

Leonard Marks and Barry Zorthian proposed to CSIS president David Abshire in 1996 that it was time to reconsider the future of public diplomacy. He greeted the proposal with enthusiasm and expanded it to a study for transforming the conduct of U.S. diplomacy. A 63-person advisory panel was invited to oversee the study that would focus on the Information Revolution, the widening participation of publics in international relations, and the concurrent revolutions in global business and finance.

#### Leonard Marks He Helps Freedom Ring

Leonard Marks wanted to be a journalist, but his father told him there was no money in it. Instead he became a lawyer and a freedom-of-information advocate all over the world.

Every time a border opens or a barrier falls, Leonard Marks is there to offer aid to fledgling communicators. His latest venture is the International Media Fund, which supports independent broadcasting and press operations in more than a dozen countries.

Leonard Marks came to Washington in 1943 to work for the Federal Communications Commission. When he left the FCC to practice communications law, one of his first clients was Congressman Lyndon Johnson, whose wife had just bought a radio station in Austin. The congressman advised the young practitioner to "stick with me, it ought to be interesting."

Marks helped set up Radio Free Europe in 1948. President Lyndon Johnson later tapped him to head the United States Information Agency. Marks brought in John Chancellor to head up the Voice of America. While he was head of USIA, the agency produced the award-winning film John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums. Congress approved a special exception so the film could be shown domestically as well as around the world.

Four other presidents have called upon Marks to help set up **intelsat**, head US delegations to communications conferences, and monitor international threats to press freedom.

Marks was a founder of the World Press Freedom Committee. He headed the Foreign Policy Association, which involves nearly half a million Americans in discussion of international issues. He also chairs the board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Fund for the Endowment of the Diplomatic Reception Rooms at the State Department.

At an age when many contemporaries are retired and resting on their laurels, Leonard Marks devotes most of his time to pro bono efforts to increase communications and combat censorship.

Izvestia recently asked Marks to write about efforts by the Russian parliament to interfere with free and open

reporting. "The Russian people have had a taste of independent reporting and yearn for a continuance of these liberties . . .," Marks wrote.

That yearning for freedom knows no greater champion than Leonard Marks.  
st of the info on him is for USIA and public diplomacy



## Bus Travel Arrangements Worksheet

 Travel Contact: Anne Haller

 Extention: 7969
 Bus 1

Travel Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Traveller Name	Anne Haller	Scott Peterson	Mike Conners
----------------	-------------	----------------	--------------

**Air**

Departure Date				
Departure City				
Arrival City				
Time Frame				
Departure Date				
Departure City				
Arrival City				
Time Frame				

**Hotel**

Date In	19-Sep	prev. crew	prev. crew	
Date Out	20-Sep	20-Sep	20-Sep	
City	Missoula, MT	Missoula, MT	Missoula, MT	
Pref. or Req.				
Date In	20-Sep	20-Sep	20-Sep	
Date Out	21-Sep	21-Sep	21-Sep	
City	Livingston, MT	Livingston, MT	Livingston, MT	
Pref. or Req.				
Date In	21-Sep	21-Sep	21-Sep	
Date Out	22-Sep	22-Sep	22-Sep	
City	Cheyenne, WY	Cheyenne, WY	Cheyenne, WY	
Pref. or Req.	Fairfield Inn, 307-637-4070	Fairfield Inn, 307-637-4070	Fairfield Inn, 307-637-4070	
Date In	22-Sep	22-Sep	22-Sep	
Date Out	23-Sep	23-Sep	23-Sep	
City	Kearney, NE	Kearney, NE	Kearney, NE	
Pref. or Req.				
Date In	23-Sep	23-Sep	23-Sep	
Date Out	25-Sep	24-Sep	25-Sep	
City	Omaha, NE	Omaha, NE	Omaha, NE	
Pref. or Req.	Emb. Suites: 402-346-9000	Emb. Suites: 402-346-9000	Emb. Suites: 402-346-9000	
Date In	25-Sep		25-Sep	
Date Out	26-Sep		w/ next crew	
City	Lincoln, NE		Lincoln, NE	
Pref. or Req.				

For Personal Travel:





## Interview with Leonard Marks

### Diplomacy in the Information Age

DIA Intro

Background

Panel Meetings

Conferences

Presentations

Interviews

Final Report

Of Counsel, Cohn & Marks

August 1, 1997

Go to [Summary of Interviews](#)

[Back to the ICS site](#)

### CSIS ...

About CSIS  
Scholars  
Research  
News & Events  
Periodicals  
Publications  
Press Page  
on the Hill  
Intern Web Journal  
Get Involved

Search CSIS

**Programs &  
Projects**  
on the web

**Americas  
Enterprise for  
the Environment  
Global Information  
Infrastructure  
Commission**

**Question #1:** As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, we seem to be hesitant to continue our active international engagement.

While there is little reluctance to fund activities that directly enhance American *security and prosperity*, according to a poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the American public no longer supports government expenditures directed at (a) defending human rights in other countries, (b) helping bring about democratic governments, (c) protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression, or (d) improving the standard of living of less developed nations.

Some argue, on the other hand, that we should *actively* promote such causes abroad.

Let's start with this question: Is it in our national interest to do so, that is to tax American citizens to help strengthen *global civil society*?

**Marks:** Unequivocally, yes.

We've demonstrated over the period of years that the U.S. has a message, and that message must be heard by the rest of the world. If we are to have peace in the world, we must have democracy and human rights as well as economic prosperity. So, I would say unequivocally, yes. And, I do not agree with the Chicago findings.

**Question #2:** The State Department says "the purpose of United States foreign policy is to create a more *secure, prosperous, and democratic* world for the benefit of the American people."

Great Britain's former Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd spoke last year of three functions of diplomacy: (a) the accumulation and analysis of information; (b) negotiation; and (c) the promotion of national interests – including "trade, finance, politics, culture, and tourism."

Others have argued that the most important functions of modern diplomacy are (d) preventive diplomacy and crisis management, (e) facilitation of commerce, (f) promoting human rights, and (g) safeguarding the global environment.



**International  
Communications**

**Middle East**

**National  
Commission for  
Retirement Policy**

**Pacific Forum**

**International  
Security**

**Russia & Eurasia**

**Strategic Energy  
Initiative**

**States of the  
Union Initiative**

**U.S.-EU-Poland  
Action Comm.**

**U.S.-Japan 21st  
Century Comm.**

In addition, diplomats are responsible for (h) assisting Americans abroad, (i) providing humanitarian assistance, and now (j) battling terrorism, drugs, and weapons proliferation.

If you were defining – or redefining – American diplomacy for the 21st Century, what would be your priorities?

**Marks:** My priorities would be, first of all, to preserve peace in the world by having the rest of the world understand our goals and objectives. I do believe there is merit in the argument that we are engaged in preventive actions so as to prevent the outbreak of war and misunderstandings.

Wars start in the minds of men. Men react to ideas and information. If there is an ignorance on particular facts, there would be misunderstandings. So the role of diplomacy is to create understanding and to avoid misunderstanding. Yes, in addition to that, we are to take care of citizens traveling abroad and promote the national interest economically, environmentally, and the like. Particularly the United States has that role because we are the world's leader and at the moment unchallenged by any other country in the world.

**Question #3:** Assume you have just been named as Ambassador to a country where we are seeking to strengthen relations. Your budget for conducting diplomacy is fixed, but within that budget you can use your resources any way you choose. The Embassy has a staff of 70 Americans including political officers, economic officers, consular officers, public affairs officers, defense attaches, commercial officers, agricultural attaches, intelligence officers, representatives from several other federal agencies, as well as specialists in administration, communications, and security.

What functions would you strengthen? Which ones might you reduce or eliminate?

**Marks:** That depends upon the country. You can't just generalize and say every country is the same, that the mix should be the same in Burma as it is in Japan. You have to analyze the culture, the mores of the country, the role that it plays in international affairs, its economic importance.

Now let me give you an illustration of what I did as Director of USIA. I came into office at the beginning of the Vietnam war. My term was influenced primarily by the war in Vietnam, by the reaction of the world to our involvement in trying to liberate that country and prevent Communism from taking over. But I didn't ignore the rest of the world, because even though they were preoccupied with Vietnam, there were other related bilateral issues. I discovered, for example, that in Japan, which was an important partner in Asia, we couldn't just send out press releases to tell our story. We couldn't count on the newspapers, radio, and television to interview the proper American officials and private citizens to get our views on bilateral issues. But there was a great respect for the United States culturally, intellectually, academically. So I canvassed the academic community, and I said, "is there one outstanding expert in the United States who would be respected in Asia, in Japan particularly, because of his erudition, because of his academic achievements, because of his intellectual superiority to the rest of the world, to the rest of his countrymen?" They identified one man of that nature. There were several, but there was one outstanding person. He

**CSIS**

1800 K St., NW  
Washington, DC 20006  
ph: 202.887.0200  
fax: 202.775.3199

Email the Webmaster



came from the academic world. I asked him to come and visit with me. I said, "I want you to do something for the United States. I want you to go to Japan for two years, to be a super Cultural Affairs Officer. No responsibility for day-to-day operations. No paper work. Just represent the best of the United States to the Japanese. Talk to their academic leaders; talk to their civic leaders; talk to their scientists. Talk to whomever you feel you can communicate with and see what happens." It was an enormous success.

Now that would not be true, for example, in a third world country. It was true in Japan; it was true in Britain; it was true in France; it was true in Mexico City. So you have to analyze each country according to its characteristics and determine what the mix should be – all of the above, but in different proportions.

**Question #4:** Larry Eagleburger has said that the Bush administration's decision to intervene in Somalia was greatly influenced by television coverage – and others have observed that our decision to withdraw was also precipitated by the media. Madeleine Albright told the Senate Foreign Relations committee that "television's ability to bring graphic images of pain and outrage into our living rooms has heightened the pressure both for immediate engagement in areas of international crisis and immediate disengagement when events do not go according to plan."

Diplomacy was traditionally conducted behind closed doors by a few people who spoke for their governments. Today, diplomacy takes place in full public view with ever-increasing public participation, largely facilitated by information technology – including telephones, faxes, the Internet, radio, and television.

What are the major changes that information technology *should* bring to the conduct of diplomacy?

**Marks:** Well, satellites have revolutionized relationships between peoples all over the world. We no longer have a line on the map separating one country from another. That signal that emanates from a radio transmitter doesn't know that there's a dividing line between North and South Korea. So you must treat areas as entities, not necessarily as geographical local subdivisions.

Now, I agree with Madeleine Albright, and I agree with the expression that the Somalia incident was due to our reaction to what we saw on television. But that's true every day in a different fashion.

You asked me what changes have been brought about. The dependence upon communications through short wave radio; the dependence upon communications, in a certain academic and intellectual organization, through Internet, and sophisticated means of communication. But we mustn't lose sight of the fact that 50 percent of the world has never made a telephone call. We mustn't lose sight of the fact that substantial portions of the world are illiterate. They can't read newspapers, but they can hear and understand radio messages. The world does not necessarily have a television set in every little hovel, but word does get around. So you have to use a mix of facilities – the telephone for a person-to-person individual relationship; radio for a mass communications; newspapers and magazines for a certain intellectual level; satellites, instantaneous communication like CNN for foreign office and opinion forming groups; and the day-to-day operation



of one person talking to another, influencing groups.

Now let me just say to you that we should have learned lessons from the Iranian episode. The students that held our Foreign Service Officers hostage were motivated by the information or the misinformation that they got. We've got to prevent that in the future; we've got to understand that we live together as human beings, not as animals and prisoners. And I hope that the communications facilities will play a part of that.

**Question #5:** I have one final question that reflects the increasing participation of foreign publics in decision making.

If diplomacy is no longer just state to state, but people to people – what role has the federal government in facilitating diplomacy among interested publics here and abroad? In particular, when international issues involve the government, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector – what should be done to ensure that we communicate effectively with foreign publics?

**Marks:** Well I don't believe that there should be censorship or government fiat as to what communication facilities should be used, and what messages should be sent.

In this discussion, we have overlooked one medium which has a tremendous force all over the world – American films. Millions of people everyday form their opinion about American culture, American mores, American habits, by watching films that do not necessarily give them a proper interpretation. We can't counteract that by censoring films, but we can send a message through government inspired, or non-governmental organization inspired messages, on culture, on environment, on the various forms of activity that make up for non-governmental activity.

To answer your question, we have got to encourage non-governmental organizations, the citizen outcry, the citizen's expressions of views. But we must make it clear that there are two sides or more to some questions, and merely because they hear a message from an evangelist preacher doesn't mean that everybody feels as the evangelist preacher does about the sermon of the day. It's a difficult role. But it must not be under the control of the government, but under the influence of governmental authorities. And that's where agencies like the USIA play such a vital role.

I do add one thing to your recording. I told you off the record that yesterday I had a meeting with Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations. And he made the statement during the course of our conversation that no longer must third world countries just react to official responses from government organizations, but we must be talking to people of those third world countries, that they do have an influence, and that they are being ignored in some cases by non-governmental organizations. That's a vital observation.

During my tenure as Director of the USIA we had a very strained relationship with Burma. The Prime Minister had ostracized American culture and business interests, but word came to me indirectly that he was interested in playing golf with, I believe, Sam Snead who was the preeminent golfer at the time. So we asked Sam Snead to go over and play golf with him, which he did. And it opened the door for a



subsequent diplomatic mission to come and discuss more substantive problems.

**Question #6:** There must be a question you would like to answer that I haven't asked. What's bothering you? How are things different for you? What's frustrating you? What impact is technology having on you?

**Marks:** For too long we have wrestled with the question: What role does public diplomacy have in our international relations? Frequently, public diplomacy is confused with public affairs, and people in government do that. It is not issuing public statements as to the position of the Secretary of State or the President of the United States or anybody in the government. It is discussing the fundamentals of life and relationships between people. It can be government inspired, or it could be non-governmentally endorsed.

In your report, you must start with some definition of public diplomacy. What role does it play today? How does it differ from the past? How can we encourage this kind of relationship? I am a great believer in the Fulbright program. I'm a great believer in people-to-people exchanges, city-to-city exchanges. We've got to do more of that. It must not necessarily come from government appropriations, but it should be fostered by government organizations. There are enormous foundations in the United States which have tremendous wealth. They are looking for good causes. I don't know of any of them, any of them, that encourage this kind of activity. The Ford Foundation used to do something like that; they have abandoned most of it. I think a report emphasizing the role that they could play would be very useful.





- ▶ Inside the Bar
- ▶ For Lawyers
- ▶ For the Public

Home > For Lawyers > Resources > Legends in the Law

### Legends in the Law

A Conversation with Leonard H. Marks  
(Appeared in *Bar Report*, June/July 2000)

Leonard H. Marks has had a 57-year legal career in Washington. He founded the law firm Cohn & Marks in 1945, where he still serves as of counsel. In 1965 he was appointed director of the United States Information Agency by President Johnson. A 1938 graduate of the University of Pittsburgh Law School, Marks has served as chair of the International Plenipotentiary Conference on Communications Satellites, chair of the U.S. delegation to the International Telecommunications Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting, and chair of the American Bar Association International Communications Committee. In addition, he is a past president of the Federal Communications Bar Association, a former member of the American Bar Association House of Delegates, a former chair of the State Department's advisory committee on International Communication and Information Policy, and as founder of the World Affairs Council of Greater Washington and of the International Media Fund. Marks is the father of two sons. He has been married to Dorothy Ames since 1948.

#### Quick Links to

-Top Pages-

-Marketplace-

**Bar Report:** Where did you grow up?

**Leonard H. Marks:** I was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In those days, Pittsburgh was an environmental disaster. Steel mills dominated the area, and provided the principal employment. I remember my mother used to say that you'd hang your clothes in the yard, and that by nightfall they were full of soot. But that's the way the city lived. It was the way people got their jobs-so you tolerated it.

**BR:** What did your father do?

**LHM:** He was a politician. His only jobs were appointed or elected in law enforcement. We were steeped in political life, both Republican and Democrat during my early days. My mother was a homemaker. She was a wonderful woman who raised three sons, went through the depression, and still managed to see that we all got a good education.

**BR:** What about your schooling?

**LHM:** I went to Fifth Avenue High School, where I was president of the student body, and a member of the debate team. I went to the University of Pittsburgh at age 15, standing 5'2", weighing 115 pounds, and carrying a tremendous



ambition to be important. I soon learned that Pitt was known for its football team-and that the big men on campus were football players. So I tried out for football.

I was in line behind the 6'3", 250-pound, coal-mining kids from Hazleton and Scranton, Pennsylvania. When it was my turn to be interviewed by then coach Jock Sutherland, he looked at me and said, "You want to play football?" I told him I'd do anything to be on the team. He asked if I was smart. I told him I made all A's. He said, "Good. You're on the team." I became a tutor and got to travel with the team to all of the games.

**BR:** When did law come into the picture?

**LHM:** I had other ambitions, but my father told me I should become a lawyer because you can make money and still be a politician. I followed his advice. I went to Pitt for law school, and graduated first in my class. When you do that, you become a faculty fellow. The school asked me to teach torts. So I practiced law, and taught law school three days a week.

When World War II came along, the dean at the law school pointed out that since I was not married, I was likely to be drafted. He suggested I go to Washington, D.C. where I could do more for the war effort by joining one of the New Deal agencies. He called one of his law school friends to help me. I went for an interview, and was hired by the Office of Price Administration (OPA).

**BR:** Had you ever been to Washington before?

**LHM:** No, and I was overwhelmed. It was so different, so important. Here, you'd walk down the street and see peoples' faces that were in the newspaper. Oh...there's "senator so and so or justice so and so." Events of global importance took place right here, and conversations frequently centered on national issues.

**BR:** What was your role at OPA?

**LHM:** I created a division called the Office of Price Administration's Service Trades. We regulated the price of services-freight forwarding, laundries, apple picking-any service. It wasn't very inspiring, and I soon tired of it. But before I could resign, one of the senior members from the Pittsburgh law firm that I was associated with came to town and invited me to dinner at a friend's house. It turns out the friend was an assistant attorney general. When I told him I was disappointed with my legal work at OPA, he introduced me to his next door neighbor, who happened to be the general counsel for the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). He offered me a job, and I started to work for him the following month. That's how I got into Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, and how I became an FCC lawyer. I went to dinner at the right place at the right time.

I stayed in that position until the end of the war in 1945. It was exciting-like spy work. We monitored radio programs from all over the world to provide intelligence to the United States Army and others.



**BR:** What happened next?

**LHM:** After I left the FCC, I helped found this firm, Cohn & Marks. We represented people who were interested in applying for radio and television stations. At that time, there were few radio stations and no television operating stations. There were only four of us then, and two were partners. Eventually, we increased to 26. But we've always been a specialty firm in the field of communications-radio, television, newspapers, satellites, cable, and outdoor advertising.

One of my first clients was Lyndon Johnson. His wife Lady Bird had been called by her father, who was about to remarry, and he didn't want his children fighting with his new wife over money after he was gone. So he gave the children their inheritance. With that money, Lady Bird bought a radio station in Austin, Texas. The station could only operate until sunset, and because most of the business was in the evenings, it had trouble making any profit.

Lyndon and Lady Bird came to see me, and asked if it was possible to change the license to operate at night. We had to find a new frequency without interfering with other stations, and in a short time, we were successful. We not only got permission to operate 24 hours a day, but on a better frequency. And that was the beginning of the prosperity of the Johnson station.

**BR:** What was Lady Bird like?

**LHM:** She was amazing. She could read a balance sheet the way a truck driver could read a map. I'll tell you one of my favorite stories about her. Periodically I would have lunch with the senator and Mrs. Johnson at their residence on Sunday mornings. In 1952 the FCC announced a new allocation of frequencies for television. The FCC put three stations in Dallas, three in San Antonio, and one in Austin. I recommended that the Johnsons apply for that one station. Lyndon never took just one opinion; he sought advice from many different sources including the heads of NBC and CBS. Contrary to my advice, he said no.

On the Sunday before the FCC filing deadline, I had lunch with the Johnsons and tried one more time to change his mind. "All I need is Lady Bird's signature," I told him. Johnson looked at me angrily, and said "Marks, how many times do I have to tell you? The answer is no."

All of a sudden Lady Bird said quietly, "Lyndon, it's my money. I want to do it." So they did. And that was the beginning of the LBJ family fortune.

**BR:** How did you become director of the United States Information Agency (USIA)?

**LHM:** One day in July 1965 I received a telephone call from President Johnson. It was 10 a.m. With no introduction, he said that he was announcing my appointment as director of USIA at a press conference at noon. I told him he couldn't do that to me. I was at the height of my career. I was enjoying myself, and my wife would never understand. He said he'd hold off a day so that I could explain it to her. Do you know when he made the announcement? At noon.



So I became the director of USIA. I was also a member of the National Security Council. At one of the very first meetings I attended, General William Westmoreland and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara recommended we put 50,000 troops in Vietnam to end the war. But it didn't work out that way. Vietnam became the total preoccupation of USIA, and everything else was secondary.

**BR:** Did you like LBJ?

**LHM:** Yes, he was the most brilliant man I've ever met -- and I've met a lot of important people. I have great admiration for some of the presidents that followed him, but in my opinion he was the greatest.

Many say that Lyndon, because he came from the South, didn't believe in civil rights. Lady Bird had two people as hired help, Zephyr and Sammy Wright. Zephyr was the maid and cook, and Sammy was the chauffeur. At one of the luncheons I attended before Johnson became president, Zephyr was serving when Lyndon told her that she and Sammy should get ready to drive to Austin. The family would join them later. She said, "Senator, I'm not going to do it." There was silence.

She said, "When Sammy and I drive to Texas and I have to go to the bathroom, like Lady Bird or the girls, I am not allowed to go to the bathroom. I have to find a bush and squat. When it comes time to eat, we can't go into restaurants. We have to eat out of a brown bag. And at night, Sammy sleeps in the front of the car with the steering wheel around his neck, while I sleep in the back. We are not going to do it again."

LBJ put down his napkin, and walked out of the room. Later, when Johnson became president and signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law Zephyr was there. He motioned to her, gave her the pen that he used to sign the bill. He said, "You deserve this more than anybody else." It was a very moving experience.

**BR:** Did you ever try to talk to President Johnson about his handling of the Vietnam war?

**LHM:** Johnson inherited the Vietnam War from Eisenhower and Kennedy. When Kennedy was assassinated, we had 15,000 advisors in Vietnam and things were going badly. Johnson was told we needed 50,000 troops to solve the problem, and he provided 50,000 troops. When we bombed, he would stay up all night picking the targets. He'd wait up for the reports on how many airplanes were lost, and how many people killed.

He usually got up at 6 a.m., and would work out of his bedroom until late morning. Many people would come there to talk to him, including me. One day I said to him, "Mr. President, we're getting the hell kicked out of us all around the world. There's adverse comment about our participation in Vietnam. The headlines, radio broadcasts, they're all condemning us. I say we get out, and bring the boys home. That's what I'd do." In all of the time I knew him, he never said a cross word to me, but that day he told me to get out of the room.

Although I was not a statutory member of the National Security Board, LBJ ordered that I was to sit at the table. I



attended all sessions and voiced the USIA positions. After that experience, I no longer received notices about the meetings. I was not a member of the cabinet, but he ordered that I sit in the second row at cabinet meetings. After that, I was no longer notified of cabinet meetings. I was ready to resign when Lady Bird called and invited my wife and me to a surprise party for LBJ. I went with trepidation, but as soon as he saw me, Johnson put his arm around me as though nothing had happened. He told a fellow partygoer, "This is the brightest man in my government-the most loyal friend I have." And all of a sudden, I got notices about the meetings again.

After he left office and retired to his ranch, I continued to be his lawyer. One weekend when I was there, I asked him why he got mad at me. He said, "Because I knew you were right, and there was nothing I could do about it. I couldn't get out of Vietnam, I inherited it. Kennedy's people were still in government, there would have been a huge uproar in the House and the Senate. I couldn't get out."

**BR:** Are there any other experiences that stand out from your days in the Johnson administration?

**LHM:** Yes. As director of USIA, I was responsible for bringing people from other countries to meet with their counterparts to see for themselves how our economy and social relationships worked. At that time, we had a very tense relationship with Egypt. President Nasser was in charge of the Egyptian government, and he was viciously opposed to the United States. I called our ambassador in Cairo, and said that we were getting the hell kicked out of us in the Arab world. I asked if we could bring six prominent Egyptians to the United States on a cultural exchange program to see what kind of people we were. Six prominent Egyptians came as our guests. We told them they could go wherever they wanted, and we'd provide transportation and an escort. We only asked that when they were through, they'd return to Washington to meet with the secretary of state. I decided that they should also meet the president, and I called the White House. I was told to send them over. They stayed there for hours. One man said to me, "This is the most exciting experience of my life. I'm the leader of the majority in parliament, and I didn't want to come. My skin is dark. I thought I'd be discriminated against, but on the contrary, I found Americans to be very friendly. They received me with open arms. I no longer believe this propaganda about discrimination." That man was Anwar Sadat.

When Sadat became president of Egypt, he threw the Russians out. He embraced the United States and offered public statements of support for our policies. He said that he had met Americans, and that he could trust them. That is a very moving example of what cultural exchange can do.

**BR:** Was President Johnson the most important influence on your career?

**LHM:** Absolutely. He launched it. He brought me to the attention of the international community, Congress, and industry. He gave me a lot of power, and he stood behind me in everything I did.



**BR:** You said you maintained a relationship with him after he left office?

**LHM:** Yes. Lady Bird, Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, and I conceived the idea for the Friends of the LBJ Public Library. We'd meet periodically at the LBJ ranch. We'd discuss library matters, as well as international affairs. I think Johnson missed Washington, and the responsibilities that came with it.

**BR:** What did you do after Johnson left office?

**LHM:** I had helped to organize COMSAT under Kennedy. It was my feeling that we needed a broader organization, and we needed other countries involved. I proposed INTELSAT, and asked other nations to participate in a world organization on satellites. Johnson appointed me chair of the U.S. delegation to form INTELSAT. I called the first meeting of governments here in Washington. Then Nixon became president, and I tendered my resignation. But Nixon called me into his office and asked me to stay, so I stayed. I was in that position for a little more than a year.

My job was to try to get governments to agree to join the U.S. on the satellite consortium. We were launching satellites, and had to raise money to pay for them. We had to have launch facilities to put into orbit, had to have ground stations to receive the signals, and had to have customers.

**BR:** What was the mission of some other government positions you've held?

**LHM:** I have had four presidential appointments, some with ambassadorial rank.

I am also very fortunate to have been named as the head of some nongovernmental organizations that affected international policy. They were the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where I served as chairman of the executive committee for 16 years, and the International Rescue Committee, where I served as president for eight years. During my tenure on the International Rescue Committee we aided thousands of Vietnamese boat people, as well as Russian and African refugees. In addition, I served as chairman of the Foreign Policy Association. This organization provided a forum for prominent international figures, such as prime ministers Thatcher and Indira Ghandi, and many other heads of state and foreign ministry officials. I was also appointed by President Reagan to head the United States delegation of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) in Geneva.

**BR:** What is your role with the World Press Freedom Committee?

**LHM:** I'm treasurer and counsel of that committee. It has 40 organizations from all over the world participating in the effort for free press. Currently we are organizing a delegation to Moscow to talk about the freedom of a Russian journalist, a reporter for Radio Free Europe who was covering the war in Chechnya and reporting on Russian casualties. We think the



Russians captured him to stop his broadcasts. We plan a delegation of African, American, and European journalists to protest government control over a free press. We've done similar projects in other countries as well.

But my big project at the moment involves insult laws. More than 92 countries have laws that make it a crime for a journalist to insult the president of the country. The crime is punishable by jail. We're trying to eliminate insult laws throughout the world.

**BR:** Have there been many changes in the practice of law since you began?

**LHM:** I think it has become a business, instead of a profession. I object to the commercialization of the practice. For example, bringing three or four lawyers into a meeting when one would do, or the emphasis on hourly billing rather than performance. I think lawyers are taking on assignments that are really business matters, and they're confusing themselves with accountants and entrepreneurs.

I also object to casual wear. Our office only does it on Fridays, but I don't. Ever.

**BR:** If one of your grandchildren wanted to be a lawyer, would you encourage it?

**LHM:** No. One of my sons wanted to be a lawyer. I discouraged him and now he is happy as an investment banker. In my opinion, the practice of law no longer provides the satisfaction that I had as a lawyer.

**BR:** Who have been some of your role models?

**LHM:** Lyndon Johnson was my primary role model. There was also a judge of the New York state Supreme Court that I got to know. Some of his precepts still guide me today. He had a very high regard for the ethical concepts of the practice of law. I've known quite a few Supreme Court justices and have a great respect for their legal ability, and for the manner in which they handled controversial questions of social policy, but I won't single out any one judge.

I've known some very successful businessmen, and admired the way they handled their business affairs. But most of my heroes have been in journalism-such as Frank Stanton, the former president of CBS. He had the highest moral principles and ethical standards for the broadcasting industry. There's no one comparable to him at this time.

**BR:** What are some of your hobbies-outside of the practice of law?

**LHM:** I used to play tennis, but I'm too old for that now. I like to travel. I like to lecture. And I read novels, sometimes one a day, sometimes one a week. I love adventure stories, mysteries, and biographies.

**BR:** Any regrets?



**LHM:** None. I've had a wonderful life.



## NEED ETHICS CREDITS?

The District of Columbia Bar | 1250 H Street NW, sixth floor | Washington DC 20005-5937 | 202-737-4700 | [Directions/Pa](#)  
©COPYRIGHT 2004 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BAR. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. [Privacy Policy](#) | [Disclaimer](#)



Leonard Marks and Barry Zorthian proposed to CSIS president David Abshire in 1996 that it was time to reconsider the future of public diplomacy. He greeted the proposal with enthusiasm and expanded it to a study for transforming the conduct of U.S. diplomacy. A 63-person advisory panel was invited to oversee the study that would focus on the Information Revolution, the widening participation of publics in international relations, and the concurrent revolutions in global business and finance.





**Diplomacy in the Information Age**

- DIA Intro
- Background
- Panel Meetings
- Conferences
- Presentations
- Interviews
- Final Report

## Background

**Background Information**

- [Concept Paper](#)
- [Advisory Panel](#)
- [Purpose, Organization, Methodology](#)

## Advisory Panel

### Diplomacy in the Information Age

[Back to the ICS site](#)

**CSIS ...**

- About CSIS
- Scholars
- Research
- News & Events
- Periodicals
- Publications
- Press Page on the Hill
- Intern Web Journal
- Get Involved

Search CSIS

**Programs & Projects on the web**

- Americas
- Enterprise for the Environment
- Global Information Infrastructure Commission

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| David Anable         | President, International Center for Journalists             |
| Julia Chang Bloch    | Visiting Professor, Inst of Intr Relations, Beijing         |
| Charles W. Bray      | Former President, The Johnson Foundation                    |
| Merrill Brown        | Managing Editor, MSNBC Online                               |
| Stanton H. Burnett   | Senior Adviser, CSIS  |
| Richard Burt         | Chairman, IEP Advisors, Inc                                 |
| Hodding Carter III   | President, John S. & James L. Knight Foundation             |
| Elaine Chao          | Distinguished Fellow, Heritage Foundation                   |
| Geoffrey Cowan       | Dean, Annenberg School of Communication, USC                |
| Lloyd N. Cutler      | Senior Counsel, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering                  |
| Ralph Davidson       | President, Davidson and Associates                          |
| Arnaud de Borchgrave | Senior Adviser in Residence, CSIS                           |
| Patricia Diaz Dennis | Vice President, SBC Communications                          |
| Wilson P. Dizard     | Senior Associate, Inter Comm Studies, CSIS                  |
| Diana Lady Dougan    | Senior Adviser and Chair, Inter Comm Studies, CSIS          |
| Esther Dyson         | President, EDventure Holdings, Inc                          |
| Larry Eagleburger    | Senior For Pol Adv, Baker, Donelson, Bearman, & Caldwell    |
| Lloyd S. Etheredge   | Director, Intrl Scientific Networks, Policy Sciences Center |
| Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado | Vice President, Global Gateway Management, Iridium          |
| Edward M. Fouhy      | Executive Director, Pew Center on the States                |



**International Communications****Middle East****National Commission for Retirement Policy****Pacific Forum****International Security****Russia & Eurasia****Strategic Energy Initiative****States of the Union Initiative****U.S.-EU-Poland Action Comm.****U.S.-Japan 21st Century Comm.**

Joseph Fromm	Chairman, U.S. Committee of IISS
Ellen L. Frost	Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics
Francis Fukuyama	Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University
Harriet Mayor Fulbright	Exec Dir, President's Committee on the Arts & Humanit
William B. Garrison, Jr	Director, International Communications Studies, CSIS
David Gergen	Editor-at-Large, US News and World Report
Lawrence K. Grossman	Electronic Republic: Reshaping Democracy in the Info Age
Anthony Harrington	Senior Partner, Hogan & Hartson
Rita Hauser	President, Hauser Foundation
Milda Hedblom	Director, Telecom & Info Program, HHH Institute, U of Minn
Alan K. Henrikson	Director, Fletcher Roundtable, Tufts
David I. Hitchcock	Senior Associate, CSIS
Marvin Kalb	Edward R. Murrow Professor of Press & Pub Policy, Harvard
Max Kampelman	Chairman, American Academy of Diplomacy
Kevin Klose	Director, International Broadcasting Bureau, USIA
Anthony Lake	Distinguished Professor, Georgetown
John D. Lange	Managing Director, Lange, Mullen, and Bohn
Joseph LaPalombara	Wolfers Professor of Pol Sci & Management, Yale
Lewis Manilow	Chairman, U. S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy
Leonard H. Marks	Of Counsel, Cohn and Marks
Donald McHenry	Distinguished Professor, Georgetown
Richard M. Moose	Senior Fellow, CNA Corporation
Alberto Mora	Of Counsel, Greenberg and Traurig
Richard P. O'Neill	Director, Highlands Forum
Erik R. Peterson	Senior Vice President and Director of Studies, CSIS
Adam Clayton Powell III	Vice President, Freedom Forum
Anthony Quainton	Executive Director, Una Chapman Cox Foundation
Ogden Reid	President, Council of American Ambassadors
John E. Rielly	President, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Walter Roberts	Commissioner, U. S. Advisory Comm. on Public Diplomacy
Olin Robison	President, Salzburg Seminar
James N. Rosenau	University Professor of Inter Affairs, George Washington
Charles A. Schmitz	Chairman, Global Business Access
Michael Schneider	Director, Syracuse Maxwell Washington Intr Rel Semester

**CSIS**

1800 K St., NW  
 Washington, DC 20006  
 ph: 202.887.0200  
 fax: 202.775.3199

Email the Webmaster



Peter Schwartz	President, Global Business Network
James Schwoch	Marks Fellow, CSIS
Edward Sheridan	President, Sheridan Management Group
Richard H. Solomon	President, United States Institute of Peace
Stuart J. Thorson	Director, Global Affairs Institute, Maxwell School, Syracuse
Sanford J. Ungar	Dean, School of Communication, American University
Charles Z. Wick	President, Charles Z Wick & Associates
Walter B. Wriston	Former Chairman and CEO, Citicorp
Barry Zorthian	President, Public Diplomacy Foundation





Copyright 1999 Federal Document Clearing House, Inc.  
Federal Document Clearing House Congressional Testimony

March 04, 1999

**SECTION:** CAPITOL HILL HEARING TESTIMONY

**LENGTH:** 1113 words

**HEADLINE:** TESTIMONY March 04, 1999 HAROLD PACHIOS HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

**BODY:**

Statement by Mr. Harold Pachios Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy For a Hearing of the Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on International Organizations and Human Rights United States House of Representatives March 4, 1999 On behalf of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, I appreciate the opportunity to submit testimony for this hearing on public diplomacy, a topic this Commission and .y its predecessors have been considering for more than 50 years. My name is Harold Pachios. I have been a member of the Commission since 1994. For the past five decades, the Commission and its predecessors have worked to examine, 'critique, and promote the efforts of the U.S. government to enhance its foreign policy objectives by influencing foreign publics. The Commission began its work in 1948, five years before the establishment of the United States Information Agency (USIA), and has been and continues to be the only independent entity in the U.S. government exclusively devoted to the area of public diplomacy. Commissioners, who serve without compensation, have included such distinguished Americans as Frank Stanton, William F. Buckley, Jr., George Gallup, Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, James Michener, John Gardner, Dorothy Chandler, **Leonard Marks**, Ed Feulner, Tom Korologos and Olin Robison. The Commission is abolished by the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998. Those associated with the Commission's work over the years believe that there is, in light of the reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies, an even greater need for an independent board to observe, analyze and make recommendations which improve public diplomacy. Before commenting on the reorganization, I would like to highlight a few of the critical developments and changes in U.S. public diplomacy activities for which I think the Commission can take considerable credit. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Commission took the leadership in getting USIA to expand its research and program evaluation effort, to target information programs to women's and labor groups abroad, to improve VOA programming and signal delivery and to give top priority to the development of direct broadcast **satellite** research. During the 1980s, the Commission continued to press for the development of direct broadcast **satellite** technology, and to require that foreign public opinion analyses become a formal part of all foreign policy decisions. The Commission broke new ground in 1985 when it released the special report Terrorism and Security. The Challenge for Public Diplomacy, which deals with the balance between the need to protect our diplomats and overseas installations and the need to reach out to overseas publics. It has done so again in the 1990s by focusing on a new diplomacy for the Information Age. The Commission's 1996 report discussed the foundations of a new approach to diplomacy in the age of globalized issues, increasingly powerful publics and the communications revolution. Although it was the catalyst for last year's Center for Strategic and International Studies' Reinventing Diplomacy in the Information Age, this Commission had been considering information age diplomacy since 1993. Our 1998 report, Publics and Diplomats in the Global Communications Age, voices a strong call for a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) to

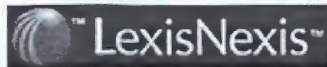


formalize the central role of understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics in American foreign policy and set a national priority to secure the support of foreign publics for U.S. policy. The Commission has sounded this theme for years and it is our understanding that a PDD on International Public Information is currently being considered by the White House. The reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies to be implemented this year is a unique opportunity to create a new Department of State. The Commission has supported the reorganization since early 1997. As we said in our most recent report, this country has a substantial edge in public diplomacy, both in reaching publics through advanced information technology and in our message of democracy, human rights, free markets and ethnic and cultural diversity. We must use that edge. In the post-Cold War era of instantaneous global journalism and "people power", foreign public opinion often is critical to the success of American foreign policy initiatives. The new State Department we are creating must be a responsive and flexible diplomatic institution that can deal as effectively with foreign publics as with foreign governments. However, merging two, large, organizations is a complex and difficult undertaking, posing many challenges and thorny issues. One such issue is whether the present Information and Educational and Cultural Bureaus should or should not be combined into one bureau in the State Department. There is a long history to this debate, dating back to the establishment of such programs under the Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948. The Commission believes that equally good arguments can be made on both sides of the question. However, given the difficulty of melding two foreign affairs agencies into one, this Commission does not see the need to create any further complications by immediately combining two distinct bureaus at USIA into a single one at the Department of State. Given the importance of public diplomacy in the information age, we can not afford any real or perceived structural obstacles to the larger goal - putting public diplomacy at the heart of American foreign policy. The Commission believes that the two USIA bureaus should remain separate as they move into State and the situation be evaluated after two years in the review called for in the Administration's Reorganization Plan. The Commission, as an independent body of citizen experts on public diplomacy, would be ideally positioned to undertake such an assessment. For fifty-one years -this Commission and its predecessors have considered the impact and role of public diplomacy, influenced the thinking of policy makers, and raised public diplomacy issues to a greater level of visibility. The justification for a statutorily mandated advisory commission of outside citizens experienced in foreign affairs and communications is stronger today than it was when the information and educational/ exchange advisory commissions were created in the Smith Mundt Act of 1948. I thank the Chairman and Members of this Subcommittee for organizing a hearing on such an important topic and for accepting this statement from the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

**LOAD-DATE:** April 13, 1999

---





Copyright 1982 The Center for Strategic and International Studies  
and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
The Washington Quarterly

1982, Winter

**SECTION:** THE TELLING OF AMERICA: U.S. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE REAGAN YEARS;  
Vol. 5, No. 1; Pg. 131

**LENGTH:** 7400 words

**HEADLINE:** The Telling of America: U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Reagan years

**HIGHLIGHT:**

A roundtable discussion on Public Diplomacy and International Information was held in Washington in mid-autumn with former U.S. Information Agency (USIA) Director **Leonard Marks** moderating. U.S. Representatives Dante Fascell (D-Fla.) and Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) were joined in the U.S. Capitol by CSIS Chairman and former Chairman of the U.S. Board for International Broadcasting David M. Abshire, Radio Free Europe President Glenn Ferguson, National Security Council Staff Member Carnes Lord, U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA) Deputy Director Gilbert A. Robinson, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) Chief Negotiator Edward Rowny, and USICA Counselor John Shirley.

The editors asked Kenneth L. Adelman, Deputy U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and a leading authority on public diplomacy, to comment on the Roundtable.

As an epilogue to this discussion, we present some pointed statements by Nobel Prize winning novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn reflecting on the role of American broadcasting into the Soviet Union. These are excerpts from an interview conducted by U.S. Representative John LeBoutillier (R-N.Y.) and broadcast in October on Tom Snyder's "Tomorrow" show on NBC television.

**BODY:**

**MARKS:** There are as many definitions of public diplomacy as there are people who have written and talked about it. Some call it propaganda. Those who oppose U.S. efforts -- the Soviets particularly -- label anything emerging from the United States through the USICA, or the Voice of America (VOA), as propaganda. Yet Propaganda is a very honorable term if it connotes telling your story effectively.

Public diplomacy also has been perceived as an arm of ordinary diplomacy or of the military, as public relations, or as a cultural and informational program. Clearly there are several dimensions to the effort. At some level, every agency of the government is engaged in public diplomacy. But the USICA, soon to be called USIA again -- the United States Information Agency -- is the official government agency charged with telling America's story to the world.

USICA has various components. VOA is its most prominent, broadcasting to every country in the world in a multiplicity of languages. Also, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, which reaches Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, forms part of the overall American broadcasting process abroad. In addition to broadcast activities, USIA engages in every other form of open information-gathering and dissemination -- publishing magazines, running press and wireless services, managing massive cultural exchange



programs -- as part of the effort to tell America's story.

However, when I was director of USIA and my principal preoccupation was the war in Vietnam, I was amazed to discover that we could not use any of those resources. We found that in the rural areas where the Vietcong were most active, the people were illiterate. There were no newspapers, and though they had access to radio, it wasn't very popular. So we employed ballad singers who traveled from village to village and recounted the story in song. We hired people who went to fish markets in the morning and told the women there what the Vietcong had done and what they planned. In an age where **satellites** allow communication with any part of the world at any time, you still have to fall back upon person-to-person diplomacy.

Gilbert A. Robinson is the present deputy director of USICA. Gil, should the role of public diplomacy be to tell America's story or should it be to strive for two-way communications with other countries? In other words, should we be working to impart information to the American public about other countries as we do to communicate America's story overseas? Second, in terms of technological resources, because we are capable of communicating by radio, television, **satellites**, printing press, or even laser beams -- virtually any form of communication -- what instruments do you find most valuable today? Third, do you have adequate resources to tell the story?

ROBINSON: The most important task in communicating America's message is to be able to interpret the foreign policy of the United States government. In order to do that, USICA must be positioned in a way that it can know what that policy is. Unfortunately, throughout the agency's 28-year history, that has not always been the case. Since taking control, the new director, Charles Wick, and I have been reasonably successful at repositioning the agency. Because the State Department is charged with formulating U.S. foreign policy, and because USICA is charged with advising the president and the secretary of state on how the United States is perceived around the world, we must be closely linked to the administration's policy. The secretary of state has helped enormously by inviting the director of USICA -- or myself when the director is out of town -- to sit in on the policy meetings that he holds each morning with his staff.

In addition, all elements in our agency supervised by our counselor, John Shirley, a career minister, deal on a regular basis at all levels with the State Department and the National Security Council (NSC). Second, National Security Adviser Richard Allen has helped by moving USICA under the NSC umbrella so that we are working on a daily basis with the NSC staff, especially with Carnes Lord. Third, we meet several times a week with the policy people at the White House to help them interpret events or to get policy guidance. One of our top officers has been brought back from Europe and stationed at the Pentagon in the office of Defense Secretary Weinberger, resulting in far better communication between USICA and the Defense Department. All things considered, I believe USICA is in the best position in three decades to relate America's story. The challenge is to tell it effectively.

In answer to your first question, we have to communicate this country's message to the world in a credible, forceful way. As to the so-called second mandate -- that of telling other nations' stories to Americans -- these countries have their own information specialists to do that. The United States has probably the most sophisticated media in the world, and few people would deny that our public receives a full accounting of other countries' culture and politics. I don't think that should be the responsibility of USICA. I think it's being done ably by news media, private organizations, and other governments.

Our job, to repeat, is to convey our own story. We have some unique instruments to do that, as for example, our Public Affairs offices around the world. We have top talent to run the overall effort. For example, we have brought in John Hughes, a former editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, former president of the American Society of Newspapers Editors, and a Pulitzer Prize Winner -- as associated



director of programs.

MARKS: Let me answer my own third question about the adequacy of USICA's resources. Without getting into politics, an impossible job in this town, the answer is no. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Soviets are spending about \$3.5 billion annually on their information effort, with 77,000 people taking part, compared to a declining U.S. Budget of \$480 million and 7,500 people to do the same job. Even in its heyday, USIA had only 13,000 people. Of the 1,040 U.S. public information offices abroad in 1969, only about 600 still exist today. We're in a battle of ideas, in which the best instrument the United States government has is USIA. It is simply shortsighted folly not to fund it adequately.

John Shirley is a career foreign service officer at ICA. In the past, there was a big sign on the USIA building at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue. It said: "USIA -- Telling America's Story." During the Carter administration, that sign was removed. Why?

SHIRLEY: I am happy to report that I was out of town at the time. As a general proposition I would like to say that the art practiced in USIA is basically a branch of the traditional art of diplomacy. I don't think that we are -- or should be -- in the business of committing acts of social science. I think we are in the business of committing political acts. During the previous administration, ICA became caught up in tasks beyond its traditional obligations.

I went up to the Fletcher School a few weeks ago and was asked to define public diplomacy. The best I could muster was that it is the art of civilized persuasion of others of the merits of one's own point of view -- it is not much more complicated than that. What we expect of our officers is not very different from what the Department of State expects from its officers. The skills required are very similar to those needed by a foreign service officer at State: the ability to speak simply, to write clearly, to know one's own history, to know the history of the countries to which one is accredited, and to have a healthy curiosity about other peoples' cultures.

There are three essential functions that the USIA officer performs in an embassy. First, he or she is the ambassador's public affairs adviser and, as such, provides analysis that is as essential to policy formulation as the analysis provided by the political or economic officer. Today, it's impossible for an embassy to function efficiently without considering the public mood and the views of the politicized intelligentsia, which, even in countries that do not have popularly elected governments, significantly affects how a government behaves. Second, the USIA section of an embassy conveys the government's point of view on a given issue through its various components. Finally, USICA officers should have the skills and the means to discuss the achievements of our culture and society.

MARKS: There are three components of public diplomacy: explaining U.S. policy to people abroad, understanding what other people are thinking, and that aspect the Carter administration stressed -- enabling other countries to explain their own culture to Americans.

SHIRLEY: Frankly, Leonard, I don't think that the agency ever exercised that so-called second mandate. It remained theoretical, except to the extent that we have always been engaged in the second mandate as an inevitable byproduct of our effort. Obviously, if one manages a Fulbright academic program, which brings foreign scholars to the United States, and an international visitors program, one is fulfilling the second mandate. These people come to the United States, they observe, they ask and are asked questions, they appear before public groups, and in many ways influence the way in which Americans perceive the rest of the world.

The formal objective in bringing them here, however, was not -- and in my view cannot be -- educating



Americans. I do not think the USICA can ask the American taxpayer to finance a program of that nature. That is the private sector's business. We should not pretend to ourselves or to the Congress, though, that USICA is primarily in the business of teaching Americans about other nations.

The so-called second mandate should also be measured against our shrinking resources. Everyone here knows what the grim statistics are. Because our primary mission -- that of advancing the objectives of U.S. foreign policy overseas -- is more important than ever, we would hardly be justified in using our meager funds to "educate" people in our own country.

MARKS: Well, there were expressions by the previous administration that the second mandate, informing Americans about what is happening abroad and enabling other countries to explain their policies here, would become an important part of the agency's responsibility. Gil, how do you see it now? Should the primary aims of the USIA be both responsibilities: telling America's story abroad and informing Americans about other countries?

ROBINSON: I think Jock Shirley put it very well. The second mandate has been carried out historically by our programs in educational and cultural affairs. When citizens from other countries visit, many of them students and established leaders, the second mandate is automatically being carried out. But the U.S. Congress appropriates money for us primarily to tell America's story abroad. Other governments should be appropriating money to tell us about their culture. We have no obligation to finance this activity.

MARKS: Representative Dante Fascell has been heroic in Congress, helping to develop, supervise, and defend public diplomacy programs. Dante, how do you feel about these responsibilities?

FASCELL: First of all, I agree with Leonard. Every U.S. government agency and every individual is involved at some level in public diplomacy. But how important is it in light of the prevailing political mood? What resources should be applied to it, what kind of policy mechanism, if any, exists in the United States, and what does the future look like?

I regret that all of the fine recommendations that we made 15 or 20 years ago are still not on the books, with some exceptions as when Dave Abshire was able to save Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and make some of the suggested changes that were needed at the time. But otherwise I don't see any major differences. The most difficult job for those of us in Congress who support the objectives of U.S. public diplomacy is identifying people within an administration who understand international communications issues. The USICA has never had an adequate budget in part because I don't think most people in this administration -- or previous ones -- ever understood the job. They think that we just happen to have a USIA out there and some radios, and they assume somehow the U.S. message will manage to get across.

We've got to go back to square one with public diplomacy, even at this late date. Are we going to be satisfied simply to educate other cultures about the United States or do we have a broader purpose in mind? Don't we want to educate to achieve an objective that is beyond merely telling the truth, important as that always is? Jock Shirley called it the gentlemanly "art of persuasion." In my judgment, not only do you need the ability to persuade but the policy to sell, because without a sensible policy it doesn't do much good to advertise. I don't think that that responsibility for public diplomacy should rest on Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, on the VOA, on USIA, or on any one agency alone. The responsibility falls properly on everyone in the government. You couldn't have a single unified director in the field even if it were desirable, which it is not. We in Congress decided a single voice would not be the optimal way for the United States to tell its story. The criterion of telling the truth and telling it often, with as many resources as we can muster, makes the most sense. Because we are a pluralistic society, we should be conveying that fact to the world and exploiting it as our strength. Still, it might be



useful if we could loosely string together in our message the other major foreign policy objectives of the United States while still allowing our media to have maximal integrity and journalistic freedom in choosing how they get the message across.

First, one should look at the Defense Department. Among all our government communication outlets, Defense runs the biggest filmmaking industry in the world, the biggest printing operation, the biggest distribution network, the biggest radio network, the biggest television network. What are they doing with it and what is the effect? Does it have a positive or a negative effect on U.S. interests abroad? Allow me to offer one example of the problem. If you travel through Germany by car, you can't receive many German radio stations clearly because the Armed Services Network is knocking them off the air on every kilohertz. If I were a German, I'd be angry at Americans for this unnecessary audio overkill.

What can be done about that? The best my committee could manage was to get a Defense Department representative to admit that they were transmitting something in Germany and then to show up at one meeting. That is simply not sufficient coordination of our public diplomacy resources, among which the department's German radio stations must be numbered. For some time, we have felt that it was important to have somebody responsible at the State Department whose sole activity was international communications, so that everybody involved in the process elsewhere in the government could turn to that person. Also, the complaints from business about the transborder data flow problems are vital ones for national security. Yet, the administration still has not coordinated its policies in this field. It is not just president Reagan's fault, because we've been pointing out this policy gap now for the past 20 years. There should be an undersecretary or assistant secretary at the State Department -- I prefer an undersecretary -- with full departmental responsibility and authority and backed by the complete support of the White House to carry out a coordinated commercial and diplomatic policy in the international communications field. Public diplomacy would form a vital part of this policy.

ROBINSON: I want to clarify something. You urged coordinating information policy, Mr. Chairman. I attended a meeting recently with Undersecretary for Security Assistance, Science and Technology James Buckley on that subject, and there was confusion in the government about the word "information." There are really two types of information. Technological information, for example transborder data flow, falls within Buckley's interests. But the public relations flow of information on foreign policy issues remains the province that Congress and the administration has given to USIA. That mandate was reaffirmed recently with a presentation by USICA Director Charles Wick to the president at the NSC.

In short, our authority has been reaffirmed to coordinate all foreign policy information to tell America's story abroad through USIA. A coordinating council charged with that responsibility is being put into effect. But the coordinator you seek on technical information policy falls outside our mandate. In other words, there has been confusion on the meaning of the word "information."

MARKS: I understand that. Yet, Congressman Fascell meant to suggest -- and I agree -- that there is a difference. But somebody in the government should be coordinating all policy aspects, yours and the technological issues plus international free press issues such as the UNESCO struggle. We have General Edward Rowny here, who may wish to respond on behalf of the military.

ABSHIRE: He just changed his name to "ambassador."

ROWNY: I've retired from the military and am now chief negotiator with ACDA. First, I want to endorse what has been said about the need to strengthen public diplomacy efforts. I spent six-and-a-half years in face-to-face negotiating with the Soviets, and during the last 10 years I've been very involved in trying to get equitable and verifiable arms control agreements. It is extremely disheartening and frustrating when one confronts the fact that we have a great disadvantage as an open society in



negotiating with the Soviets who come from a closed society. We put our cards face up on the table, while the Soviets play their cards close to the chest. At the same time, the Soviets have mastered the art of exploiting U.S. public opinion. Some 30 years ago they started the Red Academy, which has some distinguished members such as Dobrynin and Gromyko, just to mention two, who have studied the West Closely and know how to manipulate public opinion, both in Europe and here.

One of the things I would suggest is that each agency in the U.S. foreign policy community -- State, Defense, the NSC, ACDA, the Agency for International Development (AID), and the others -- should devote far more time and resources to explaining U.S. policies to our European friends and to our own people. This process must be coordinated, of course, and I suggest that the head of USICA meet with the heads of each concerned agency, including the Defense Department, to develop a coordinating mechanism.

One of the first things this new administration has done is to integrate arms control and defense planning so that they're not working against each other, We've now recognized that you can't have a good arms control agreement without a strong defense, and if you don't have the latter, you won't get a good agreement. At this point, we need an appropriate mechanism that could integrate fully the public information aspect of the job. Otherwise, the result will be a continuation of ad hoc explanations by individual departments.

FASCELL: Absolutely!

MARKS: Hasn't there been any coordination in the past, General?

ROWNY: Certainly there has been some, but it simply has not been sufficient.

SHIRLEY: Let me give an example of how effectively public diplomacy can be used as an integral part of policy planning, with proper coordination. We all know the horror stories about what happens when policy is made without regard to either how it will affect foreign public opinion or how foreign public opinion will affect the action of foreign governments. But there are also success stories.

In 1979, when the United States was trying to persuade several European governments to accept theatre nuclear force (TNF) deployment on their soil, one nation's decision hinged on the willingness of the chief opposition party to vote with the ruling government party for the TNF deployment.

The public affairs officer (PAO) in this particular country has done his job in getting to know the major defense writers. Among the journalists he cultivated was a man who was the defense adviser to the secretary of the opposition party. The PAO had been provided with an excellent paper prepared by Defense, State, and USIA also working together. The PAO had this document translated, took it to the defense adviser of the secretary of the opposition party. Two days later, this defense specialist made a presentation to the political committee of the opposition party. A few days later, the party voted with the government on TNF, in a dramatic reversal of its previous stand.

My point is that, when there is intelligent preparation, it is possible to have a significant effect on matters of major concern to our country.

FASCELL: Let me ask you a question. Did the ambassador know anything about this?

SHIRLEY: Yes, he did.

FASCELL: Who ran the plays? Who was the quarterback? State? NSC?



SHIRLEY: The quarterbacking was very efficiently done in Washington.

FASCELL: I see that, but who sent the memorandum that said: "We want this kind of action in order to get the kind of result?"

SHIRLEY: The ambassador initiated the process.

MARKS: The time has come for Carnes Lord to talk about the NSC's role in public diplomacy.

LORD: The importance of public diplomacy is recognized by the Reagan administration to a degree that it hasn't been in the recent past, in part because of the administration's own character but also because of some important events that have taken place recently in the world such as in Poland. Those familiar with the Polish scene acknowledge that one of the most important factors influencing the Polish freedom movement has been the U.S. radio broadcasting effort: Radio Free Europe and the VOA. Clearly, ideas can make a difference, and the events in Poland show rather cogently what role public diplomacy has to play in strengthening our overall national security effort.

We know that public diplomacy -- and radio broadcasting in particular -- can serve U.S. foreign policy interests in a very direct way, more than simply telling the truth and informing the rest of the world, desirable as that may be. For example, in the U.S.S.R. we should strive to educate Soviet opinion through USICA in such a way that the Soviet leadership exercises greater restraint when making commitments for defense spending. That is anything but easy, but I believe we could use our radios to construct a program to educate the Soviet public on military questions to a much greater degree than we have done. The history of arms control and the Soviet buildup of armed forces over the last 10 years -- and their relationship -- is very poorly understood in the Soviet Union. Properly understood, the knowledge could have an important impact upon the attitudes of Soviet citizens. We ought to begin telling our story more vigorously than in the past.

MARKS: Congressman Fascell has said that he feels the need for a top policymaking official to coordinate the efforts of the various agencies engaged in public diplomacy. He suggests an undersecretary in the State Department. Gil Robinson has responded by saying that the NSC has placed that responsibility in the USICA. Do you see any conflict between the two approaches to coordination?

LORD: No, and I would underline a point made earlier. There is semantic confusion between the terms "international communications" and "international information." These are different policy areas. Undersecretary James Buckley at State has been coordinating the former, the technological policy issues, while Director Wick of USICA handles foreign information policy coordination. Agreed, there is overlap between the two realms, but generally they involve fairly discrete tasks.

FASCELL: The problem is more than semantics. Nobody is talking about the overriding need for unified oversight of USIA, including VOA, the radios, and the Board for International Broadcasting. That undersecretary must have responsibility for the entire U.S. international information capability. He or she must have the total coordinating responsibility while avoiding unnecessary interference with USICA and the others. Otherwise, the job is fit only for a meaningless technocrat. Keeping a couple of companies happy because they have problems with the French parliament and can't get their computers sold is one thing, but that's not what we've been talking about.

LORD: Well, I wouldn't want to speak for the current state of things in the State Department, but the administration has essentially decided to set up this coordinating function in the office of Undersecretary Buckley.



ROBINSON: Mr. Chairman, you've been talking about tying these public diplomacy threads together. We've been doing just that at USICA since last January. For example, when the Defense Department put together its 99-page booklet on the Soviet military threat, which was one of the largest document declassifications in the department's history, ICA coordinated the effort. We chaired the meetings for the whole government and worked out the details of how the Defense Department's military attaches and the State Department diplomats and our own PAOs would handle the release all over the world. I think it was probably as successfully integrated a foreign information campaign as we have seen in many years in the United States.

MARKS: David Abshire, you have supervised major studies of international communications at CSIS, and in addition, as chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting. What's your response to the problem of coordination that seems to be uppermost in everyone's mind today?

ABSHIRE: Briefly, I would accept the idea of a State Department coordinator. The big problem, though, is one of overload. An undersecretary who has a very large portfolio in other areas will not have the time to devote the kind of personal attention that this field requires. It is critical that leadership emerge in the effort to coordinate public diplomacy programs. Will Jim Buckley be able to make this effort a priority? The people who understand the mission best are usually USICA veterans, so that agency must play the critical operational role in the field, as Jock Shirley's case study showed it can do quite capably.

I would like to talk also about international broadcasting. The 1980s will probably be a decade of peril. The Soviet Union is in deep internal trouble, yet because of its excessive military buildup, the international broadcasting effort becomes all the more critical. I would agree with my friend, Klaus Mehnert, who returned recently from the Soviet Union, about the importance of being able to take our case directly to the Soviet population over the heads of their government. As the United States moves forward on its own defensive military buildup, and Eugene Rostow and Ed Rowny begin their negotiations, the Soviets will be severely tempted to try and mislead and to propagandize in the West. They suffer, as we know, from grave internal problems, restless national groups within the Soviet Union, alienated allies such as Poland, and from their own ideological decay. All of these present us with windows of opportunity. If we can communicate directly with the Soviet people and the peoples of Eastern Europe -- which Radio Free Europe has done so magnificently in Poland -- then such public diplomacy may become far more than a pleasant adjunct to our overall strategic planning. It might determine whether we end up in World War III, whether we can use our talents to achieve a peaceful resolution of the East-West conflict, and whether someone like Ed Rowny can strengthen his negotiating effort by reaching out to explain U.S. aims to the Soviet people and to the people of both Eastern and Western Europe.

This takes me back to the semantic problem -- whether we are talking about truth, persuasion, or propaganda. I used to wince at the word "propaganda." When I was at the Board for International Broadcasting and we were testifying before Dante's committee, some new congressman would use that term. I would cringe while Fascell smiled and enjoyed whole exchange. I remember talking to European ministers when Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty came out of the closet, shed their CIA support, and sought independent legitimacy. One of them said, "Well, I'm glad you've come to talk to me about the propaganda radios," until we explained to the Europeans that the radios would in the future be anything *but* propaganda stations. They would broadcast verifiable facts, truths unavailable to their audiences in Eastern Europe, which they do to this day.

That accounts for the popularity and credibility enjoyed by the radios. And that's precisely what the Soviets fear most. It is the credibility of those broadcasts, of course, that creates the large listening audience. In short, the role of U.S. international broadcasting is critical not only in Europe but -- even



more so now -- in other parts of the world. We simply cannot afford brutal budget cuts for VOA or the radios.

FASCELL: Dave's last comment about the budget cuts needs reinforcement. It is absolutely maddening to agree with most of the discussants today and then never see the resources -- which means money -- allocated in the budget for public diplomacy. The 1982 budget was bad enough, but the 1983 budget is worse. I don't know at this point what the administration's priorities are, but on the basis of their allocation of money, strengthening public diplomacy programs is not one of them. That's the bottom line. For instance, the United States brings a few hundred young people out of Costa Rica, and educates or trains them, while the Soviets take 5,000 in a year, from Costa Rica alone.

MARKS: Allow me to read from an article that appeared in *Foreign Affairs* recently by Kenneth Adelman, now deputy U.S. ambassador at the United Nations.

At the close of 1978, as the Shah was teetering, the Soviet-based National Voice of Iran was blaring anti-Shah diatribes and describing how U.S. imperialism had ordered bloodbaths in Iran so that Americans could "plunder" Iranian oil. Later, these same stations cheered the seizure of American hostages.

Whether and how much these broadcasts envenomed that situation will never be precisely known, but knowledgeable people believe that they did. The U.S. Ambassador in Iran at that time, William H. Sullivan, has stated that two forces of public diplomacy stirred the pot. Surprisingly, he believed BBC broadcasts helped bring down the Shah. Apparently, the BBC employed staunchly anti-Shah reporters and sources in Iran who frequently exaggerated the extent of early opposition and the velocity of change thereafter. And, not surprisingly, he accused the Soviets of helping convert the revolution into an anti-American spectacle. This they have continued to do. As the U.S./Iranian negotiations on the hostages' release entered their final stage, Radio Moscow beamed to Iranians that the United States "has put forth demands which are insulting to your country and are therefore totally unacceptable."

The current situation in Poland is critical. I'd like the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty President Glenn Ferguson to talk about what his radio has done and how the influence of his broadcasts affects U.S. foreign policy.

FERGUSON: Public diplomacy is an anachronistic euphemism. We've listened to the academic debate over what to call our work for years. I think it's time to settle the debate. A distinguished Austrian statesman once suggested that diplomacy was represented by diplomats who were taught to lie for their country. Throughout the world, people do not understand our kind of public diplomacy -- the diplomacy of truthful presentation. The term public diplomacy, in my opinion, does not describe what we are discussing today. Yes, there is a need for adequate information and education, but we need to correct our image as well. The role of images in our world, public and private, takes on increasing importance. We're talking about the need to clarify and to differentiate perceptions, not simply to dispense facts. There has to be a purpose and an objective behind our work, not merely the hackneyed argument that says: "It's information and the world will be better for our having imparted it." This may not be true, at least not for our vested national interest, which brings me to a second point and the main concern of our dialogue.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) is now the largest Western international broadcaster in Eastern Europe. We have an audience of more than 50 million people, which is larger than the combined audience of all other international broadcasters who broadcast into Eastern Europe. In Poland alone today, the audience comprises 70 percent of the adult population, compared with 50 percent prior to the crisis that began in July 1980.



How do we know? Our audience research for 30 years has been conducted by seven or eight private groups, such as Gallup in London. For obvious reasons, we cannot do market surveys of our audience in eastern European countries, so we depend on interviews with exiles from Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. For the first time, as a result of developments in Poland, we have a recent poll conducted by the Polish government itself that corroborates the 70 percent share of market I mentioned. Seventy percent of an adult audience for an entire country is staggering.

MARKS: How does the Voice of America relate in terms of both mission and audience?

FERGUSON: The Voice broadcasts on four continents. We broadcast only to Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. where we have three functions, none of which involves representing the United States abroad or telling America's story.

Our first mission is to serve as a surrogate medium or press in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. We do that every day by telling the Poles about what's happening in Poland. For example, the Polish government's Radio Warsaw made its first announcement of the appointment of a Pole to be pope 40 minutes after Radio Free Europe's broadcast. In the same manner, three weeks passed before Radio Moscow mentioned the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. During that period, we covered the invasion regularly to give vital information to the people of Poland. Our first surrogate role, in short, is to provide critical and accurate information to the people in Eastern Europe -- news and news analysis unavailable or distorted in their own state-run media.

Our second mission is cross-reporting. This is not a major concern for the VOA or other national broadcasting entities. For us, it is. It involves, for example, letting the Czechs know about developments in Poland, and vice versa.

Third is reporting on the international situation, again from the perspective of an individual listening perhaps in Poland. The Poles want to hear about world events, but there are some areas that interest them more than others. We try to determine those national interests and to provide needed information for each of them.

MARKS: How do you determine what U.S. foreign policy is at any given moment?

FERGUSON: It's not our job to make the determination, only to report it.

MARKS: Still, how do you find out? What coordination exists between Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and the policymakers?

FERGUSON: Legally, because of the enabling act that created the Board for International Broadcasting, our overseers, there is a clear-cut role for the Department of State to impose a cease and desist order. If broadcasts are not consistent with U.S. foreign policy, the Department of State can intervene directly and give orders through the Board for International Broadcasting to the radios, as a separate private entity. In seven years, that prohibition has not been exercised.

Second, the Board for International Broadcasting, in its oversight role, has a responsibility to look carefully at our broadcasts to determine whether there are any violations of the guidelines set up jointly by the Board and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Our basic job, however, is to provide news and news commentary to an audience that is extremely significant to this country. The job is being done well and accurately. A recent *Washington Post* editorial suggested that newspapers need to make no basic distinction between reporting a rumor and reporting a fact. On that principle, if we reported rumors, our credibility would go out the window overnight. We require at least two corroborating sources before we



can put a news story on the air.

MARKS: How do you get 70 percent of the audience when you're being jammed?

FERGUSON: Jamming is an acute problem, particularly in the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and, to a lesser extent, Poland. We haven't been jammed since 1964 in Hungary and Romania. The jamming takes two forms: ground wave, which is local jamming, and a sky wave, which is more global. The Soviets spend twice our budget every year to jam us, and they use 5,000 people to jam what our 1,600 employees broadcast. The jamming transmitters are ubiquitous, and effective, but we have certain ways of approaching it. Between the hours of 5:00 and 7:00 p.m., because of sunset conditions, we can broadcast from west to east with impunity. So for at least those two hours each day, we always get through with news. People can also get in a car and drive to the suburbs to get away from the localized, ground jammers, and increasing numbers do this. We also can use a female voice (and this is not a Title IX infraction) -- which somehow gets through jamming a little better than a male voice. So we have a good many female announcers on the air in contrast to a few years ago.

Basically, though, jamming is a reality. We're not going to eliminate it overnight, but the size of the audience indicates that we are getting through. That is because we are dealing with news and news commentary unavailable locally, and this accounts for our credibility.

MARKS: Do you have the resources?

FERGUSON: We need more dollars to do our job in reaching Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. Every bureaucrat says, "We need more money." But in the case of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, we now have a commitment for 1,017 hours a week of broadcasts, which is 17 hours more than five years ago. We have more than 1,600 people doing that job, compared with 2,600 just six years ago. We've lost 80 people in the last three years. We're dealing with 21 languages, most of which are esoteric. Fifteen of those are used in the U.S.S.R. where recruitment of native speakers is difficult. It takes adequate funding to recruit -- and to retain -- talent. We're not allowed to hire and we're not allowed to maintain the level of expertise and commitment that's required to get the job done. At some point, independent of partisan politics, the United States is going to have to make a judgment. Do we want to continue this critical mission? If so, then we must support it. To do this we must educate the American people because I don't think that the Congress is ever going to respond unless there is more public awareness of the issues we've discussed today.

FASCELL: Congress is not going to respond until the greater commitment is made in the budget, that's for sure. And the budget has to come from the administration.

MARKS: What has happened to your operations as a result of the past year's budget cuts?

FERGUSON: In contrast to previous administrations, the Reagan administration has manifested specific support for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. First, it restored the cuts made by the Carter administration both in the current fiscal year's budget (1981) and in the 1982 budget. We're convinced that further evidence of its commitment will come in allocations for 1983. So far, however, we have been included in the general cuts being made for domestic agencies. We thought we would be treated as part of the national security establishment, but, to date, that has not happened.

MARKS: Part of the mission of USIA is to mobilize private sector international programs. What has happened in this area under the new management?

ROBINSON: We have instituted a new series of advisory committees, each one attached to the



operating functions of USICA, each from a different element of the private sector. For example, we have a motion picture committee, because of our involvement with television and films. Jack Valenti has agreed to chair the advisory committee in this area and to help us at the highest level to bring in key figures from the industry to work with us. We have business leaders who are helping us in other areas. Lane Kirkland has agreed to be chairman of our labor committee. We have about two dozen such committees. We're bringing in people from all segments of the private sector to work closely with us.

MARKS: What we have tried to do in this brief session is to examine some major issues in public diplomacy. We've tried to define the meaning of public diplomacy. As you know, under the Carter administration, the second mandate became important. We asked ourselves whether that has equal prominence today or whether the USIA should be primarily involved in the telling of America's story abroad.

We talked about the involvement of agencies other than USICA, especially the impact of the military. Congressman Fascell pointed out that although USICA may bring in 5,000 people during the year -- foreign students who are under some sort of exchange program -- the military bring in 30,000. What coordination is there in all these efforts? Should there be greater coordination? Is the government united in its effort?

In addition, we talked about funding. Is there enough money, manpower, and facilities committed to doing this job? We've never had enough money, but the key question is what will it take to achieve our goals. We'd like to hear from Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick before we adjourn.

FENWICK: Anything this government does in public diplomacy must not involve selling America abroad as much as telling the truth. Nothing could be more damaging to our standing and the kind of respect we deserve than beginning to use propaganda instead of information. In that connection, I would hate to see Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty turn away from the standards of objective reporting that the BBC has demonstrated for so long. We must somehow manage to explain what this nation is about and why we sacrifice for any of these enterprises. Thomas Jefferson said: "I swore on the altar of God eternal hostility to any form of tyranny over the minds of men." This is what the United States is all about and, if we don't stick to that, I don't think our effort is worth ten cents. It's got to be the truth.

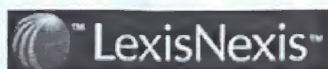
MARKS: Well, I think we could all endorse that. General Rowny, I think you have another observation to add.

ROWNY: One footnote. I hope that we remember in the future that the U.S. information program is a part of the defense effort and has to be treated with the same urgency as our other national security efforts. The information effort cannot be diminished while military spending continues to be increased.

MARKS: If the funds for one B-1 bomber were applied to our international communications program it would probably have a far more effective influence on U.S. foreign policy than one more airplane.

---





Copyright 1978 The Washington Post  
The Washington Post

May 4, 1978, Thursday, Final Edition

**SECTION:** Business & Finance; D11

**LENGTH:** 771 words

**HEADLINE:** Publishers Told Of Dangers to A Free Press;  
Free Press Endangered, Marks Warns Publishers

**BYLINE:** By William H. Jones, Washington Post Staff Writer

**DATELINE:** ATLANTA

**BODY:**

Newspaper publishers were warned yesterday that the free press is as much of an "endangered species" as whooping cranes or whales.

"The world is on a collision course," with nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America moving in the direction of total press control, former U.S. Information Agency Director **Leonard Marks** told the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Marks predicted that the United Nations General Assembly will approve next fall a resolution, offered 6 years ago by the Soviet Union, to prohibit dissemination in any country of television programming signals from satellites without the consent of individual governments.

The U.S. was the only nation to oppose consideration of this resolution and if such international law had been established earlier for radio broadcasting, there could be no overseas office of America or British Broadcasting Corp. operations, Marks noted.

In another international forum, the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Marks said final action could come at a Paris meeting in October on a proposed declaration of mass media control, under consideration since 1972.

The UNESCO proposal, also supported by the Soviet Union, declares that individual countries, "are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction."

If such a principle is accepted, Marks said, "the trend toward state control will be increased and the international wire services and correspondents for leading newspapers and radio and television networks will be excluded from gathering news" in much of the world.

Action on the UNESCO media resolution was postponed at a conference in Nairobi in 1976 because it was clear that expected approval could have led to destruction of that organization, including U.S. withdrawal.

There may be efforts to postpone a confrontation again next fall but non-aligned nations met in Cuba



last month and decided to seek a vote on the press resolution, which they expect to win, Marks told the annual ANPA convention here.

Whether or not the U.N. and UNESCO resolutions are approved, recent developments indicate a trend that will reduce press freedom around the globe, Marks said. This is because nonaligned nations do not want to permit continued reporting that concentrations on "catastrophies, casualties and corruption" while ignoring the "good news," such as educational program or reduction of child mortality rates.

Tanzania has enacted legislation forbidding the distribution of news except by a national agency and Nigeria is expected to pass a similar law, Marks said. Passage of the proposed UNESCO resolution would serve as a pattern for other countries to follow the lead of Tanzania, he forecast.

Currently a Washington lawyer and secretary-treasurer of a group organized in 1976. The World Press Freedom Committee, Marks called on the newspaper publishers to support grants for scholarships, training and seminars designed to show nonaligned countries the operations of a free press.

Marks was followed on yesterday's program by a victim of press censorship, Donald Woods, the former editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London, South Africa, long a critic of the government there and its policies of racial separation.

Woods was officially banned by the South African government last October, becoming a "non-person" not permitted to write anything, including a diary. With his family, he escaped from South Africa last New York's Eve.

"I have every intention of going back," Woods told the American publishers. "My duty is to speak out for the all the millions who cannot," in his native country. Woods appealed to the American press to continue supporting a free press in South Africa, stating that journalists there are "still doing a good job" given the limitations they face. He said these journalists need continued outside encouragement.

At the publishers' annual business meeting yesterday Gannett Co. executive Allen Neuharth was elected chairman and president for the next two years.

group, which represents nearly 1,300 U.S. and Canadian newspaper, were Len H. Small, president of Small Newspaper and publisher of the Daily Journal in Kankakee, Ill., as vice chairman; Katharine Graham, publisher of the Washington Post and chairman of The Washington Post Company, as treasurer; and Dolph Simons Jr., president and publisher of the Daily Journal-World in Lawrence, Kan., to another term as secretary.

More than 1,700 publishers and newspaper executives attended the three-day ANPA convention here, which concluded yesterday.

---