1971

Honorable Robert Mardian
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

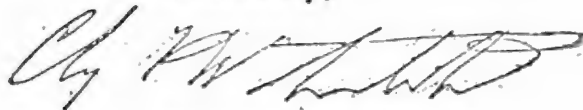
Dear Mr. Mardian:

On April 13, 1971, I requested your views concerning construction and operation of a radio facility by the Government of Algeria within the Embassy of the Republic of Guinea. That request was made pursuant to Executive Order 11556, 35 Fed. Reg. 14193 (1970), which requires me to consult with the Attorney General before authorizing foreign diplomatic radio facilities.

I am aware that in most cases such consultation is made for the purpose of clarifying the internal security considerations involved. In the present instance, however, there is also involved a problem concerning the scope of the authority granted to the President under the above mentioned statute, and delegated to me--specifically, whether that authority permits approval of a station for a Government which has no diplomatic relations with this country but maintains a diplomatic staff within the embassy of another Government.

My preliminary view is that such authority does not exist. I am uncertain whether your reply to my initial inquiry was intended to speak to this issue as well as to the internal security considerations. I would appreciate your clarifying that point.

Sincerely,



Clay T. Whitehead

SCALIA/ROBINSON/ec
5-28-71

cc: Mr. Whitehead (2) ✓
Scalia Subj File
Scalia Chron File

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20554

IN REPLY REFER TO:

6300

MAY 25 1971

Honorable Clay T. Whitehead
Director
Office of Telecommunications Policy
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C. 20504

Dear Dr. Whitehead:

This is in response to your request for the Commission's views on the proposal of the Department of State to negotiate an agreement with the Government of Algeria concerning reciprocal rights for embassy radio stations.

The Commission is not in a position to evaluate the factors, as set forth by the Department of State, in your letter of April 13, 1971, in support of the Department's proposal. However, if it is determined by your Office that the proposed agreement would be in the national interest of the United States, the Commission would have no objection to concluding such an agreement.

This letter was adopted by the Commission on May 19, 1971, Commissioners Bartley and Robert E. Lee absent.

BY DIRECTION OF THE COMMISSION

Dean Burch
Dean Burch
Chairman

Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

May 12, 1971.

Mr. Clay T. Whitehead
Director
Office of Telecommunications Policy
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C. 20504

Dear Mr. Whitehead:

This is in reply to your letter of April 13, 1971 requesting the views of the Department of Justice concerning a request that the Government of Algeria be permitted to install and operate a radio facility at its Embassy in Washington, D. C., pursuant to the authority of Section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

This is to advise you that we would have no objection to the granting of authorization for such a radio station to the Government of Algeria at its Embassy in Washington, D. C. on a reciprocal basis.

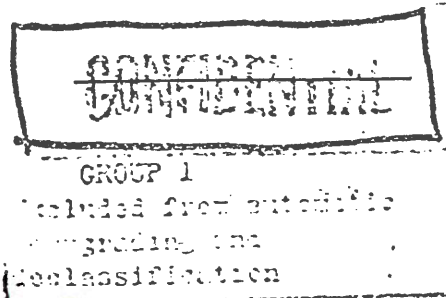
Sincerely,



ROBERT C. MARDIAN
Assistant Attorney General

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.4

Chief, Counterespionage NSD/USDO5
By 250 Date 5/7/2010





Department of State

TELEGRAM

Sean 8 MAY 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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ORIGIN AF-19

INFO OCT-01 L-04 SS-20 CIAE-00 INR-08 NSAE-00 RSC-01 OC-08

CCO-00 E-15 O-03 OTP-02 NSC-10 /091 R

66603

DRAFTED BY: AF/N: HIODELL

APPROVED BY: AF/N: MR ODELL

OC/P: MR JACARUSO (DRAFT)

031308

R 301848Z APR 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USINT ALGIERS

SECRETARY OF STATE 074624

SUBJECT: ALGERIAN RADIO TRANSMITTER

REF: ALGIERS 710

1. PLEASE INFORM FONMINISTRY THAT DEPT IS ACTIVELY PURSUING THIS MATTER WITHIN USG. FYI. OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY (OTPM) IN WHITE HOUSE, WHICH MUST APPROVE RECIPROCAL RIGHTS AGREEMENTS, HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER IN ABSENCE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SUCH AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA IS LEGAL. ASSUME YOU HAVE RECEIVED POUCHED COPIES OF (A) DEPT APRIL 5 LETTER TO OTP AND (B) OC/P APRIL 7 MEMO TO AF/N. END FYI.

2. IF OTP ULTIMATELY APPROVES RECIPROCAL RIGHTS AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA, THERE WILL STILL REMAIN FORMIDABLE TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES BEFORE ALGERIANS COULD ACTIVATE A STATION IN WASHINGTON. DEPT PROPOSES TO INVITE ALGERIAN INTERESTS SECTION REP IN NEXT FEW DAYS FOR FULL TECHNICAL BRIEFING. IN THIS CONNECTION WE UNDERSTAND THAT ALGERIANS NOW COMMUNICATE THROUGH COMMERCIAL CHANNELS AT FULL RATE FOR EACH WORD. WE BELIEVE WE MAY BE ABLE SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES (TELEX SERVICE) THAT WOULD BE LESS COSTLY. GP-3. IRWIN

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 2.4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dept. of State Review
By S. Worrel Date 5/26/2010



Department of State

TELEGRAM

101011/4/28/71

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

710

HAILEY

PAGE: 01 ALGIER: 00710 271856Z

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ACTION: AF-19

INFO: OCT-01 LF-04 SS-20 CIAE-00 INR-08 NSAE-00 RSC-01 RSR-01

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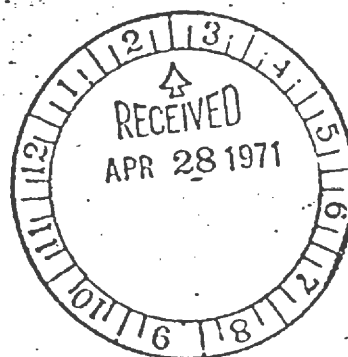
FM USINT ALGIERS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6003

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: ALGIERS 710

USINT HAS RECEIVED DIPLOMATIC NOTE FROM FONMINISTRY DATED APRIL 14 ASKING US TO UNDERTAKE THE NECESSARY DEMARCHE WITHIN U.S. GOVT IN ORDER TO FACILITATE INSTALLATION OF A RADIO TRANSMITTER AT ALGERIAN INTERESTS SECTION OF EMBASSY OF GUINEA IN WASHINGTON. PLEASE ADVISE RE APPROPRIATE REPLY.

EAGLETON



LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Date: April 14, 1971

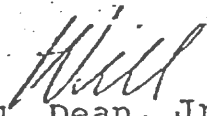
Subject: Embassy Radio Stations

To: C. T. Whitehead

In connection with your recent letters to FCC and Justice requesting comments on reciprocal arrangements with the Algerian Government, you asked why the letter to Justice should not be addressed to the Attorney General rather than the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division.

This procedure has been followed since 1962 and is based on the coordination channel established at that time at the request of Justice.

If you desire to have Justice letters addressed to the Attorney General in the future, please advise.


W. Dean, Jr.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Date: April ¹³/₈, 1971

Subject: Algerian Radio Station in Washington

To: Clay T. Whitehead

Section 5 of E.O. 11556 delegates to you Presidential authority under the Communications Act of 1934 "to authorize a foreign government to construct and operate a radio station at the seat of government." Such authorization "shall be made only upon recommendation of the Secretary of State and after consultation with the Attorney General and the Chairman of the FCC."

State has so recommended in the case of Algeria, and the attached outgoing correspondence is to effect consultation with the Attorney General and the Chairman of the FCC.

This is the first such case since your tenure began. It differs from previous cases in that State was authorized by the DTM in 1965 to grant reciprocal radio rights to Algeria. A government-to-government agreement was concluded in 1966, but diplomatic relations were severed in 1967 before Algeria could install the station.

Because of the severance of relations, and based on a new request from Algeria through the Embassy of Guinea, State is again requesting that authorization be granted for Algeria to install and operate a station in Washington to communicate with Algiers.

Your signature on the letters to Justice and FCC is recommended.


W. Dean, Jr.

Attachments

23 APR 1971

Honorable Dean Burch
Chairman
Federal Communications Commission
Washington, D. C. 20554

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Algerian Government, through the Embassy of the Republic of Guinea, recently requested the Department of State to permit installation of a radio facility to provide service between Algiers and Washington.

Pursuant to the Director of Telecommunications Management's authorization of January 22, 1965, the United States and the Government of Algeria reached an agreement in principle in 1966 for the reciprocal operation of radio facilities. It was stipulated that in implementing this agreement the technical details for the Algerian radio facility must be agreed to prior to commencement of radio operations in Washington. Before any initiative was taken by the Government of Algeria in this regard, diplomatic relations between our respective governments were severed, and, until receipt of the current request, neither government made further effort to resume negotiations.

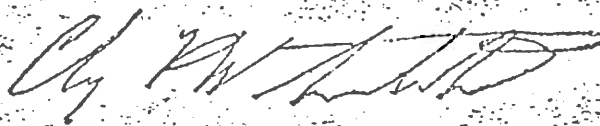
The Department of State has retained in place a back-up radio facility at its mission in Algiers and continues to have a major interest in establishing an authorization to operate this facility when an emergency need exists and commercial communications means are not available. The Department considers it to be in the continuing national interest to proceed with negotiation of the technical details relating to implementation of the previously concluded agreement in principle.

2.

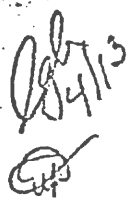
In light of the foregoing, and pursuant to the provisions of Section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Department of State has requested that authorization again be granted for the Algerian Government to install and operate a radio transmitter in Washington, subject to negotiation of the necessary arrangements to permit implementation of reciprocal radio operations by the United States in Algiers.

Your views on this proposal are requested.

Sincerely,



Clay T. Whitehead

 LGHailley/mef 4/12/71
cc: FM/OTP-3

April 13, 1971

Mr. Robert C. Mardian
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Mardian:

The Algerian Government, through the Embassy of the Republic of Guinea, recently requested the Department of State to permit installation of a radio facility to provide service between Algiers and Washington.

Pursuant to the Director of Telecommunications Management's authorization of January 22, 1965, the United States and the Government of Algeria reached an agreement in principle in 1966 for the reciprocal operation of radio facilities. It was stipulated that in implementing this agreement the technical details for the Algerian radio facility must be agreed to prior to commencement of radio operations in Washington. Before any initiative was taken by the Government of Algeria in this regard, diplomatic relations between our respective governments were severed, and, until receipt of the current request, neither government made further effort to resume negotiations.

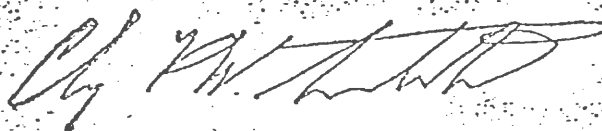
The Department of State has retained in place a back-up radio facility at its mission in Algiers and continues to have a major interest in establishing an authorization to operate this facility when an emergency need exists and commercial communications means are not available. The Department considers it to be in the continuing national interest to proceed with negotiation of the technical details relating to implementation of the previously concluded agreement in principle.

2.

In light of the foregoing, and pursuant to the provisions of Section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Department of State has requested that authorization again be granted for the Algerian Government to install and operate a radio transmitter in Washington, subject to negotiation of the necessary arrangements to permit implementation of reciprocal radio operations by the United States in Algiers.

Your views on this proposal are requested.

Sincerely,



Clay T. Whitehead

LSH:alley/mef 4/12/71

cc: Mr. Joseph M. Wycolmerski
FM/OTP-3

Communications Act of 1934

(d) The provisions of sections 301 and 303 of this Act notwithstanding, the President may, provided he determines it to be consistent with and in the interest of national security, authorize a foreign government, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, to construct and operate at the seat of government of the United States a low-power radio station in the fixed service at or near the site of the embassy or legation of such foreign government for transmission of its messages to points outside the United States, but only (1) where he determines that the authorization would be consistent with the national interest of the United States and (2) where such foreign government has provided reciprocal privileges to the United States to construct and operate radio stations within territories subject to its jurisdiction. Foreign government stations authorized pursuant to the provisions of this subsection shall conform to such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe. The authorization of such stations, and the renewal, modification, suspension, revocation, or other termination of such authority shall be in accordance with such procedures as may be established by the President and shall not be subject to the other provisions of this Act or of the Administrative Procedure Act.

E. O. 11556

SEC. 5. *Foreign government radio stations.* The authority to authorize a foreign government to construct and operate a radio station at the seat of government vested in the President by subsection 305(d) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended (47 U.S.C. 305(d)), is hereby delegated to the Director. Authorization for the construction and operation of a radio station pursuant to this subsection and the assignment of a frequency for its use shall be made only upon recommendation of the Secretary of State and after consultation with the Attorney General and the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1971

Dear Dr. Whitehead:

In a diplomatic note of February 3, 1971, the Embassy of the Republic of Guinea, Algerian Interests Section, informed the Department that the Algerian Government requests permission for the installation of a radio facility to provide service between Algiers and Washington.

Pursuant to the Director of Telecommunications Management's authorization of January 22, 1965, the United States and the Government of Algeria reached an agreement in principle on May 3, 1966, for the reciprocal operation of radio facilities. However, it was stipulated that in implementing this agreement the technical details for the Algerian radio facility must be agreed to prior to commencement of radio operations in Washington. Before any initiative was taken by the Government of Algeria concerning the technical details of its proposed radio facility, diplomatic relations between our respective governments were severed on June 6, 1967, and until receipt of the note of February 3, neither government had made any further effort to resume negotiations.

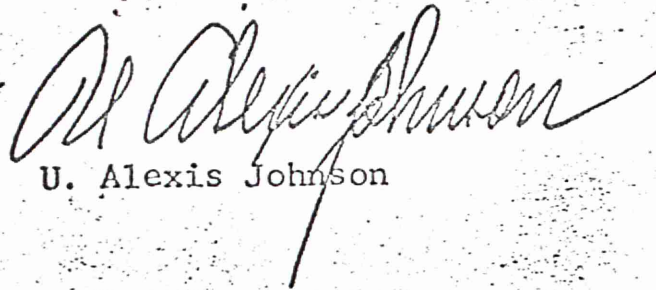
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Dr. Clay T. Whitehead,
Director of Telecommunications Policy,
Executive Office of the President.

facility when an emergency need exists and commercial communications means are not available. Accordingly, the Department considers it in the continuing national interest of the United States to proceed with the negotiation of the technical details relating to the implementation of the previously concluded agreement in principle.

Although, as noted above, approval was initially given in this case by the Director of Telecommunications Management in 1965, relations between the United States and Algeria have since been altered by the severance of diplomatic relations in 1967. Therefore, pursuant to the provisions of Section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Department again requests that authorization be granted for the Algerian Government to install and operate a radio transmitter in Washington, subject to the negotiation of necessary arrangements to permit the implementation of reciprocal radio operations by the United States in Algiers.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "U. Alexis Johnson", is written over the typed name. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

U. Alexis Johnson



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 24, 1971

Dear Tom:

- We were all so sorry that you missed the grand finale on Friday morning.

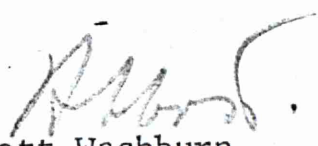
The vote at 11:20 a.m. was 73 in favor, 0 opposed, 4 abstentions and 2 absent. The only major countries abstaining were France and Mexico, and they both implied that their governments would eventually sign. The result, therefore, was virtually unanimous.

The President's remarks at 11:45 a.m. were exactly right. His words (attached) were extremely well received by the foreign delegations. He sent them all home with a tremendous feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction.

— The COMSATERS are happy. Even including the Board. Nick Zapple is happy. FCC is happy. So all's well that ends well.

George Mansur came over, but I didn't see Peter. I have written Pete the attached note of appreciation.

Yours,


Abbott Washburn
Chairman, U.S. Delegation
INTELSAT Conference

The Honorable
Clay T. Whitehead,
Director, Office of Telecommunications Policy,
Executive Office of the President.

May 24, 1971

Dear Pete:

The appearance of the President and the Secretary of State on Friday morning, immediately after the overwhelmingly favorable vote on the INTESLAT Agreement, provided the perfect final touch! The President's remarks were extremely well received by the foreign delegates.

It was most kind of the President to work this into his busy schedule. I know that you had a good deal to do with his coming. We are all tremendously grateful.

Several of the key COMSAT people have told me privately that they believe we took the right decision last Wednesday in accepting the "package" settlement. The management is happy with the result. After a telephone check with all the Board members, Joe Charyk telephoned Alex Johnson to report the Board unanimously behind the decision.

Nick Zapple in Senator Pastore's office is also in accord; likewise Dean Burch and Asher Ende at FCC.

The Honorable

Peter M. Flanigan,

Assistant to the President,
The White House.

It was a long, tough, complicated negotiation. Throughout the entire effort the U.S. Delegation and I were guided and encouraged by the strong support of Tom Whitehead and his OTP staff and, through them, of yourself.

With all best personal wishes and appreciation,

Sincerely,



Abbott Washburn
Chairman, U.S. Delegation
INTELSAT Conference

Enclosure:

Copy of President's remarks.

cc: Mr. Clay Whitehead, OTP.

MAY 21, 1971

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
INTELSAT PLENIPOTENTIARY CONFERENCE
MAIN CONFERENCE ROOM
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AT 11:52 A.M. EDT

Mr. Secretary of State, Your Excellencies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very honored to participate in this ceremony and briefly to have the opportunity, first, to express appreciation to all of those who have worked for 27 months on this project, and to add to the congratulations you have just received from the Secretary of State for the culmination of 27 months of work.

(Seventy-three of) ^{*}seventy-nine nations have agreed to the document, which I understand will be initialed finally by the representatives of those nations at a later time. For 79 nations to agree on anything is a major accomplishment. For 79 nations to agree in an area that is new in terms of a scientific breakthrough, new in terms of not being as predictable as most of those things we negotiate about, for that kind of an agreement to be worked out is an enormous tribute to the men and women who represented their countries and other organizations in negotiating the agreement.

Also, it should be pointed out that I have been here in the State Department Auditorium on several occasions to participate in treaties and other signing ceremonies. This one is particularly unique because not only have 79 governments agreed to it; in addition to that, at the operating level, as I understand it, a document has been agreed to that will affect all of the operating agencies in the various nations. Those agencies are not all the same. They take a different form; for example, COMSAT in the United States, and others in other countries. They are not the same in each country.

To bring the basically commercial operating agencies -- although many of them are government entities -- to bring them together in an agreement at the same time that the governments agree, is indeed a historic and unique accomplishment, and is an indication of what can happen in the exciting areas where these breakthroughs occur.

I say that because I know when you have met here and in other places, you probably will wonder why it is that INTELSAT doesn't make the headlines. It is not always on the first page, and sometimes it is not in the paper at all when you have an important meeting.

I can only say that those of us at the highest levels of government in all countries know how really important your work is. We realize that this is a very unique and vital breakthrough in communications between and among nations, as well as communications in the technical sense, which you have negotiated.

MORE

(OVER)

* (Vote was: 73 approved; 0 opposed; 4 abstained.)

So our congratulations go to you who have labored so long and hard in a difficult field, and finally have reached agreement after over two years.

Now a word about what this can mean to the future.

You will have noted yesterday that a joint announcement was made by the Government of the United States and the Government of the Soviet Union indicating a commitment by the leaders at the highest level in both countries to work toward limitation of nuclear arms, both in the defensive and offensive areas, and to work toward an agreement in this field to be implemented some time this year.

As I pointed out in making that announcement, some very intensive negotiations now will have to take place to achieve our goal; but we are hopeful that it will be achieved because of the interest and the commitment that now has been expressed at the very highest levels in both governments.

Let me relate that kind of statement, and the agreement that we trust will follow from it, to the work that you have here.

We as sophisticates in the field of international affairs -- and I guess we can describe ourselves as that -- those who have participated in this conference and those of us who have worked in these areas for some time know that there will always be differences between nations, differences that will not always be resolved. There will always be competition between nations, and that competition, if it is peaceful, can be constructive rather than destructive.

What is important is for us to set up those patterns and those processes whereby differences between nations that cannot be resolved will not result in the use of arms or military force. We are making progress in that direction, progress in many areas of the world.

We trust that we can be living in a world where there will be the absence of war, in which we can move in peaceful ways to discuss differences, recognizing always that we are not going to resolve all differences. It will never be that kind of a world. It will never be that kind of a nation, because people do have differences, and they cannot always resolve them.

But there is one thing we can also be sure of: There are many differences in the world which exist today, not because of basic vital interests which are irreconcilable, but simply because of lack of information, because of ignorance, because the people or the governments of one part of the world do not really know the people or the governments of another part of the world.

So as you can well see, this kind of breakthrough, through which it will be possible to have instant communication around the world, will reduce the ignorance. It will increase the information. It will reduce those areas of difference which exist because of ignorance and lack of information to a minimum.

MORE

This has never been true in the world before. This does not mean that this is the total answer to the problem of peace in the world, because as I have indicated, and as all of you know, there are always going to be certain others areas where all information will be available to all sides, and there still may not be agreement; there will still be differences.

But at last, now, we have the chance, through what you have done, to close completely the information gap. That is what you have done. That is what you have contributed.

The Government of the United States, the people of the United States, the governments of all of your countries and of the whole world are grateful to you for your work and what you have done.

As you conclude your work, I wish you the very best on your journeys as you return to your home countries. I hope that in the future at some time I may be able to speak to you by satellite.

END

(AT 12:00 NOON EDT)

State

5/21/71

6:00 In checking concerning flights to Missoula, Montana, on May 21st, Mr. Whitehead advises that the closing ceremony for Intelsat is that morning. He may want to attend.

Asked if we could explore military flights out there.

Also asked if Steve would draft a memo from Tom to Mr. Haldeman along the following lines:

"The Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, Ambassador Washburn, Peter Flanigan, and I all agree that it would be desirable for the President to appear at the closing ceremony of Intelsat, not only from the standpoint of international relations but also because the President presumably would enjoy it and would like to be identified with that kind of thing."

Steve should also discuss this with Ambassador Washburn. Tom wants to get it in the mill!!!

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

State
Dept

Date: April 14, 1971

Subject: Embassy Radio Stations

To: C. T. Whitehead

In connection with your recent letters to FCC and Justice requesting comments on reciprocal arrangements with the Algerian Government, you asked why the letter to Justice should not be addressed to the Attorney General rather than the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division.

This procedure has been followed since 1962 and is based on the coordination channel established at that time at the request of Justice.

If you desire to have Justice letters addressed to the Attorney General in the future, please advise.

Will
W. Dean, Jr.

Will:
OK →
T

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Date: April ¹³~~8~~, 1971

Subject: Algerian Radio Station in Washington

To: Clay T. Whitehead


Section 5 of E.O. 11556 delegates to you Presidential authority under the Communications Act of 1934 "to authorize a foreign government to construct and operate a radio station at the seat of government." Such authorization "shall be made only upon recommendation of the Secretary of State and after consultation with the Attorney General and the Chairman of the FCC."

State has so recommended in the case of Algeria, and the attached outgoing correspondence is to effect consultation with the Attorney General and the Chairman of the FCC.

This is the first such case since your tenure began. It differs from previous cases in that State was authorized by the DTM in 1965 to grant reciprocal radio rights to Algeria. A government-to-government agreement was concluded in 1966, but diplomatic relations were severed in 1967 before Algeria could install the station.

Because of the severance of relations, and based on a new request from Algeria through the Embassy of Guinea, State is again requesting that authorization be granted for Algeria to install and operate a station in Washington to communicate with Algiers.

Your signature on the letters to Justice and FCC is recommended.


W. Dean, Jr.

Attachments

13 APR 1971

OTF
FCC

Honorable Dean Burch
Chairman
Federal Communications Commission
Washington, D. C. 20554

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Algerian Government, through the Embassy of the Republic of Guinea, recently requested the Department of State to permit installation of a radio facility to provide service between Algiers and Washington.

Pursuant to the Director of Telecommunications Management's authorization of January 22, 1965, the United States and the Government of Algeria reached an agreement in principle in 1966 for the reciprocal operation of radio facilities. It was stipulated that in implementing this agreement the technical details for the Algerian radio facility must be agreed to prior to commencement of radio operations in Washington. Before any initiative was taken by the Government of Algeria in this regard, diplomatic relations between our respective governments were severed, and, until receipt of the current request, neither government made further effort to resume negotiations.

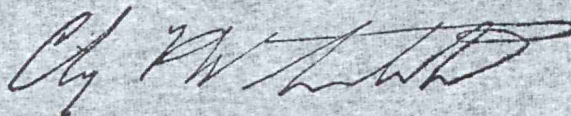
The Department of State has retained in place a back-up radio facility at its mission in Algiers and continues to have a major interest in establishing an authorization to operate this facility when an emergency need exists and commercial communications means are not available. The Department considers it to be in the continuing national interest to proceed with negotiation of the technical details relating to implementation of the previously concluded agreement in principle.

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In light of the foregoing, and pursuant to the provisions of Section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Department of State has requested that authorization again be granted for the Algerian Government to install and operate a radio transmitter in Washington, subject to negotiation of the necessary arrangements to permit implementation of reciprocal radio operations by the United States in Algiers.

Your views on this proposal are requested.

Sincerely,

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Clay T. Whitehead

LGHailey/mef 4/12/71
cc: FM/OTF-3

April 13, 1971

Mr. Robert C. Mardian
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Mardian:

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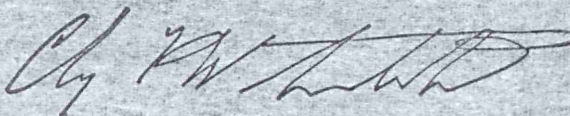
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Clay T. Whitehead

LGHailey/mef 4/12/71

cc: Mr. Joseph M. Wysolmerski
FM/OTP-3

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1971

Dear Dr. Whitehead:

In a diplomatic note of February 3, 1971, the Embassy of the Republic of Guinea, Algerian Interests Section, informed the Department that the Algerian Government requests permission for the installation of a radio facility to provide service between Algiers and Washington.

Pursuant to the Director of Telecommunications Management's authorization of January 22, 1965, the United States and the Government of Algeria reached an agreement in principle on May 3, 1966, for the reciprocal operation of radio facilities. However, it was stipulated that in implementing this agreement, the technical details for the Algerian radio facility must be agreed to prior to commencement of radio operations in Washington. Before any initiative was taken by the Government of Algeria concerning the technical details of its proposed radio facility, diplomatic relations between our respective governments were severed on June 6, 1967, and until receipt of the note of February 3, neither government had made any further effort to resume negotiations.

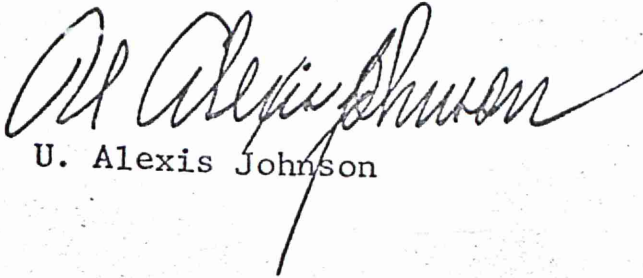
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Dr. Clay T. Whitehead,
Director of Telecommunications Policy,
Executive Office of the President.

facility when an emergency need exists and commercial communications means are not available. Accordingly, the Department considers it in the continuing national interest of the United States to proceed with the negotiation of the technical details relating to the implementation of the previously concluded agreement in principle.

Although, as noted above, approval was initially given in this case by the Director of Telecommunications Management in 1965, relations between the United States and Algeria have since been altered by the severance of diplomatic relations in 1967. Therefore, pursuant to the provisions of Section 305 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Department again requests that authorization be granted for the Algerian Government to install and operate a radio transmitter in Washington, subject to the negotiation of necessary arrangements to permit the implementation of reciprocal radio operations by the United States in Algiers.

Sincerely,


U. Alexis Johnson



State

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Date: May 13, 1971

Subject: NSSM Working Group Document Review

To: Dr. Mansur

On May 5, a memo was received from Col. Dick Campbell of the State Department (SCI) with the attached draft of the last changes to the NSSM '72 Working Group document. He requested our comments by telcon by May 12.

It is intended that this document be forwarded to Herman Pollack's committee for consideration.

Be telcon this morning, Campbell was told that the OTP position is that we have no significant comment on the document as it exists, but reserve on the total document for a broader review in Pollack's committee. Col. Campbell commented that the same position had been taken by Bob Behr, NSC, and Russ Drew.

I indicated to Campbell that we were still awaiting a formal invitation to participate on Pollack's committee. He indicated that this invitation is in process and would be forthcoming.



Jack Thornell

Attachment

cc: Mr. Whitehead ✓
Col. Olsson

State

5 MAY 1971

CWHITEHEAD/HINCHMAN:dc

Mr. Whitehead -2 ✓

Dr. Mansur

Mr. Hinchman

Mr. Owen

Same ltr to Attny. Gen. John N. Mitchell
Richard Hlems, DIA


MEMORANDUM FOR:

Honorable Melvin R. Laird
Secretary of Defense

My Office has been reviewing policy issues connected with the planning, construction, and operation of international communication facilities, working with staff from your Department and other agencies. These issues are of immediate concern to the Federal Communications Commission in its consideration of Docket 18875, which addresses the general policy to be followed. It also relates directly to action on the AT&T proposal for a new trans-Atlantic cable (TAT-6).

I have asked George Mansur, my Deputy Director, to coordinate the views of interested Executive Branch agencies in arriving at Administration recommendations to the FCC. I would like to invite you to designate a representative who can speak for your Department, to meet with Dr. Mansur and other agency representatives. I am enclosing the Executive Summary of our study of economic and technical considerations which I believe forms a useful framework for these deliberations.

The Department of State advises that for reasons of foreign policy an early action is desirable. The FCC and industry are also anxious to resolve this matter. Therefore, we would like to schedule a first coordination meeting for Friday, May 7, at 2:00 P.M., and complete the preparation of Administration recommendations by Friday, May 14.



Clay T. Whitehead

Encl.

5 MAY 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER

Attached for your information is a draft summary of an OTP study concerning regulation of international communication facilities. This issue is currently under consideration by the Federal Communications Commission; it is of considerable interest to Federal agencies, the U.S. international communications industry, and certain European nations. Of immediate concern is a pending proposal by AT&T to lay a sixth trans-Atlantic cable (TAT-6).

The Secretary of Defense, in a letter to the FCC, has expressed "strong support" for the TAT-6 application. However, DOD has agreed that "existing facilities appear to be sufficient to satisfy existing and projected NCS priority circuits.... Therefore, the need for expansion of trans-Atlantic facilities must not be predicated on U.S. Government needs alone." The DOD has supplied no other justification for its support of the TAT-6 proposal. Also, while certain European nations have a special interest in seeing additional cable facilities established, these foreign relations implications do not seem of sufficient concern to dominate what is essentially a commercial regulatory matter.

We are soliciting the views of the Departments of State and Defense, as well as other interested agencies, in order to submit an Administration recommendation to the FCC shortly. I doubt this matter is of significant concern to you; but if you would like to be involved, you may want to have someone from your staff contact Walter Hinchman (x-5190), Assistant Director, OTP, who is handling this project.


Clay T. Whitehead

Attachment

cc:
Mr. Whitehead ✓
Dr. Mansur
Mr. Hinchman
Mr. Owen

WHinchman/CTWhitehead:sbw 5/4/71

5 MAY 1971

CWHITEHEAD/HINCHMAN;dc

Mr. Whitehead -2✓

Dr. Mansur

Mr. Hinchman

Mr. Owen

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Honorable William P. Rogers
Secretary of State

My Office has been reviewing policy issues connected with the planning, construction, and operation of international communication facilities, working with staff from your Department and other agencies. These issues are of immediate concern to the Federal Communications Commission in its consideration of Docket 18375, which addresses the general policy to be followed. It also relates directly to action on the AT&T proposal for a new trans-Atlantic cable (TAT 6).

I have asked George Mansur, my Deputy Director, to coordinate the views of interested Executive Branch agencies in arriving at Administration recommendations to the FCC. I would like to invite you to designate a representative who can speak for your Department, to meet with Dr. Mansur and other agency representatives. I am enclosing the Executive Summary of our study of economic and technical considerations which I believe forms a useful framework for these deliberations.

We have been advised that your Department considers early action to be desirable for foreign policy reasons. The FCC and industry are also anxious to resolve this matter. Therefore, we would like to schedule a first coordination meeting for Friday, May 7, at 2:00 P. M., and complete the preparation of Administration recommendations by Friday, May 14.



Clay T. Whitehead

Encl.

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON

State
April 7, 1971/11:55

Mr. Whitehead-

Mr. Doyle called with regard to the memo to Dean Burch. He said State Department will not be able to clear that communication today. They would request that the following paragraph be added at the end:

"We are informed that the Department of State does not concur in this letter and will submit its views to you by a separate communication."

Mr. Doyle further stated that State objects fundamentally to the letter and requests that the above paragraph be added.

timmie

cc: Mr. Hinchman



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

424A
March 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM OF MEETING WITH SENATOR BAKER

Participants: Senator Howard Baker, Tennessee
Mr. James Jordan
Ambassador Washburn

The Senator agreed to serve on the INTEL SAT Delegation as a Congressional Adviser, replacing Senator Hugh Scott. Senator Scott is no longer a member of the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee. Senator Baker is therefore the ranking Republican member of this Committee. It is appropriate, therefore, for him to take Senator Scott's place on our Delegation. I understand that Alex Schnee has cleared this change with Mr. Hamburger in Senator Scott's office.

Accordingly, we must now get an appropriate letter forward to Messrs. Agnew and Mansfield, requesting that Senator Baker so serve.

The Senator indicated that he would like to become more informed on space communications and for this reason is happy to accept the invitation to serve on the INTEL SAT Delegation. He expressed an interest in visiting the COMSAT headquarters at L'Enfant Plaza to view the triple-screen presentation, to see the dish antenna, and visit the control center. Mr. Jordan will accompany him. We are to be in touch with Mr. Jordan as to the timing of the visit. I said that I would discuss this with Mr. Battle.

Without making a firm commitment, the Senator indicated interest in visiting the INTEL SAT Plenipotentiary when it is in session at the Department of State in April/May. If he comes, I said we would welcome him at one of our Delegation meetings.

I gave him a copy of the Secretary of State's memorandum to the President inviting the President to

participate in the initialing ceremony approximately May 19, 20 or 21. The Senator said that he would make a point of attending the initialing ceremony if this takes place.

The Senator asked whether Senator Pastore had ever visited L'Enfant Plaza and whether Senator Pastore had come to any of the Plenipotentiary sessions. I said I would check on this. He said: "John and I might come along together."

A.W.

Abbott Washburn

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 11, 1971

7103055

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

COPIES TO:

S/S:RF

E

S/INTELSAT

E/TT

IO

OIC

L/T

Subject: Invitation to Participate at Final Meeting of INTELSAT Plenipotentiary Conference in May

Recommendation:

That you accept in principle the invitation to be present at the initialing ceremony for the INTELSAT "definitive arrangements" on the final day of the Conference, and to make a brief talk congratulating the delegates of 77 nations on having negotiated this difficult Agreement.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Discussion:

The International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT) global communications satellite system, initiated by the United States and 11 other countries in 1964, is our most significant endeavor to date in international cooperation in space. It provides instantaneous high-quality telephone, telegraph, and radio-TV communications -- via satellites positioned at 22,300 miles above the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans -- to all member countries of INTELSAT with operating earth stations. Today there are 77 member countries in INTELSAT, with 50 earth stations in operation on five continents. The members own INTELSAT in shares related to their use of the system.

The global system was set up in 1964 under interim arrangements. In February 1969 an international conference was convened in Washington, D.C., to negotiate permanent

arrangements. There have been eight meetings of this INTELSAT Conference, one of the largest international conferences ever held in the Capital. Most of the 77 member countries have sent delegations to the plenary sessions. In addition, some 23 non-member countries, including the USSR, have sent observer delegations.

Drafting work on the texts of the "definitive arrangements" was largely completed at the session which ended December 18, 1970. Most of the major issues have been settled through negotiation, and prospects appear favorable that the next Plenipotentiary meeting of all member countries -- scheduled to open April 14, 1971 -- will culminate in agreement.

This achievement will not only mark a signal success in the progress of INTELSAT, but will constitute a milestone in international cooperation, and help establish a favorable climate for other multinational efforts such as international development of resources of the seas.

Accordingly, I believe it would be appropriate and productive of good relations if you could attend the final initialing ceremony and extend a few words of thanks and congratulations to the delegates on their achievement. This would require about 50 minutes of your time, allowing for the televised portion of the initialing ceremony, including your remarks, and transportation to and from the White House. No definite date has yet been set, but the ceremony, which will take place in the International Conference Room of the Department of State, is expected to occur during the final week -- on May 19, 20, or 21. It is our hope that one of these dates might be feasible to your schedule.

With the inclusion of the observer delegations, representatives of approximately 100 nations will be in attendance. The initialing ceremony will mark the successful conclusion of two years of patient negotiating effort.

You will recall that, in your December 29, 1969 letter to Governor Scranton, you commented on the prospect of the eventual linking together of all nations on earth via instantaneous satellite communications: "The prospect--- is an exciting one. It carries enormous potential for better understanding among all peoples of the world."

President Eisenhower, in 1959, was the first President to point out the potential use of satellites for everyday commercial communications. He thus foresaw INTELSAT. During the Kennedy Administration the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 established COMSAT to develop such a system. Then, in 1964, under President Johnson, INTELSAT was formed on a temporary experimental basis.

Your appearance at the ceremony marking the establishment of the permanent INTELSAT organization would serve to identify the Administration with this achievement, and would be in keeping with the words of your Inaugural Address:

"We are entering an era of negotiation.

"Let all nations know ... our lines of communication will be open.

"We seek an open world."


William P. Rogers

Enclosures:

1. INTELSAT Background Data Sheet.
2. List of Member Countries of INTELSAT.
3. List of Observer Delegations at INTELSAT Conference.
4. Statistics on Users of the INTELSAT system.

Drafted by: S/INTELSAT - Mr. B. Smith:sct 2/23 - 3/9/71
U - Mr. Williams

Clearances: J - Ambassador Johnson IO - Mr. DePalma
S/INTELSAT - Ambassador Washburn OIC - Mr. Jackson
E - Mr. Trezise E/TT - Mr. Rein L/T - Mr. Wittington

March 1971

INTELSAT BACKGROUND DATA

The INTELSAT Conference, which since February 1969 has been seeking to reach agreement on permanent arrangements for the global communications satellite system, is one of the largest international conferences ever held in Washington, D.C. Most of the 77 member countries have sent delegations to the plenary sessions. In addition, 23 non-member countries, including the USSR, have sent observer delegations.

INTELSAT was organized on an interim basis in 1964 largely on our initiative, with our technology, and with the U.S. signatory, COMSAT, putting up over 50 percent of the investment. It has been extraordinarily successful. Eleven countries participated initially. In six years the number of partner-members has grown to 77 countries. (List of members attached.) Yugoslavia is thus far the only Communist nation in the system. A half dozen more countries are on the point of joining.

INTELSAT is the first cooperative peaceful use of outer space for everyday commercial purposes.

An object over the equator at a distance of 22,300 miles moves synchronously with the earth's rotation and thus hovers "stationary" over one-third of the globe. INTELSAT has geo-stationary communication satellites at 22,300 miles above the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Ocean basins, from where they can "see" and link up member countries that have ground stations. Some 50 ground stations are presently in operation in 30 countries. By late 1972 there will be 70 ground stations in operation in 50 countries.

The satellites are capable of transmitting any kind of electronic message: telephone, telegraph, computer data, facsimile. They carried, live, the television pictures of the moon landing to the largest audience in human history, over half a billion people. The system has particular significance for developing nations, providing them with low-cost, international public telecommunications.

For example, you can now put a call through to Santiago, Chile, in three minutes which formerly required three days. Since INTELSAT's first communications satellite, "Early Bird", went into orbit in 1965, charges for international telephone calls have been reduced by between 25% and 50%.

By provision of the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, the Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT) is the chosen instrument to develop commercial satellite communications. COMSAT is the United States' signatory to the INTELSAT Interim Arrangements and also serves as Manager of the system. With our large vote and COMSAT as Manager, the United States has dominated the system.

INTELSAT is a business operation. It is, actually, an international public utility, jointly owned by the 77 partner-members. The amount of a member's investment is related to his use of the system. In the years 1964-1970, the cumulative gross capital expenditure on the satellite system by the 77 members was \$271 million. The U.S. share (and voting power) is currently about 52% or \$142 million. Ninety-two percent of the total expenditures went to U.S. contractors. There is no U.S. Government money in INTELSAT. America's share is contributed entirely by COMSAT, a private corporation.

The INTELSAT expenditures do not include the cost of some 50 ground stations which have been paid for by each of the 30 countries in which they are located. Averaging \$5 million per station, the total investment in ground stations is \$250 million. (U.S. manufacturers have produced over 50% of the hardware in these stations.)

The INTELSAT system has brought modern and direct communication to many areas of the world which previously had none. Formerly, for example, communications between the U.S. and Spain were limited to two indirect voice-circuits across the Pyrenees. Today, via satellite, there are in excess of 50 direct circuits between Spain and the U.S. The cost of a three-minute telephone call between New York and Spain in 1964 was \$12. Today the cost is

\$6 75. Similar examples could be cited for almost every developing country with access to a ground station.

The negotiations for "definitive arrangements" have proved long and difficult. Eight sessions of the Conference have been held since February 1969 with a final Plenipotentiary meeting now scheduled to begin in mid-April. Our delegation is made up of members of the State Department, COMSAT, FCC, and the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy. Leonard Marks was the first chairman of our U.S. Delegation. Former Governor William W. Scranton then served as chairman for 10 months; and, in January 1970, he was succeeded by Abbott Washburn.

Not one but two agreements are involved: an inter-governmental agreement, to be signed by representatives of the member governments, and an operating agreement to be signed by the telecommunications entities (the postal, telephone, and telegraph departments of other governments, COMSAT for the U.S.)

On December 18, 1970, the Working Group, consisting of delegations from 40 countries, completed its work on drafts of the two agreements. The texts contain relatively few bracketed alternatives. (The major issues have been resolved; a few troublesome lesser issues remain.) Thus the prospects appear favorable that the final Plenipotentiary meeting, scheduled to open on April 14, 1971, for 4½ weeks, will succeed in reaching agreement.

When the permanent agreement is reached, it will be something like the driving of the golden spike -- but instead of connecting two halves of a single continent, much of the world will be linked together for instantaneous telephone, telegraph, TV, radio, facsimile, computer data transmission, and other modes of electronic communication. As President Nixon has pointed out, INTELSAT holds the promise of eventually linking together all nations on earth for instantaneous communication. "This exciting prospect," he wrote in December 1969, "carries enormous potential for better understanding among all peoples."

Like the invention of the printing press five centuries ago, the impact of this development on human society, spread of knowledge, and life style is beyond calculation.

March 1971

Members of INTELSAT

Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Cameroon
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Kinshasa)
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Ethiopia
France
Germany
Greece
Guatemala
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea
Kuwait
Lebanon
Libya
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg

Malaysia
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
The Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Singapore
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Tanzania
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yemen Arab Republic
Yugoslavia
Zambia

Observer Delegations at INTELSAT Plenipotentiary

Afghanistan
Barbados
Bolivia
Bulgaria
Cambodia
Costa Rica
Czechoslovakia
Finland
Ghana
Hungary
International Telecommunications
Union
Liberia
Maldives Islands
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mongolia
Paraguay
Peoples Democratic Republic
of Yemen
Poland
Romania
Somali Republic
United Nations
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
Uruguay
Yugoslavia

USAGE OF INTELSAT SYSTEM
(As of January 1971)

	<u>Percent of Total Use</u>	<u>Present Investment Quota*</u>
1. United States.....	47.80	52.61
2. United Kingdom.....	9.65	7.24
3. Japan.....	4.86	1.72
4. Canada.....	3.26	3.23
5. Italy.....	2.94	1.89
6. Germany.....	2.91	5.26
7. Australia.....	2.57	2.37
8. France.....	2.39	5.26
9. Argentina.....	1.81	1.40
10. Spain.....	1.79	.94
11. Brazil.....	1.67	1.40
12. Philippines.....	1.56	.48
13. Switzerland.....	1.22	1.72
14. Chile.....	1.03	.28
15. Thailand.....	1.03	.09
16. Peru.....	.99	.49
17. Belgium.....	.94	.94
18. China.....	.94	.08
19. Panama.....	.83	.03
20. Colombia.....	.78	.53
21. Greece.....	.73	.09
22. Denmark.....	.57	.34
23. Mexico.....	.57	1.45
24. Dominican Republic.....	.55	.04
25. Indonesia.....	.55	.26
26. Netherlands.....	.55	.86
27. Kenya.....	.55	.04
28. Malaysia.....	.53	.23
29. Korea.....	.51	.04
30. Iran.....	.44	.24
31. Israel.....	.41	.56
32. Kuwait.....	.41	.04

*Under the definitive arrangements, investment quotas would be brought into line with use, and adjusted periodically to reflect changes in use.

	<u>Percent of Total Use</u>	<u>Present Investment Quota</u>
33. Bahrain .....	.37	.00
34. Venezuela .....	.37	.95
35. Ireland .....	.28	.30
36. Norway .....	.21	.34
37. Antigua .....	.18	.00
38. Austria .....	.18	.17
39. Trinidad & Tobago.....	.18	.04
40. Sweden .....	.16	.60
41. Morocco .....	.14	.28
42. South Africa .....	.14	.26
43. New Zealand .....	.12	.40
44. Barbados .....	.09	.00
45. Jamaica .....	.09	.05
46. Lebanon .....	.09	.07
47. Libya .....	.02	.02
48. Portugal .....	.02	.34
49. Turkey .....	.02	.49



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

7103055

3/11

March 1, 1971

TO:

The Secretary

THROUGH:

U

J

S

FROM:

INTELSAT - Abbott Washburn AW

SUBJECT:

Memorandum to the President
ACTION MEMORANDUM

Underlying is a memorandum from you to the President recommending that the President come to the Department on May 18, 19 or 20 to participate in ceremonies concluding the negotiation of the INTELSAT permanent arrangements.

March 23, 1971

State Dept

Mr. Willis E. Naeher
Communications Center
Room 5440, New State Building
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Naeher:

Reference memorandum from Mr. Goodman, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Communications, subject: Distribution of Communications, dated February 18, 1971.

Other than the attached, we have added: "Item 7 - INTELSAT". We have reviewed the subject guidelines and find no other required changes. They are definitely considered to be the minimum communication requirements to discharge OTP responsibilities effectively.

Sincerely,

Signed

Atch: Guidelines

Stephen E. Doyle
Special Assistant to the Director

cc: Mr. Harold Skean
Division of Records Svs.
Analysis Branch

SED/tw
Subj File
Reading File

ANALYSIS

The Office of Telecommunications Policy (formerly Director of Telecommunications Management (DTM) under the Office of Emergency Preparedness) has become a separate office under the Executive Office of the President. The Honorable Clay T. Whitehead is the Director. OTP is responsible for advising the President regarding the Government's telecommunications requirements, and for coordinating telecommunications activities of the Executive Branch and promoting research and development in the field.

OTP is not interested in the internal operation of the STATE network as such. OTP is primarily interested in international and domestic communications policies, the same type material which is routed to E for the Telecommunications Division, such as:

- (1) COMSAT - Communications satellites of all kinds, including negotiations with other countries in the participation in the communications satellite programs;
- (2) ITU-ALL of its committees including such subjects as international radio frequency negotiations;
- (3) AID assistance or establishment of international communications systems (ex-import loans);
- (4) International communications systems negotiations;
- (5) National or international communications policy;
- (6) NATO communications matters;
- (7) INTELSAT

ANALYSIS

- (1) Radio reciprocity rights (US or foreign)
- (2) Radio interference cases involving U.S. Government agencies (excluding jamming involving USIA).

SOURCE: Letter OTP - Stephen E. Doyle, Special Assistant to the Director, 10/13/70.

Cancel Instr #83(7)5/23/69, DTM - 1969 Subject Guidelines.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS

February 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Stephen E. Doyle
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of Telecommunications Policy
Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT: Distribution of Communications

Updating distribution guidelines, as necessary, contributes significantly to better communications service. Attached is a copy of subject matter guidelines from which Communications Analysts determine the subjective interest of your office/agency in telegrams.

Please have the list reviewed by appropriate officials in your office/agency with a view toward reducing the flow of communications to you commensurate with your minimum requirements.

It is requested that your comments be submitted before April 1, 1971 whether or not a change is indicated after reflective review. Please address replies to: Willis E. Naehar, Communications Center, Room 5440.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "William H. Goodman".

William H. Goodman
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Communications

Attachment:
Guidelines

ST
RT

October 13, 1970

Mr. Willis E. Naeher
Communications Center
Room 5440, New State Building
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Naeher:

In accordance with Reorganization Plan No. 1 and Executive Order 11556, the Office of Telecommunications Policy (Symbol OTP) became a separate office under the Executive Office of the President. The Honorable Clay T. Whitehead is the Director. The Director of Office of Telecommunications Policy is responsible for advising the President regarding the Government's telecommunications requirements, and for coordinating telecommunications activities of the Executive Branch and promoting research and development in the field.

OTP is not interested in the internal operation of the STATE network as such. OTP is primarily interested in international and domestic communications policies, the same type material which is routed to "E" for the Telecommunications Division, such as:

- (1) COMSAT - Communication satellites of all kinds, including negotiations with other countries in the participation in the communications satellite programs.
- (2) ITU - All of its committees including such subjects as international radio frequency negotiations.
3. AID assistance or establishment of international communications systems (EX-IMPORT Loans).
4. International communications systems negotiations.
5. National or international communications policy.

- (6) NATO communication matters.
- (7) Radio reciprocity rights (U.S. or foreign)
- (8) Radio interference cases involving U.S. Government agencies (excluding jamming involving USIA).

It is requested that two (2) copies of each telegram be routed to OTP.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Stephen E. Doyle
Special Assistant to the Director

SED/tw
Reading File
Office Administration File

State

February 24, 1971

George:

This is the draft letter from Low to Bondi. Tom Nelson specifically calls your attention to the parenthetical statement in the final paragraph on page 2. He says you ought to consider very carefully what that means.

State Department (Bert Rein) is sending you comments on the aerosat program late today or first thing tomorrow. Nelson requests that you not sign off on this draft of Low's letter to Bondi until you have seen State's comments on the aerosat program. Nelson would like very much to talk with you personally this evening or tomorrow.

Signed

Steve

cc: Mr. Whitehead (2) ←
Mr. Doyle

SEDoyle/ec/24Feb71

John D. ...
1 6 FEB 1971

Mr. Thomas E. Nelson
Director, Office of Telecommunications
Bureau of Economic Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Tom:

As you know, OTP is pursuing a number of studies in the communications field. One of these involves the federal regulation (as such regulation may be appropriate) of CATV. In conducting our studies, OTP staff officers are of the opinion that information concerning the developments in Canada may be of substantial use. I am writing to you to request that, through appropriate channels, the Department attempt to obtain to the extent that it is available the following types of information:

1. Identification of the government agencies (national and provincial levels) concerned with planning, policy, and regulation in communication (and particularly in regard to CATV). Also, a summary of their respective roles and responsibilities.
2. Summary of CATV regulations, at both the national and provincial levels (present or proposed) with indication of reasons for any major changes past or proposed.
3. Schedule of proposed hearings, meetings, etc. concerning the regulation or further development or analysis of the CATV industry.
4. List of studies (past, present, proposed) involving CATV. Summaries, if available. How available are copies of study results?
5. Current status of relationship between CATV industry and Canadian domestic satellite system.

- 2 -

6. Are there periodicals or mailings which would keep us current in Canadian CATV developments to which we might subscribe?

Any assistance your office could render in this connection will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Signed

Stephen E. Doyle

cc: Mr. Whitehead (2)
Mr. Doyle

SEDoyle/ec/16Feb71

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Date: February 12, 1971

Subject: Canadian Activities in CATV

To: Steve Doyle

We would be interested in the following types of information to the extent that it is available:

1. Identification of the government agencies (national and provincial levels) concerned with planning, policy, and regulation in communication (and particularly in regard to CATV). Also, a summary of their respective roles and responsibilities.
2. Summary of CATV regulations, at both the national and provincial levels (~~past, present, and proposed~~^{present or proposed}) with indication of reasons for any major changes ~~in past practices.~~^{past or proposed.}
3. Schedule of proposed hearings, meetings, etc. concerning the regulation or further development or analysis of the CATV industry.
4. List of studies (past, present, proposed) involving CATV. Summaries, if available. How available are copies of study results?
5. Current status of relationship between CATV industry and Canadian domestic satellite system.
6. Are ~~there~~^{are} periodicals or mailings which would keep us current in Canadian CATV developments to which we might subscribe?


~~Michael McCrudden~~

Thursday 2/11/71

3:35 Checked with Rose Ann Herold in Mr. Hopkins' office. Since this is for submission for approval (and not a final printed copy), they suggested we send 5 copies over -- to Hopkins' office and they would get it to John Campbell and Peter Flanigan.


Comsat
W. H. Memos
Ehrlichman
Pres.
NSC
State ✓
Chron

11 FEB 1971

Comsat
WH Memos
Ehrlichman
Chron
Pres
NSC
State ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JOHN EHRLICHMAN

This is the final draft of the President's report to the Congress on the Nations' activities under the Communications Satellite Act of 1962. This draft has been reviewed and approved by the Department of State and the National Security Council Staff.


Clay T. Whitehead

JMThornell/ec/11Feb71

State

2 FEB 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

Thomas E. Nelson
State Department

Thought you'd be interested in this. I don't know what, if any, action will be taken as a result. I'll keep you posted.

Signed

Stephen E. Doyle

cc: Mr. Whitehead (2) ←
Mr. Doyle

SEDoyle/ec/2Feb71



SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL

UNION INTERNATIONALE
DES TÉLÉCOMMUNICATIONS

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: BURINTERNA GENÈVE
TÉLÉPHONE 34 70 00 -- 34 80 00
TÉLEX 23000

GENÈVE,
PLACE DES NATIONS

Référence à rappeler dans la réponse:
When replying, please quote:
Indíquese en la respuesta esta referencia:

} N° INF

Lagos, 27th January 71

Dr. Clay T. WHITEHEAD
Director of Telecommunication Policy
Executive Office of the President
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
U. S. A.

Dear Dr. Whitehead,

As agreed at our very pleasant meeting in Washington, I am sending you some information about World Telecommunication Day, the reasons which led the Administrative Council to institute it and the worldwide interest it has aroused.

It has been apparent for some time that the development of telecommunications and telecommunication techniques and the advent of the space age has created a real need for the mission of the ITU as an international co-ordinator to be better known to the public at large and in particular to those persons who, though not technicians themselves and not exercising professional activities directly connected with the ITU, are nevertheless called upon, by the functions they perform, to take decisions or choose courses of action which are liable to have repercussions on the work of the Union.

With this in mind, I have considered the various possible ways in which this Resolution could be implemented effectively - i.e. so as to reach the maximum number of countries and individuals - and without excessive expenditure.

The idea of a world telecommunication day, celebrated in all the member countries of the ITU, appears to constitute one of the best means of achieving this goal.

On 14 October 1968, at the opening meeting of the IVth Plenary Assembly of the CCITT in Mar del Plata, in which representatives of 72 member countries participated, I proposed that 17 May, the anniversary of the signing of the first international convention of the Union, should henceforth be known as Telecommunication Day.

In view of the very favourable response to the suggestion, I came to the conclusion that the first Telecommunication Day should be held in 1969.

Consequently, on 15 February 1969, I sent a circular letter (No. 61 INF) to the Members of the Union to explain the purpose of Telecommunication Day, suggesting that for 1969 the theme should be "The ITU, Its role and Activities" and suggesting that in future the Council should decide on the theme of Telecommunication Day for the following year at its annual session.

At its 24th session, the ITU Administrative Council, recognizing the need to emphasize the growing importance of telecommunications in the world today in bringing peoples together, linking countries and continents and in economic and social development, adopted a Resolution designating 17 May 1970 as World Telecommunication Day.

That Day - like World Telecommunication Day 1969 - was celebrated in more than 80 Member countries of the Union.

At its 25th session, the Administrative Council again considered the matter and decided that 17 May would, for the future, be World Telecommunication Day and would be celebrated every year until the next Plenipotentiary Conference; it also proposed the theme for 1971: "Telecommunications and Space".

This theme is very much in line with what is uppermost in our thoughts in a year in which the World Administrative Conference on Space Telecommunications will be held.

As I told you when we met, the date chosen - 17 May - is the anniversary of the signing of the first International Telegraph Convention in Paris in 1865. That Convention resulted in the creation of the International Telegraph Union, the first manifestation of worldwide co-operation, which was later to become the International Telecommunication Union.

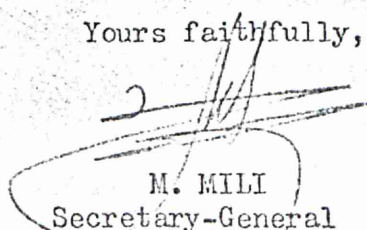
I am naturally convinced that the interest shown in Telecommunication Day throughout the world will be all the greater when it is known that great countries like United States of America attach particular importance to it.

As on my previous trips to America, I was impressed once again during my recent visit by the vast development of telecommunication facilities in the United States and the powerful lead that would be given in all parts of the world if 17 May was officially celebrated in that country.

I am sending herewith a booklet published in 1970 describing the celebration of the first World Telecommunication Day. A similar booklet will be published in the near future reporting what was done in ITU Member countries to celebrate the Second World Telecommunication Day in 1970.

I shall, of course, be happy at any time to provide you with any further information you may require.

Yours faithfully,


M. MILI
Secretary-General

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

State Dept

DIRECTOR

January 20, 1971

To: Mr. Whitehead ✓
Dr. Mansur
Mr. Dean
Mr. Joyce
Mr. Hinchman
Mr. Scalia

From: Steve Doyle

Effective January 19, 1971, Thomas E. Nelson was named Director, Office of Telecommunications, Bureau of Economic Affairs, Department of State. Bill Miller, who formerly held the job, has been reassigned to Geneva, Switzerland. Tom Nelson is Bert Rein's first adviser in all matters relating to telecommunications.

SED

Rewritten: CTWhitehead/tw

Mr. Whitehead

Dr. Mansur/Olsson/Subj File/RF

Dept of State

January 8, 1971

Honorable William P. Rogers

Secretary of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Administration has completed a policy review on aeronautical telecommunications via satellites for international civil aviation. The Administration's position in this matter is contained in the attachment, "Statement of Government Policy on Satellite Telecommunications for International Civil Aviation Operations."


The Government policy provides a broad framework of objectives, technical and operational arrangements, management arrangements and economic arrangements to guide the Executive Branch agencies during the year ahead. Among other things, the policy affirms the lead management agency role of the Department of Transportation and the supporting role of the Department of State.

We believe the Government policy represents an effective approach to achieving the communications necessary for continued safety and improved efficiency of international air travel. We also believe that the United States has the opportunity to continue its leadership role in civil aviation by aggressive implementation of the enunciated policy. The Department of State has an important role in achieving a successful program.

We plan to supplement the policy statement in the near future with more specific program guidelines. Meanwhile, the attached policy statement will be used by the Executive Branch in reorienting its efforts in this field, including subsequent United States participation in international meetings.

I would like to express our appreciation for your Department's contributions to the policy review and specifically acknowledge the valuable efforts of Messrs. Bert Rein, Robert Packard, Thomas Nelson and Colonel Richard Campbell.

Sincerely,


Clay T. Whitehead

Encl.

State

December 23, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

**Mr. Bertram Rein
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Transportation and Telecommunications
Department of State**

Since we last discussed the aeronautical satellite question, we have redone the draft policy statement. I have sent copies of this to Transportation, FAA, and NASA for their comments.

I would appreciate any informal comments you might have, either on the paper itself or on an appropriate schedule for briefing international organizations and airlines.

Clay T. Whitehead

Attachment

**cc: Dr. George Mansur
Col. Olsson
Steve Doyle**

CTWhitehead:ed

State Dept

December 21, 1970

Mr. William H. Goodman
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Communications
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520


Dear Mr. Goodman:

I am enclosing an original and two copies of frequency authorizations for the radio stations which have been authorized for the embassies in Washington of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

It is requested that the frequency authorizations for embassy Belgium on 11106.0, 14353.5, and 18808.0 MHz be returned for cancellation.

We understand the terms and conditions of these authorizations will be incorporated in an appropriate form of agreement for consummation with the governments involved.

Sincerely,


Clay T. Whitehead

Enclosures - 7719.0 kHz (Yugoslavia)
11105.0 kHz (Belgium)
13377.5 kHz (Czechoslovakia)
14355.0 kHz (Belgium)
14649.0 kHz (Yugoslavia)
15704.0 kHz (Czechoslovakia)
18430.0 kHz (Czechoslovakia)
18810.0 kHz (Belgium)

(2)
cc: DTP/FMD Reading (w/o encl)
FMD Pending (w/o encl)

Vice Admiral Noel Gayler, NSA (w/encl)
Honorable Dean Burch, FCC (w/encl)
Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Justice (2) (w/encl)
Mr. C. R. Kirkevold, IRAC (w/encl)

EDINKLE/bb

cc: OTP Reading File

WD
Amc
LGH
CRK
ED
EED

14 DEC 1970

*State
Dept*

Mr. Bertram Rein
Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Transportation and Telecommunications
Bureau of Economic Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Bert:

I would appreciate it if the enclosed brief letter
of congratulations could be transmitted through
Embassy Rome for delivery to the Italian PTT.

Sincerely,

Clay T. Whitehead

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Whitehead
Mr. Doyle

SEDoyle:jm 12/10/70

14 DEC 1970

Senator Giancinto Bosco
Ministry of Post and Telecommunications
Rome, Italy

Dear Senator Bosco:

It has been brought to my attention that your country has recently established the fifth fully automatic national telephone network in Europe. I am taking this opportunity to write to congratulate you and your government on this significant public achievement. It is fully consistent with the continually increasing leadership your nation is developing in communications services both domestically and internationally. Your country's progress in many areas has been substantial in recent years, but your progress in communications has been outstanding.

I wanted to take this opportunity to extend to you and your government the congratulations of my Office for these outstanding achievements. I am very strongly of the feeling that communications has the potential to be a strong constructive force in the world over the next decade, and that places great responsibility on those of us in positions of leadership in communications to bring that about. I look forward to working with you in that spirit.

Sincerely,

Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Mr. Doyle
Mr. Whitehead

SEDoyle/Whitehead:jm 12/14/70

TRANSLATION

ITALY'S TELEPHONE NETWORK FULLY AUTOMATIC

According to a PTT announcement, Italy's 6.3 million telephone subscribers now have fully automatic service throughout the country.

Mr. Bosco, the Italian Minister for PTT, stated that this has been achieved thanks to the installation of some 60,000 circuits and 15 million kilometers of wire. The annual cost of modernizing the network over the last five years averaged some 2 billion lira.

According to Mr. Bosco, the next step is to increase automatic working with European countries and through the Mediterranean basin. This may be done in the next three years if other countries match Italy's efforts in this respect.

(According to the ITU, Italy is the fifth European country with a fully automatic national network, following the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, and the German Democratic Republic.

France is expected to reach this point in 1976.)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

DIRECTOR

December 11, 1970

Mr. Joseph H. McConnell
Chairman
Communications Satellite Corporation
950 L'Enfant Plaza South, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20024

Dear Joe:

The memorandum you provided to Peter Flanigan and me has been useful to me and to Abbott in helping focus discussion and plan strategies for the INTELSAT Conference proper. I have had meetings with Ab Washburn, U. Alexis Johnson, Bert Rein, Joe Charyk, John Johnson, and other Delegation members, and matters appear to be on track at this time.

I know you understand that, as Director of Telecommunications Policy, I have a broad interest in the health of the communications industry in general and in Comsat, as a significant entity, in particular. You may know that prior to your election as Chairman of the Board I had occasion to meet informally with the Presidentially appointed members of the Board to discuss matters of general importance to the future of Comsat. Now that OTP is established and beginning to deal with some of the more pressing policy issues, many of which affect Comsat, I believe that another such session with you and those Board members would be useful in the near future. I would be pleased if you and they would join me for an 8:00 breakfast at the White House Mess when you will all be in town again.

Sincerely,

Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Mr. Whitehead
Mr. Doyle
SEDoyle:jm

Chron
INTELSAT
State Dept.
Comsat
Future Meetings

✓ State

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

DER BUNDESMINISTER FÜR DAS POST- UND FERNMELDEWESEN

Der Bundesminister für das Post- und Fernmeldewesen · 53 Bonn 1 · Postfach 8001

Mr. Nelson,
Acting Director Officer of
Telecommunications,
Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520
USA

Ihr Zeichen
Votre référence
Your reference

Ihre Nachricht vom
Votre lettre du
Your letter of

Meine Nachricht vom
Ma lettre du
My letter of

Mein Zeichen
Ma référence
My reference

Bonn

II Ka 4214-0/20 November 17, 1970

Betreff/Objet/Subject

Dear Mr. Nelson,

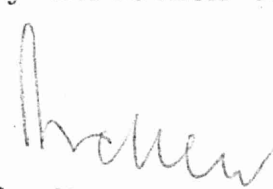
Permit me to send you for your information a copy of a letter which I addressed to Federal Communications Commission on behalf of European administrations and operating agencies as the result of a meeting which was held in Munich on November 2 and 3, 1970. May I assume that you are also of the opinion that the questions which have been dealt with in that letter should be discussed in detail during a joint meeting and that a solution should be found to them.

Enclosures:

Copy of the letter addressed
to FCC with Annex

Sincerely,

By direction of the Minister


Preßler

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

DER BUNDESMINISTER FÜR DAS POST- UND FERNMELDEWESEN

Der Bundesminister für das Post- und Fernmeldewesen · 53 Bonn 1 · Postfach 8001

Federal Communications Commission
Attention:
The Honorable Dean Burch,
Chairman

Washington, D.C. 20554

Ihr Zeichen
Votre référence
Your reference

Ihre Nachricht vom
Votre lettre du
Your letter of

Meine Nachricht vom
Ma lettre du
My letter of

Mein Zeichen
Ma référence
My reference

Bonn

II Ka 4214-0/20

November 17, 1970

Betreff/Objet/Subject

Dear Mr. Burch,

A meeting was held in Munich on November 2 and 3, 1970, at the suggestion of several European administrations. During this meeting principles were discussed which, from the European point of view, appear to be important as regards the telecommunication policy for the traffic relation Europe-North America. On behalf of the following administrations and operating agencies, I am sending you, attached to this letter, the principles which were worked out and agreed upon jointly as result of the meeting: Austria, Radio-Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Italcable, Netherlands, Norway, Companhia Portuguesa Radio Marconi, Compania Telefonica Nacional de Espana, Sweden, Switzerland, Radio-Suisse, Yugoslavia. I wish to state that my Administration also supports these principles with regard to the whole traffic routed from this country to North America.

At the Munich meeting it was noted that the US Government was also considering the same question (FCC docket no 18875 of June 10, 1970). Clearly any decisions regarding operation and technique, in particular with regard to the traffic relations between Europe and North America, are only conceivable by mutual agreement of all partners concerned. All telecommunication administrations and operating agencies must endeavour to apply technical and operational solutions which make it possible to provide the users with traffic routes on terms which are as favourable as possible.

—The aforementioned European administrations and operating agencies are therefore of the opinion that joint discussions on the questions which are of mutual interest are indispensable. They therefore propose in accordance with the annex under item 2, that a meeting be

held

held during which the policies of Europe and North America should be harmonized and a cable laying programme for the next decade should be drawn up. Since each suggestion for a solution involves the whole traffic area, it would be desirable that, in addition to the representatives from FCC and possibly the representative of the State Department, all interested administrations and operating agencies on both sides of the North Atlantic participate in such a meeting. The administrations and operating agencies represented at the meeting in Munich are of the opinion that such a meeting should be held if possible before the end of this year and offer their good services for the organization of such a meeting.

On behalf of the aforementioned administrations and operating agencies I am sending copies of this letter to COTC, ATT, ITT, RCA, WUI and to Mr. Nelson of the State Department.

Sincerely,

Enclosure
Principles adopted by
European administrations

For the Minister

Prof. Dr.-Ing. Pausch

Principles adopted by European administrations regarding
the provision of new Transatlantic transmission media

1. The European administrations have an equal interest in promoting the further development of the satellite techniques on the one hand and cable techniques on the other. The two transmission media complement each other. The development of satellite networks is being discussed by Intelsat of which nearly all European administrations are members. The following principles therefore also take into consideration the facilities offered by the satellite network.
2. The provision of further Transatlantic cables is necessary to provide diversity of facilities for telecommunications with North America. Accordingly the European administrations and authorized private agencies desire to work out with the North American carriers an agreed cable programme covering the next decade, based on that proportion of foreseen requirements which, following joint agreement, should be provided by cable.
3. There should be no fixed proportion in the use of cable and satellite capacity; the proportion of cable or satellite circuits desired by any European administration will depend on their relative economy, on the need for diversity, on the number of circuits required, on technical, operational and in some cases also on concessional factors. At least for the next five years a cable capacity that will carry 50 % of the total Transatlantic circuit requirement between North America and Europe would however be acceptable as a planning objective.
4. The European administrations are seriously considering a recommendation that any new Transatlantic cable should be owned in-equal shares by European and American carriers.
5. The indefeasible right of use of cable capacity in any new cable should be available for purchase at proportionate cost by all European administrations, authorized private operating agencies and by the American carriers by suitable agreements with the parties involved and may be similarly available to other carriers outside Europe or North America.
6. Subject to the agreement of the corresponding holder of rights in the same circuit capacity, and with the prior knowledge of the cable owners, rights may be sold by one administration or authorized private operating agency to another.

657

*Just prior
to 11/27/70*

MEMORANDUM FOR

**Honorable Edward David
Director
Office of Science and Technology**

I expect to meet with U. Alexis Johnson at the State Department on Friday, November 27 to discuss with him the USG position on launch assurances to the West Europeans for their space programs. You will recall that several weeks ago U. Alexis sent a letter to Minister LeFevre in France in which we wrapped launch assistance and Post Apollo cooperation into one bundle.

Comsat is very upset at this point because officials there contend that the letter to LeFevre gives the Europeans too much in the way of commitment to launch. They feel this was a particularly bad time to make such sweeping promises in light of our current negotiating posture in the INTELSAT conference on definitive arrangements for the global satellite system.

The immediate question I will discuss with U. Alexis is -- just how far are we committed? There is a division of opinion at State. Some (Pollock in particular) claim that we have promised the Europeans to launch anything they want, even communication satellites, provided that in the Comsat cases the Assembly of INTELSAT has not made a finding that such a satellite would adversely affect INTELSAT. That is, only a "negative" finding by INTELSAT on a proposed satellite would release us from our obligation to provide a launch. Others insist (Bert Rein, Amb. Washburn) that we are obliged to launch only when INTELSAT makes a "positive" finding, i.e. that a proposed satellite would not adversely affect the INTELSAT system. Assume for the sake of argument that two-thirds of the INTELSAT Assembly cannot agree on whether a proposed satellite would or would not adversely affect INTELSAT. In such a case, Pollock insists we are bound to launch and have told the Europeans that, Rein and Washburn claim we are not bound to launch and would only consider such a launch on its own merits.

- 2 -

My position is that we are not bound to launch under the U. Alexis letter unless there is a positive Assembly finding. Absent a two-thirds majority agreement in the INTELSAT Assembly we should decide each launch request on its merits. I do not think anyone agreed that we are bound in every case save the one in which INTELSAT finds that a potential adverse impact exists in a specific communication satellite program. If possible, I would like to mention your concurrence in this view.

Clay T. Whitehead

SDOYLE:bks

5/56
November 11, 1970

To: U. Alexis Johnson

From: Tom Whitehead

The attached is forwarded for your information.
I believe we should discuss at an appropriate
time in our review of where we go from here.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Whitehead

CTWhitehead:ed/jm

SAME LETTER SENT TO:

Dr. Willis Shapley, Associate Deputy Admin., NASA
Mr. Richard Deam, Director, Office of Tel., DOT
Mr. Raymond A. Gilber, Deputy, NASC
Mr. David Soler, Deputy Assistant to the Secty. of Defense (Telecommunications)
Ambassador Washburn, U.S. Delegation, INTELSAT Conf.

*Consent
State*

Mr. William K. Miller
Director
Office of Telecommunications
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

28 OCT 1970

Dear Mr. Miller:

The Communications Satellite Act of 1962 requires that the President transmit a report to Congress in January of each year regarding significant developments and activities during the previous calendar year. The report includes an evaluation of those developments and accomplishments in terms of attaining the objectives of the Act, as well as recommendations for additional legislation or other Congressional action.

In order to afford the opportunity for careful preparation and review of the report, we are requesting that the Executive Departments and Agencies having responsibilities which may bear on commercial satellite communications submit their suggestions for material to be included in the report by November 20.

After submission of the information we contemplate preparing a draft report for comment by affected Departments and Agencies about December 10.

Sincerely,

JECOLE:dc
Mr. Doyle-2
Subj.
RE *[initials]*

Stephen E. Doyle
Special Assistant to the Director

State
Dept

September 22, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

Honorable Edward E. David
Director
Office of Science and Technology

Utilization of telecommunications satellites for two-way communication and position determination has long been considered for a number of special applications. Several organizations, both commercial and government, are currently developing requirements for operational or experimental systems. Firm or tentative requirements have been expressed by DOD, AEC, the maritime industry, and ATA, ICAO, IATA, FAA/DOT, and ARINC as representatives of various segments of the air carrier industry. In addition NASA, in conjunction with the European Space Research Organization (ESRO), has prepared an extensive pre-operational system to explore the characteristics of a system for air traffic control.

Communication, and ultimately navigation for air traffic control is perhaps the most pressing problem and it is expected that substantial funding will be requested in the FY 72 budget by one or more agencies. There is now a DOT/NASA working group in progress whose purpose is to define comprehensive and compatible NASA and FAA programs for early implementation.

In order to assure timely and useful development of satellite systems for these purposes, and to assure consistency with U.S. international policies and national security objectives, I believe it is important that we know where we are headed in policy for this area. Since this is a responsibility of the new Office of Telecommunications Policy, we plan to begin immediately an Executive Office effort to formulate an Administration position concerning appropriate technical and institutional arrangements.

Accordingly, I would like to convene an Executive Office working group to review current and proposed plans, and to develop the Administration's policy for aeronautical satellite systems and other complementary uses. I would like to invite you to designate a representative to participate in this effort. Dr. George F. Mansur who has been nominated as Deputy Director of OTP will be directing this activity.

SIGNED

Clay T. Whitehead
Director

cc: Dr. Russell Drew

Mr. Whitehead
Central Files

CFMansur/tw
CFMansur Reading File

Identical memos forwarded to the following:

Honorable George Shultz, OMB (cc: Nick Stoer)
Honorable William Anders, NASC
Dr. Henry Kissinger, NSC (cc: Col. Robert Behr)

Letter to: Honorable Wm. P. Rogers, Dept of State (cc: Bertram Rein &
Robert Packard)