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September 2, 1983

Louis Segesvary
Foreign Service Center
400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547

Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

file

Dear Morton:

This is just to confirm in writing what I expressed to your assistant over the telephone last month -- that I was resigning from the outreach group on Central America. I had to do this to avoid the appearance of any conflict of interest with my new role at the Voice of America as writer and producer.

I would like to here express my deep appreciation for the privilege and honor of serving on this group. With my very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Louis Segesvary
Louis Segesvary

Washington Inquirer

Vol. II, No. 12

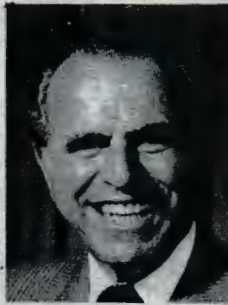
March 19, 1982

Twenty-five Cents

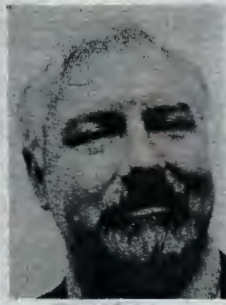
Another Reaganite Bites the Dust

Phil Nicolaides resigned from the U.S. Information Agency last Monday at the request of Charles Wick, the agency director. Word of Nicolaides' resignation was greeted with sadness among those employees of the Voice of America who had been hoping for a basic change in the philosophy and operations of the Voice as a result of Ronald Reagan's election. It was greeted with cheers on the part of those who feared such a change and had been working strenuously to make sure that the Voice continued to function as it had in the Carter administration.

Prior to being hired by the Voice, Nicolaides had written a memo to James Conkling, the director, in which he argued that the Voice had a duty to provide more than simply entertainment to overseas audiences. Nicolaides said that the Voice should be carrying America's message to the world. He agreed with the criticisms of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the great Russian author, who says that the Voice of America is per-



Charles Wick



Philip Nicolaides

ceived as mushy and as all too willing to denigrate the United States. Nicolaides thought that it was ridiculous for the Voice to have banned the reading of Solzhenitsyn's works. He thought it was even more ridiculous

for them to have aired an interview with Georgi Arbatov, a prominent Soviet disinformation expert.

A copy of Nicolaides' confidential memo was stolen from Mr. Conkling's desk and delivered to the press, elements of which falsely reported that Nicolaides had recommended that the Voice be used to air American propaganda. Conkling wilted under the criticism of the media, and Nicolaides was promptly put under wraps. He found that his hardhitting commentaries were rejected or severely blue-pencilled. After several frustrating weeks, he was transferred out of the Voice to USICA headquarters. The official story was that he was going to work on Mr. Wick's "Project Truth." This was a program to expose Soviet disinformation, which Wick had launched with considerable fanfare last fall.

Actually, Nicolaides was forbidden to work on Project Truth, and he was given no meaningful work to do

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Inside...

Lou Grant is as bad as Ed Asner.

Nicaraguan pilots say Cuban "advisors" control nation.

Reagan proclaims Afghanistan day.

Korean economy provides lesson in economics.

Budget cuts fail to end millions in funding to special interests.

"BUT I WANT THE INSTANT KIND."



Soviet Grenades Used in Miami

Soviet grenades have been turning up in Miami, a Dade County undercover police agent testified in the U.S. Senate. The undercover agent testified that the same individual who brought in, during 1979, considerably more than 200 Soviet grenades was also involved in supplying arms to El Salvador's guerrillas and the Sandinistas and that the grenades were intended for terrorism.

The first known use of a Soviet RGD-5 grenade came in October 1980. The grenade was used in a bombing of Eloy Motors in Miami. The fact that the bombing used a Soviet RGD-5 grenade was confirmed in an official report by the Metropolitan Dade County Crime Laboratory.

The undercover agent, Sergio Pinon, showed the Senate Subcommittee photos of nine unexploded

("live") Soviet grenades captured by authorities in the Miami area.

The smooth, cylindrical grenades had been used in three known bombing incidents in southern Florida, causing one casualty, with "in excess of 200" grenades still unaccounted for.

Police agent Pinon testified that the authorities had information that the grenades were brought into the U.S. in 1979 by a Cuban agent, whom Pinon would not name, but who at that time was taking shipments of weapons to communist guerrillas in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Pinon testified that at least in some cases the motive for bombings using the Soviet grenades was to make the bombings appear to be the work of the anti-Castro Omega-7 group.

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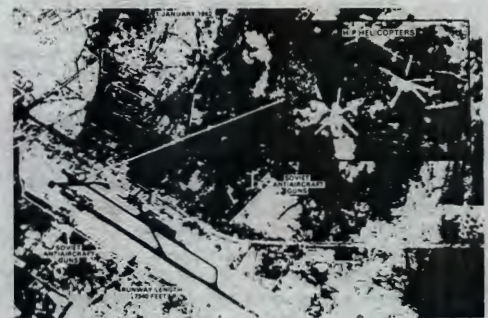
Nicaraguan Build-up Continues

Congressman Robert K. Dorman, R-Calif., told "Meet the Press" on March 14 that offensive weapons in Cuba are more dangerous than at the time of the Cuban Blockade in 1962. He coupled this situation with the arms buildup in Nicaragua.

Rep. Dorman said the U.S. is in a "much worse position" than in 1962 when President Kennedy forced the Soviets to remove intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) from Cuba. Rep. Dorman said he was alluding in part to intelligence reports that MIG 27s may be in Cuba.

"The MIG 27 is a more effective delivery system for a nuclear device than were the IRBMs that President Kennedy moved to blockade Cuba over," said Rep. Dorman, a former pilot. Central Intelligence Director William J. Casey also said the agreement that supposedly came out of the Cuban missile crisis had been abrogated. Casey made his remarks in an interview in U.S. News & World Report.

Rep. Dorman stressed the military buildup in Nicaragua, noting that the Sandinistas have received sophisticated Soviet helicopters. Aerial photos of Soviet helicopters in Nicaragua were released at a recent CIA briefing on Nicaragua's buildup.



The Soviet-bloc military build up in the Caribbean includes Soviet helicopters in Nicaragua.

The New York Post recently exposed violations of the 1962 agreement barring nuclear missiles from Cuba, claiming a large new submarine base at Cienfuegos is capable of servicing nuclear submarines. Defense Department officials discounted the charge, but it is known Cuba has one submarine capable of carrying

Continued on page 3

Reagan Proclaims Afghanistan Day

By Donald A. Davis

Washington (UPI)—President Reagan, gently hugging a young Afghan refugee, pledged Wednesday "the world will not forget" the rebels fighting Soviet troops who have occupied Afghanistan for more than two years.

It was the second time in three days that the administration raised the issue of Afghanistan, which in recent months has been eclipsed by the imposition of martial law in Poland and the guerrilla war in El Salvador.

In testimony before the senate foreign relations committee Monday, Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel charged that, according to "very reliable information," Soviet chemical warfare killed at least 3,042 people in Afghanistan between the summer of 1979 and the summer of 1981.

Calling the fight of the Afghans against the red army "one of the epics of our time," Reagan declared at Wednesday's White House ceremony: "We cannot and will not turn our backs on their struggle."

Reagan signed a proclamation designating March 21—the first day of spring and the start of the new year for Afghans—as Afghanistan Day. He also dedicated the third launch of the space shuttle Columbia on March 27 to the Afghan people.

"The Soviet Union must understand the world will not forget," the president said. He shrugged off Moscow's claims that the troops were sent in to counter foreign intervention as "nothing more than propaganda."

Nahid Mouadidi, an Afghan teenager now studying in the United States, told a multinational audience gathered in the East room of the White house that she had "witnessed the killing of my friends... and we will continue our war." After she unrolled

and gave to Reagan a red, green and black Afghanistan flag, the president hugged her.

White House officials said the girl is now living on the west coast, but they declined to say exactly where or to give any other information about her because her parents are still in Afghanistan.

Vice President George Bush termed the Afghan struggle "a global issue... the latest brutal chapter in the history of Soviet... repression and aggression."

Former Secretary of State William Rogers, chairman of the National Committee For Afghanistan Day, called the Soviets' announced reasons for keeping troops in the country "clearly blatant lies. We shouldn't forget them. We have to continue our support."

The Soviets invaded Afghanistan Dec. 27, 1979

and now have 90,000 to 100,000 occupying troops locked in stalemate combat with Afghan rebels.

"The Afghan people have defied the Soviet Union and have resisted with a vigor that has few parallels in modern history... and have paid a terrible price in their fight for freedom," Reagan said in his proclamation.

"Their villages and homes have been destroyed; they have been murdered by bullets, bombs and chemical weapons. One-fifth of the Afghan people have been driven into exile. Yet their fight goes on," the proclamation said.

"Afghanistan Day will serve to recall... the principles involved when a people struggles for the freedom to determine its own future, the right to be free of foreign interference and the right to practice religion according to the dictates of conscience."

Escaped Pilots Confirm Cuban Role

Two Nicaraguan pilots have defected, flying a Nicaraguan Air Force plane to Honduras. They said each of the 9 members of the ruling Sandinista directorate has 2 or 3 Cuban advisors whose instructions are unquestionably followed, wire service dispatchers say. Also the top military commanders have such Cuban advisors, added 2nd Lt. Gustavo Antonio Quezada. His co-pilot was Octavio Barreta.

Rank and file discontent is increasing, the pilots said. They said they left because of the increasingly leftward slant of Sandinista regime. They said the discontent is heightened because no one is consulted about the country's policies. Both former officers of the Nicaraguan air force confirmed reports that large numbers of Cubans are in Nicaragua.

Officials of the Honduran government said they

granted the Nicaraguans political asylum.

The plane landed at Tegucigalpa, Honduras. The men gave reporters no details of how they managed their escape. Quezada managed to bring his wife and daughter with him.

Orlando Tardencillas, the captured 19-year-old Nicaraguan guerrilla commander who made a monkey out of both the State Department and the American media last week, admitted that he had met two other foreign-born prisoners who had been helping the Salvadoran guerrillas when they were captured. One of them was a pilot, Santiago Romero Talavera. The reporters who interviewed Tardencillas showed no interest in either of these other prisoners.

The Inquirer has U.S. government documents outlining Romero's fascinating story. Romero was reportedly captured early in 1981. He is believed to be involved in smuggling war materiel in, and wounded out of El Salvador. He told his interrogators he had made two previous flights into El Salvador for the Nicaraguan government.

Romero said one of his flights was carried out in a Nicaraguan air force plane "on a Nicaraguan air force mission... There were also technicians on board to check out communications." Romero reportedly said the mission was authorized by Commander Veneiro, head of the Nicaragua air force.

Romero is reported as saying his paymaster, Fernando Carrasco, said he was a "direct link to the clandestine supply of weapons in El Salvador." He also was quoted saying he had helped supply war materiel to the Sandinistas. Romero said he thought Carrasco might be originally from Chile, but he has Costa Rican nationality now.

Romero said he himself was born in Nicaragua and is of Nicaraguan descent, but told his interrogators he had Costa Rican nationality and had lived there until his flying brought him to Managua. Romero also reportedly said he had contracted with Carrasco and that the pay was \$3,000 per flight for small planes and much more for bigger ones.

Romero is quoted as saying Cuba flies Soviet Antonov 18s into Managua's Sandino airport by night. The planes go immediately to the military ramp where high-ranking officers supervise the unloading.

Media Scolded on 'Nukes' Coverage

By Kenneth R. Clark

New York (UPI)—Jane Fonda and activist pediatrician Helen Caldicott are no more passionate in their approach to nuclear energy than Dr. Rosalyn Yalow, but the similarity ends there. Dr. Yalow battles on behalf of "nukes," and she is quick to scold newsmen who "don't ask the right questions."

The Nobel prize-winning medical researcher — only the sixth woman ever to win the Nobel in a science category—scolded a press conference full of newsmen last week when she carried her fight to a PBS taping of "Why In The World?"

"I'll come on this program and I'll come on another educational program, but Merv Griffin will have Helen Caldicott spewing absolute nonsense about which she knows nothing," she said.

"It's much more picturesque to have her tell you how she's going to sit down with the president and let him know what the facts are of life. And all those women in the audience sit there and love it!"

Dr. Yalow, addressing a panel of New Jersey high school students, kicked off the new PBS educational program conceived by Walter Cronkite and produced by KCET, Los Angeles, with a vehement defense of nuclear energy which she said has been deemed by the National Academy of Science as the safest available source.

Her opening performance was a prestigious kickoff for "Why In The World," which Cronkite envisioned as a classroom aid videotaped from the screen and accompanied by teachers' guides for all who wish to use them.

Dr. Yalow is bitterly accustomed to the public preference for Jane Fonda over the hard science data she offers. College students have heckled her and smeared announcements of her lectures with graffiti. At Dartmouth, they tore down her posters.

Dr. Yalow blamed the media — print and television — for the blind side view, and she used the furor raised over California's Diablo Canyon nuclear plant, which was built atop a fault line, as an example.

"In all the things you've read, how many have told

you how serious a fault it is?" she asked. "What is the evidence of earthquakes from that fault in the last 1,000 years? How many of you know whether or not the containment vessel is built to withstand an earthquake as high as has ever been seen, or 10 times as high, or 100 times as high, or 1,000 times as high?"

"You're newspaper people. You're certainly above average in intelligence. You're very well informed. Yet all of you associate Diablo Canyon with an earthquake fault and none of you have asked the right questions."

She wrote off Three-Mile Island as "a big nothing" in which public figures "lost their heads and opened their mouths," spawning newspaper headlines and panic for the evening news.

Reed Irvine Named Patriot of the Year

Reed Irvine, chairman of Accuracy in Media, has been named Patriot of the Year by *The American Sentinel*, a biweekly newsletter on national defense, foreign affairs and internal security. Irvine was chosen in a poll of *American Sentinel* readers.

Thomas L. Phillips, publisher of the newsletter, praised Irvine for being "a virtual one-man ombudsman of the press, on behalf of the vast majority of Americans." Irvine has been especially noted for his criticism of the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and the big three television networks.

Recent past winners of the annual "Patriot of the Year Award" include Lawrence Brady, Assistant Secretary of State for Trade Administration, and General John Singlaub, U.S. Army, Retired.

Irvine's award is described in the March 8 *American Sentinel*. Other articles in the issue probe the influence of the leftist Institute for Policy Studies and the nature of the terrorist Italian Red Brigades. A two-page special report describes U.S. and Soviet progress in developing laser and particle beam weapons.



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Soviet Grenades

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He testified that the grenades were furnished by courtesy of the Cuban government. They were manufactured in the USSR about 1976. Also large quantities of cocaine and marijuana were provided by the Cuban government. It got them from the M-19 guerrillas in Colombia, and profits from the drug operation were said to be used to finance subversive operations.

Danny Benitez, another undercover agent of the Miami police, testified that the terrorism in Florida and its discovery is comparable to finding termites in a building. "They've already been there for years and have done a lot of damage."

Agent Pinon reported, somewhat cryptically, being involved in a \$10 million arms deal with Panamanian agents seeking to help the guerrillas in El Salvador.

Nicaraguan Arms

Continued from page 1

nuclear devices.

The *New York Post* says Bear bombers, the Soviet equivalent of the B-52, are now based in Cuba. It has been reported that when these bombers come within 200 miles of the U.S., they are escorted out by U.S. jets.

Reports that Soviet transport planes fly over our East Coast enroute to Managua, Nicaragua, after refueling at Gander, Newfoundland, came up at a hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism and Security. When Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala., asked Fred Ikle, undersecretary for defense, about these reports, Ikle responded only that he would reply later.

Sen. Denton also questioned Ikle on a shift in military power in the Caribbean area. It was observed that the region would be of extreme military importance for the transport of oil supplies should a crisis occur in Europe.

Nicolaides Out

Continued from page 1

at ICA headquarters. He put a sign on the outside of his door reading "Gorky," the name of the city where Andrei Sakharov resides in exile. Nicolaides told *The Inquirer* that he had done nothing in the fifty days he was with the agency. He said that he got into trouble because (1) he had ideas; (2) he had convictions; and (3) he had compounded the problem by displaying candor.

Nicolaides said that he had come to Washington to do a job, not simply to hold one. He had considered the Voice of America a challenge because of its great potential value in telling the world the truth about America and what we stand for. He was disappointed not to have been able to carry out his ideas. He attributed this to the weakness of the director, Mr. Conkling, and to the determination of the foreign service officers who dominate the Voice to keep it bland.

Congressman John LeBoutillier, Rep.-N.Y., recently recommended that James Conkling be replaced as director of the Voice by Phil Nicolaides. Mr. LeBoutillier said that the dismissal of Nicolaides was "a disgrace." He said that the situation at the Voice had deteriorated seriously and that there was a growing realization of this in the White House.

After a meeting with Mr. Wick on Tuesday, LeBoutillier said he was convinced that Mr. Wick does fully support President Reagan's policies with respect to the Voice but he is not so sure about some other Voice employees. He said he was looking forward to further discussion with Mr. Wick about problems relating to the Voice.

Mike Thompson, a prominent Reagan supporter from Florida with excellent credentials, was recommended by the White House for the post of director of policy and planning at the Voice. Mr. Conkling turned him down, saying that the slot was reserved for a foreign service officer. Conkling said that they wanted someone for the post who had served overseas and who was sensitive to Eastern European problems. Mr. Thompson has written to the White House to ask how this administration expects to make any basic change in the policies and functioning of the Voice if policy slots are reserved for foreign service officers and Reaganites are barred from taking such positions.

THE EYE

Pat Buchanan, one of the Eye's favorite *Inquirer* columnists, has finally been invited to the White House to break bread with Ron. Pat, of course, knows the mansion well, since he used to write speeches for Richard Nixon during his tenancy. Some figured that Pat would be a natural for a high post in the Reagan administration, Pat having been a strong Reaganite for years, but his services were not required. If Ron has been getting advice from Pat, it has probably been through reading his column in *The Inquirer*.

Eye hears that the White House has long intended to have Pat drop in for lunch, since everyone there just loves him, but somehow his name kept falling off the invite lists. Eye is tickled that Pat is finally making it and will watch eagerly to see if any of the other *Inquirer* stars get a nod from Ron.

Maybe Ron will have Marx Lewis in for tea. If Ron and Marx were to get into a yarn swapping contest, Eye would bet on Marx, who has an anecdote for every occasion, a lot of them going back to the days when he was an AA going up on the Hill. Another fellow with Wilson in his name occupied the White House in those days — Woodrow Wilson.

Jimmy Carter's ex-sec, Susan Clough, is back in town looking for an appropriate position. Sue agrees with Hizzoner Ed Koch that country living is a joke. Of course, Ed took that back as soon as he decided to run for gov of NY, but Ed never spent a year in Plains, Georgia. Sue went down to Plains with Jimmy, but she found it a trifle dull, what with Billy no longer around to provide cultural stimulation. It seems that her parting with Jimmy was not too amicable. Maybe she'll write a book. Eye has a good title for her — *The Plains Truth*.

Charley Wick, Ron's good buddy who heads our International Communications Agency, is said to be hurt by Cong. John LeBoutillier's cascading criticisms of Conkling—Jim Conkling, that is, the good buddy that Charley put in charge of the Voice of America. Charley thinks John is not up on the great changes in the Voice since Frank Scott and Gene Pell moved in. Frank, eyelets will recall, used to manage WRC radio back in the days when it still had some good talk shows. Gene used to be

NBC's man in Moscow. But Eye hears that not all at the Voice are singing a happy tune. The veterans there who just happen to be foreign born are still wondering why none of them have been elevated to the policy-making echelons. A lot of them think the firing of Phil Nicolaides showed that basic changes in the tone of the Voice would not be tolerated.

General William Westmoreland is still debating whether or not to sue CBS over that nasty hatchet job Mike Wallace did on him back in January. You remember the 90-minute effort to prove that Westy had withheld vital intelligence about the number of Vietcong we faced back in 1967. It was garbage, and not even fresh garbage. What really hurt Westy was the discovery that the CBS program had been televised for our troops overseas by Armed Forces Television. The General found out when a GI from Germany that he met in an airport mentioned it to him.

It seems that the folks who run Armed Forces TV and Radio think it's their duty to give the troops the same garbage that is dished up here by the networks and Public Broadcasting, even if it is false and unfair. Otherwise, they say, they might be accused of censorship. A better way of putting it would be to say that they might be accused of exercising the good judgment that they are presumably getting paid to display now and then. Their view seems to be that the only people entitled to exercise judgment are the ones in the pay of the networks, Public Broadcasting and National Public Radio. Yes, eyelets, they also send the boys and girls overseas the NPR garbage as well.

The Washington Post ran a feature story last Sunday about *Human Events*, the conservative weekly that used to be Ron's favorite publication. It quoted Ron as having told Human Events editors Tom Winter and Allan Ryskind, "I'm still reading you guys, but I'm liking it less." Some readers with good memories thought parts of the WP story were very similar to the article about *Human Events* that ran in *The Wall Street Journal* last year. Well, we can't all be original all the time.

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One in Five Cubans Would Emigrate if Permitted

Geneva, Switzerland (UPI)—Cuba would lose up to one-fifth of its population if its communist leaders ever allowed free emigration, the United States told the U.N. Human Rights Commission today.

As Latin America's only "Totalitarian tyranny," Cuba refuses its people the basic right to leave the country," U.S. delegate Richard Schifter said.

"When the door opened a tiny crack, 125,000 slipped through in 1980," Schifter told the commission at its current annual session.

"An estimated additional half-million have ap-

plied to emigrate and perhaps 1 to 2 million more would be prepared to leave if given the chance to do so," Schifter said.

Cuba has a population of about 10 million.

The U.S. delegate criticized the U.N. group for regularly attacking other Latin American countries while never debating human rights violations in Cuba where, he said, "The thought-control system . . . is one of the most all-pervasive in the world.

Schifter also demanded condemnation of the military crackdown in Poland, saying Polish Premier

Gen. Woucicah Jaruzelski imposed martial law "because it was made clear to him that if he did not do it, the Soviet Union would do it for him."

The Soviet Bloc is preventing any unanimous action on Poland by the U.N. Human Rights Agency on the ground it would be "interference" in a member State's domestic affairs.

The United States, criticizing the communist position, also deplored the commission's continuing failure to take up the case of Soviet physicist and human Rights activist Andrei Sakharov.

Letters to the Editor

Maryland Gun Control Bill

The Maryland General Assembly is currently considering a Massachusetts-like gun control bill supported by Gov. Hughes, which would impose a mandatory one year sentence for anyone convicted of carrying or transporting a handgun without a permit. This legislation, identified as S.B. 444 in the Senate and H.B. 791 in the House, does NOT even address the criminal use of handguns, merely violations dealing with the carrying and/or transporting of a handgun, i.e., victimless, non-violent, technical offenses where no criminal intent necessarily exists.

Ironically, Maryland has no mandatory penalties for murder or rape. Yet for a victimless crime such as that covered by this bill, an unwary citizen can be incarcerated for up to one year and receive a record as a convicted felon for a technical violation of the law. Incredible! Particularly when one learns that there already exists on the books a law aimed at the criminal which assures a previously convicted felon of a 3 year jail sentence for mere possession of a firearm!!!

Yet under this bill, a law-abiding citizen, ignorant of its provisions, if convicted must receive a 1 year mandatory jail sentence, unless the judge waives the sentence for undefined "mitigating circumstances". And what about the sportsman transporting his handgun to

or from a gunsmith, a target range, or his place of business? Oh yes, there are indeed exceptions in these bills which accommodate such occasions, but how does our sportsman prove to the police if stopped enroute that these are his destinations???? And will he be believed???

Yes, the possibility of such convictions is real indeed. Maryland prisons are already overcrowded to the point where Maryland is under a court order to reduce its prison population. Are Maryland legislators prepared to explain to their constituents their rationale in imposing a 1 year mandatory sentence for a technical violation of this proposed law which could result in the displacement onto our streets of a hardened murderer, rapist, or burglar to prey once again on our citizens??? It can happen if this legislation is passed!

Gun control is not crime control, particularly not this bill. It misses the mark by a mile, having considerable potential for making felons out of law-abiding citizens, and virtually no potential for penalizing the criminal use of handguns. It is a bad piece of legislation which should be rejected out of hand by the Maryland General Assembly.

Robert Hohl
Laurel, Md.

Letters the Post Won't Print

Post Caught in "Propaganda" Contradiction

On Nov. 16 the Post denounced the head of the Voice of America for naming Philip Nicolaides deputy program director for commentary and news analysis.

Nicolaides' sin was to have written a memo urging that the VOA stop broadcasting "mush" and begin functioning as the "propaganda agency" U.S. taxpayers have every right to expect it to be. Nicolaides made clear in the memo that he did not mean the VOA should broadcast anything but the truth, but he did question a concept of "objectivity" that results in such VOA features as a 22-part series on "Crime in America," to cite but one recent example.

Apparently, some words, like "propaganda," are just too "dirty" to utter—even in office memos—and the Post declared that the VOA should not "entrust

responsibility for its commentary and news analysis to the likes of Mr. Nicolaides."

Now (Feb. 7) the Post has editorially praised a television special on Poland produced by the International Communication Agency, parent of the VOA. To those who might be concerned that the special was "a little too close to propaganda," the Post said: "But why not be open and use the term, propaganda, unapologetically...?"

Does that mean the ICA and VOA no longer need to apologize to the Post for Nicolaides' use of the term, "propaganda"? Is what's meet for the goose, proper for the gander?

Bill Stetson
Burke, Va.

Family Values Scorned by Post

Some things catalyze me, some things do not. An article by Judy Mann the other day irked me mildly, but not enough to prompt my demurral. Her attempt to show how the Right To Life people had misrepresented the abortion issue was so belabored and recondite, so captious and pseudo-, or should I say, crypto-objective, so as not to be worthy of serious rebuttal. Me thought the lady didst protest too much.

A full-page ad in your Saturday, January 30 edition, however, did succeed in arousing my simmering ire. "Our Own Place," the ad read. It went on to state: "We bought an apartment together. Maybe we'll get married. Maybe we won't. Anyway, it's a good investment." Now this catalyzes me. For the insidiousness of the ad lies not so much in the ad itself, but in its subterranean liaison with an economic system that actually, in its own imperatives, is undermining the moral order of this country. The condition of which I speak is all pervasive, and, as such, is hard to appreciate. The ad in question is the object of my present ire because it, as somewhat of a standard-bearer of these economic imperatives, is the most tangible manifestation of this slow, subtle erosion of the values of Amer-

ica along economic lines. The couple in the ad are living together. Now I know this is not something many people get upset about anymore, and even countenancing it is not beyond the pale today, but to bring the weight, and this is no exaggeration, of the amassed realities of the way we survive materially in this society in support of an arrangement that is generally considered immoral is the ultimate challenge. The ad is revolting to me not because of the sexual immorality implicit in it, but because of the stultifying mediocrity it embraces and propounds for a generation of Americans. These are the people who will be lost when they discover their IRAs and Certificates of Deposit, their jobs and even their mates just do not fill the void within. The syndrome of which I write in regard to our economic system is present in all phases of American existence. It is the natural outcome of our social, political, and economic structure. This letter is just my response to a particularly blatant example of why we, as Americans, have so many problems.

G. Michael Corrigan
Arlington, Va.

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Lou Grant Is As Bad As Ed Asner

Reed Irvine

WASHINGTON—Ed Asner, the star of the "Lou Grant Show" on television, has made news recently with his support of the communist-backed guerrillas in El Salvador. A lot of criticism has been directed at Asner, some of it for his statement that if other people chose to live under communism, so be it. Mr. Asner would be hard pressed to name any country that had "chosen" communism. The one thing that all communist countries have in common is their avoidance of free elections.

Asner was also criticized for having failed to make it clear that his support for the communists in El Salvador was a personal stand, not an official position of the Screen Actors Guild, which he heads. Asner subsequently apologized for not having made that clear.

One might conclude from this that Asner is not particularly careful with his facts. In his television show he plays the role of a newspaper editor, Lou Grant. I watched the program recently to see if



Lou Grant was as inaccurate as Ed Asner.

The main story in the hour-long program was about the great injustice done to the Japanese and Japanese-American residents of our Pacific Coast states back in 1942, immediately after the Japanese

lot of vocal opposition to Roosevelt's evacuation order.

Wrong though the evacuation may have been, this is no excuse for the totally distorted way in which it was presented on the Lou Grant Show on March 8. The message of the program was that

Accuracy In Media

attack on Pearl Harbor. President Roosevelt issued an order requiring that everyone of Japanese nationality or of Japanese descent be evacuated from California, Oregon, Washington and part of Arizona. This was ostensibly done for reasons of national security, on the theory that these Japanese residents might be Japanese agents or sympathizers.

Forty years later, it is easy to say that this was a mistake and a grave injustice. There were those who thought so at the time, but after the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, which destroyed a large part of our Pacific fleet, anti-Japanese emotion ran high in this country. There was not a

112,000 Japanese residents of the West Coast were rounded up and carted off to concentration camps where they all spent the entire war. An elderly Japanese was shown explaining this to a young reporter at the beginning of the program. He said: "Everybody spent the war in some kind of government camp."

That is false. If the Japanese on the West Coast were able to voluntarily resettle in other states they were permitted to leave, but they were encouraged to do so. Many thousands of them did.

The Asner program went even further, describing the relocation centers as "concentration camps." "That's what Manzanar was," says a Japanese on the

program. He added, "The words scare people because of the comparison with Nazi Germany . . . Of course, those were death camps in Germany."

Those who wrote those words knew better, but they were out to produce a propaganda program. The United States had to be portrayed in an evil light. Then businessmen had to be condemned. It was suggested that the real reason for the relocation of the Japanese was to permit greedy businessmen to grab up their property at distress prices. Certainly, the Japanese who were relocated suffered economic losses, but they were not the big landowners that the Asner program implied. Most of them had not been in this country very long, and we had gone through ten years of severe depression. Moreover, laws barring aliens from owning land had worked against them.

Such propagandistic television programs can do a lot of damage. Wild charges can be aired without the slightest research to back them up because, after all, it's only fiction. Who will go to the expense of doing the research needed to refute them? One might expect such propaganda from Asner, the backer of the El Salvadoran communists. But one wonders why the Ford Motor Co. and other big businesses sponsor it.

Reagan Budget Cuts Hit Home

John D. Lofton

Well, it had to happen sooner or later. The genocidal, holocaustic Reagan budget cuts have hit (gasp!) my hometown and the brutal, horrendous carnage is almost too draconian to write about.

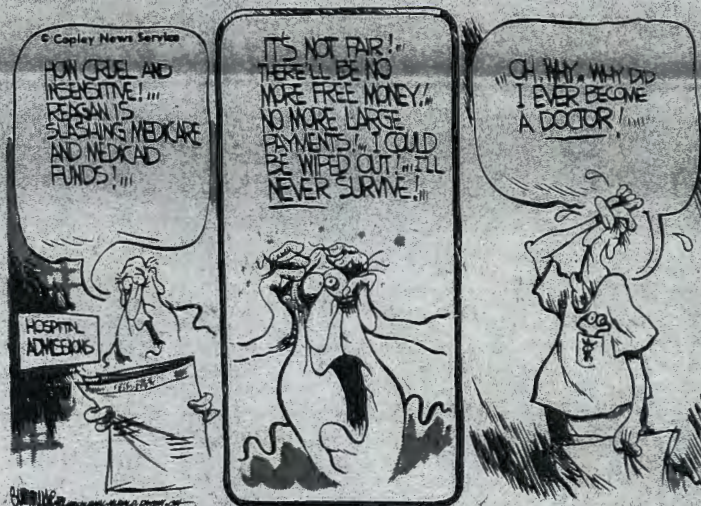


Almost, but not quite.

There the story is splashed four columns wide across the front page of my local paper. It is headlined: "Birdman of Laurel, Reagan Wants to Cut His Feed." The victim of the Reagan budget ax is one Dr. Aelred Geis, chief of Urban Wildlife Research at Laurel's Patuxent Research Center. What my local paper says Geis believes the president's actions will do is "interfere with his mission to bring the joy of birdwatching to as many Americans as possible."

"The main thrust of my program is to increase the pleasure people can get from birds around their homes," explains Geis, who has studied something called "the relative attractiveness of various birdfeeds." He says of Reagan's proposed budget cut: "A paltry \$75,000 and they want to cut it out." This \$75,000 bought approximately 3,600 pounds of birdseed last year, and paid Geis' salary and that of his part-time secretary.

My local paper says that Geis' mother, who works with him as a volunteer, normally spends the day clocking five-minute intervals and counting the number of kinds of birds that eat at different feeders. The good doctor used his mother's first 178,000 observations to compile an 11-page special report on



birdfoods and feeders—a report now in its fourth printing. He contends that his research has helped birdwatchers and the manufacturers of birdfeeding materials.

Geis says of his work: "I'm trying to make it so that people get the greatest number of bird visits per unit cost. Bird feeding is a multimillion-dollar business. It's really difficult to find quality bird food." Defending the federal-funding of his project, he adds:

"There are important social implications. Good urban wildlife is good for people. The satisfaction that people draw from seeing wildlife around their homes is tremendous."

Now, this last bit is true. Indeed, Geis is undoubtedly correct about the worthwhileness of seeing wildlife. Fine. But it does not follow that what Geis is doing should therefore be paid for by the federal taxpayer. No way. His budget should

be cut, as the president says it should.

If, as an Interior Department official informs me, one major birdseed company has already adjusted its mixture formulas to conform with Geis' recommendations, it is this company that ought to be picking up the tab for Geis' research, not you and I through our hard-earned tax dollars.

Geis' resistance to this particular Reagan budget cut demonstrates the problem the president faces: Nobody wants to see his specific project cut. This problem has been summed up in Sen. Russell Long's often-repeated little ditty: "Don't cut you. Don't cut me. Cut that man behind that tree." All of which brings me to the general subject of cutting the federal budget.

Regardless of what you have read or seen on TV, the truth of the matter is that "the Reagan budget knife is too blunt," in the words of Thomas Humbert, Walker

Fellow in Economics at The Heritage Foundation. In a study just released, Humbert makes these points:

—The president's budget strategy, bold as it is in some respects, fails to attack major economic problems. Reagan's suggested \$43 billion in 1983 budget cuts merely slow down the rate of budget growth. They do not, as promised, reverse the growth trend.

—Not only is there no net decrease in government spending, most of the decline of the Reagan budget as a percent of the GNP is not because of expenditure cuts but because of sharp increases in the estimates of future GNP.

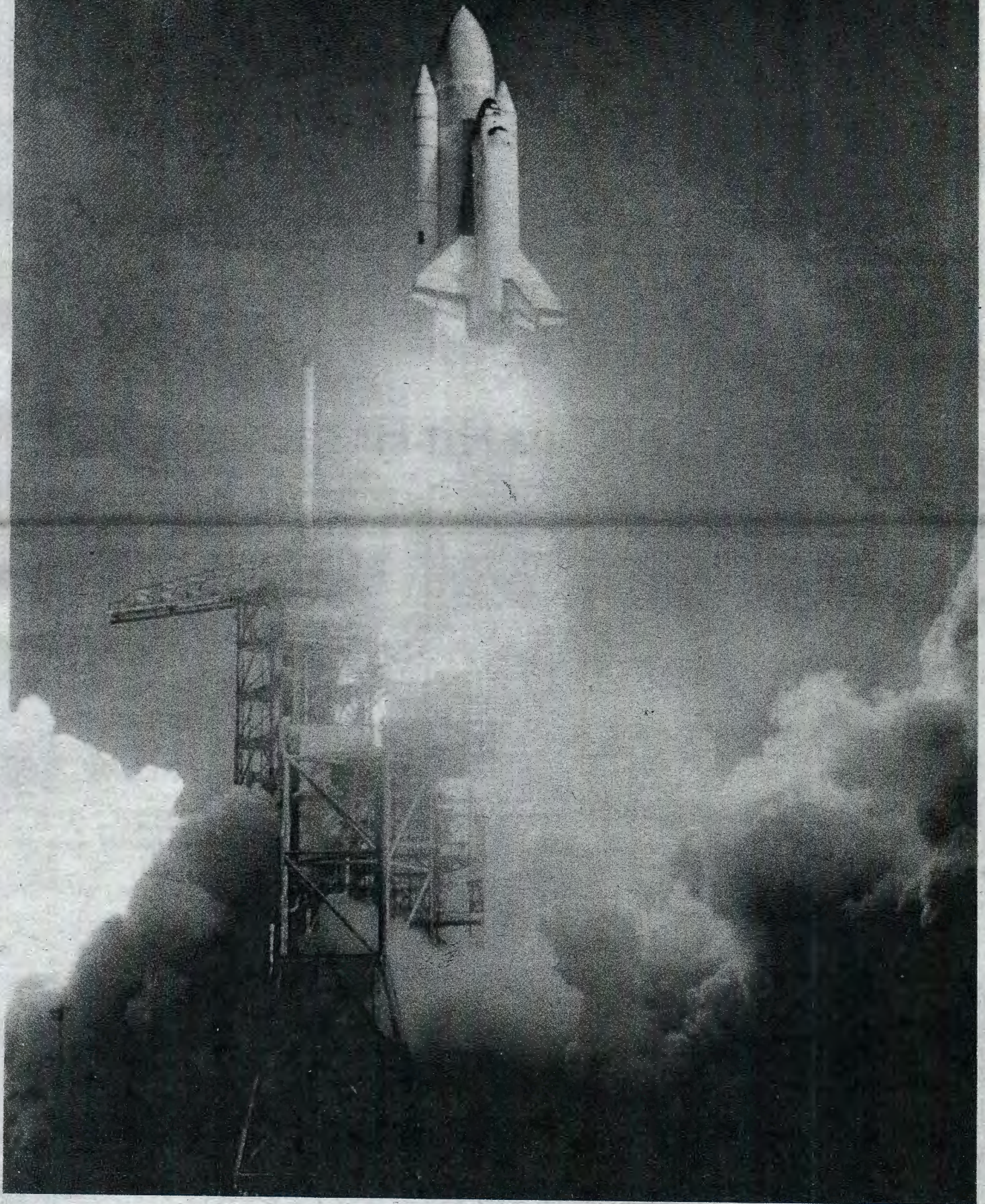
—The administration's lack of a long-term strategy to reform the welfare system will not achieve permanent reductions in the social welfare budget.

—The administration has failed to confront the obvious need to reform Social Security and other basic entitlement programs—which will claim almost 72 percent of the federal budget by 1987, even after the current round of cuts. Says Humbert:

"The president's new budget . . . breaks the mold and fulfills his campaign promise to reduce the growth in government expenditures, although many social programs continue to grow sharply. The president's seemingly drastic \$43 billion in budget cuts, in fact, only amounts to about five percent of the 1983 budget and only reduces the year-to-year growth in government expenditures by about half."

Put another way, if federal spending is to truly be brought under control, Reagan will have to cut not only you and not only me but also that man behind the tree. And this hasn't really been done. Not yet.

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Soviet "Arms Control" Strategy

Dr. Igor S. Glagolev

The KGB-inspired campaign for a nuclear weapons freeze in the United States is directed towards creation of a permanent and decisive military superiority of the USSR over the US. While the aggregate yield of the Soviet strategic missiles is about 10,500 megatons, the yield of the American strategic missiles is only 1,700 megatons. The same or greater Soviet superiority exists in the nuclear weapons in Europe, in the yield of chemical weapons and in other military weapons. Even if the Soviet dictators really freeze their nuclear weapons at the present level (which is highly doubtful) and the US does the same, the USSR will acquire a permanent nuclear superiority over the United States—sufficient to win a nuclear war and to destroy this country.

Having worked as an adviser of the Politburo on arms control for more than 20 years, I should point out that the Soviet leadership has broken all the major international agreements on peace and security, including the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki agreement, the agreement on peace in Vietnam and others (remember the invasions of Afghanistan, South Vietnam, Czechoslovakia and other countries!). So any agreement with the Soviet leaders has no real value. The real purpose of these agreements for the Soviet aggressors and their Western friends is to reduce the defense forces of the US and other free countries and to stop any defense of the victims of the aggression of the Soviet



and pro-Soviet forces.

The nuclear weapons freeze, SALT and other Soviet and pro-Soviet projects are promoted only for propaganda purposes—to undermine the will of Americans to defend their country and other free countries against the Soviet world-wide offensive. In the propaganda war, however, the United States can effectively defend itself. Why don't we suggest to equalize the Soviet and American strategic and other military forces? Why don't we ask the USSR to reduce the aggregate yield of the Soviet nuclear and chemical weapons to the US level? Why don't we ask the Soviet Union to reduce its conventional forces, including

tanks, to the size of the American forces, too? The Soviet leaders proclaimed their support of the principle of military equality or parity. Let us apply this principle in all the military fields, including the defensive strategic weapons. The US has no ABMs, no strategic anti-aircraft missiles and no anti-satellite weapons, while the USSR has all these arms. Let us ask the Soviet government to dismantle these systems, as well as the super-powerful SS-18 and SS-19 missiles and the fleet of the Delta ballistic missile submarines comparable to the non-existent fleet of the Trident submarines. Let us ask it to stop the deployment of the new Tu-22M and heavy bombers.

Let us ask it also to allow international inspection of the Soviet military plants and arsenals—to acquire the same information which is readily available in the US. All these suggestions are perfectly legitimate. Some time ago the Soviet government officially accepted the principle of international control of disarmament agreements, the principle suggested in a confidential policy paper of a Politburo study group chaired by myself. Let us apply this principle.

Genuine, mutual and verifiable disarmament is in the interests of the free world. Some free countries—Japan, Iceland, Costa Rica and others—are already partially or fully disarmed. The only state which is armed to the teeth for the destruction of the whole non-Soviet world—including some socialist countries like China—is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Let us ask it to disarm first to the level of the United States and then further—together with the other countries.

The Soviet dictators have already declined the suggestion of the Reagan Administration to cut their medium-range nuclear forces to achieve nuclear equality in Europe. If they decline the same suggestion on a world-wide scale, then it should be clear to every honest and reasonable man that the United States will be compelled to restore the balance of strategic forces unilaterally—by an immediate increase of the current production of all the strategic weapons to the level of Soviet production which is several times higher than in the United States.

New Federalism Makes Good Sense

Allan C. Brownfeld

Thoughtful men and women may criticize President Reagan's proposed budget for a number of reasons. The proposed deficit—which will surely be much higher than the administration's own estimate—is much too high.



Making light of such a deficit, as some in the administration are now doing, is hardly consistent with conservative economic policy. Yet the Democrats, who have traditionally advocated deficit spending, do not seem very consistent when it is only Republican deficits which they find objectionable. Neither Democrats nor Republicans, it seems, want to tackle the root cause of our problem—a government which is too big, too fat, and too inefficient. Until they confront the mass of subsidies received by big business, farmers, welfare recipients, veterans, teachers, etc. their rhetorical concern will ring untrue. Until they deal with a social security system which is out of control, their mock horror at deficits will not be taken seriously. The attempt of some to make a scapegoat of defense spending rings equally false. If we cannot defend ourselves, none of the rest really matters.

For nearly 150 years, until the late

1920s, total government spending stayed almost the same—about 10% of national income. Income taxes remained low, from a minimum of about 1 per cent to a maximum of 24% in 1925. Now, in 1982, total government spending—state, federal and local—amounts to approximately 40% of the national income. It took the federal government 175 years for its annual budget to reach \$100 billion. It then took only nine years, from 1962 to 1971, for the federal budget to pass the \$200 billion mark. It took another four years to hit \$300 billion and just another two years to go over \$400 billion. By 1979, the federal government was spending almost \$550 billion a year. Now, the fiscal 1983 budget projects a deficit of \$91.5 billion—and that is optimistic. More likely, the deficit will be well over \$100 billion.

But while the debate over the budget proceeds, we should not lose sight of the President's call for a New Federalism, one which sees the states restored to their proper place in our federal system.

The 1981 annual meeting of the National Governors' Association asked the Reagan Administration for specific proposals for returning not only programs but also revenue sources to the states. This the President has now done. His program calls for the Federal government to turn over to the states responsibility for two costly welfare programs, Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) and food stamps, with a combined bill estimated at \$16.5 billion

for the first year. To offset the strain on state budgets, Washington would assume complete control of Medicaid, which is not administered and partly funded by the states at a cost of \$19.1 billion. The savings to the states would more than cover the cost to them of AFDC and food stamps. Beyond this, Medicaid is currently growing at a faster rate than either of the programs the states are being asked to accept.

The President also proposed a "turn-back" of 43 smaller programs. For a four year transition period the programs would continue in their present form. The total cost will be \$30.2 billion in fiscal 1984. After this, it would be up to the states to finance those programs they decide to keep. To help them do so, Washington would put revenues from excise taxes on alcohol (\$6.1 billion), tobacco (\$2.7 billion), gasoline (\$2.2 billion) and telephone service (\$300 million), together with a portion (\$16.7 billion) of the windfall-profits tax on domestic oil production, into a "grass-roots trust fund" of \$28 billion a year.

Beginning in Fiscal 1988, the 43 grant programs would be ended at the Federal level. The states could keep them or drop them—as they see fit. By the end of 1991, the trust fund would be exhausted and the power to levy excise taxes transferred to the states. After that, President Reagan declared, "they can . . . preserve, lower or raise taxes on their own, and fund and manage these programs as they see fit."

The American system was meant to be

one of divided areas of power and authority. Those things which could be done on a state and local level, the authors of the Constitution believed, should be done at that level. Government should remain as close to the people as possible, so that they can exercise proper control of it. Only those things which are uniquely national—such as raising an army, coining money, regulating interstate commerce—should be done at the national level. President Reagan remembers the 10th Amendment—which many seem to have forgotten in recent years—which declares that powers not given to the national government and not denied to the states are reserved to the states and the people.

Governor James Thompson of Illinois says of the President's proposal that it is "the best idea to come out of Washington since FDR." Governor George Busbee of Georgia says, "Really for the first time, the President is making the philosophy of federalism the touchstone of his over-all plan to reform the Federal Government."

Some state and local officials oppose the New Federalism because they don't want to take the political heat for either dropping costly and wasteful programs—or imposing taxes to pay for them.

Economic health will be restored only when government is dramatically cut back to its legitimate and essential functions. The New Federalism is an important step in that direction.

Business Uber Alles

Patrick J. Buchanan

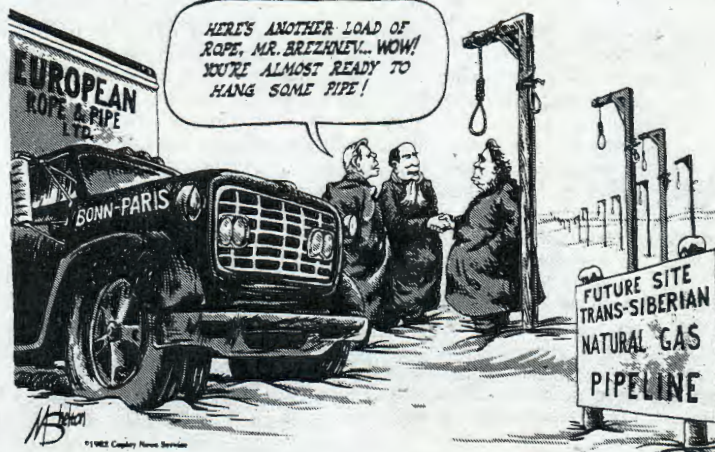
WASHINGTON—"Merchants have no country. The mere spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gains."



Thomas Jefferson, who was in the vanguard of those who risked "our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor" in the War of Independence against Great Britain, penned that line during the War of 1812. What would the old patriot have made of David Rockefeller?

The retired chairman of Chase-Manhattan, the child of abundance whose name is synonymous with capitalism, explained to reporters in Zimbabwe the other day that the presence of Russian advisers and 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola really "has no direct bearing on American business operations. Clearly, it has not," said Rockefeller, "interfered with our own banking relations."

In an expansive mood, Rockefeller said it would be "to the advantage" of the United States if Mr. Reagan would dump his present policy and recognize the puppet the Soviets installed when Agostino Neto passed away. "The more I've seen of countries that are allegedly



Marxist in Africa, the more I have a feeling it is more labels and trappings than reality." Andy Young could not have put it better.

Dealing with communist regimes "really does not cause us (at Chase Manhattan) any problems at all . . . We do business with at least 125 countries." Rockefeller proudly underscored the fact that his was the first American bank with a branch in Moscow, first with a branch in Peking. The general secretary may have threatened the nuclear castration of Teng's China in 1969, but the communist giants have something in common: a friend at Chase Manhattan.

The Great Trilateralist then laid down what may be called Rockefeller's Rule for the Moral Neutralism of Multinational Corporations. "I don't think an international bank such as ours ought to try to set itself up as a judge of what kind of government a country wishes to have. We have found we can deal with just about any kind of government, provided they are orderly and responsible."

Orderly and responsible. While that description apparently fits Peking and Moscow, one wonders if it would have fitted 13 rebellious colonies with a dismal credit rating and worthless money seeking liberty from Great Britain.

Orderly and responsible. A relevant description of the type of government a new chancellor of Germany imposed—to bring an end to the chaos and turmoil of the Weimar Republic.

"Who knows what system works best? All we ask is: Can they pay their bills?" Thus did Rockefeller's banking colleague Thomas Theobald of Citibank endorse the Rockefeller Rule when pressed on the vast sums Western banks have been transferring to Moscow and Warsaw.

When FDR spoke of driving the moneychangers from their high seats in the temple of our civilization, he was not entirely wrong. It is a sentiment to which Mr. Reagan should hastily subscribe for the good of his party to which Rockefeller and his like-minded banking friends profess allegiance.

The speech could be short, but to the point. He could speak with appropriate disgust of a rank political amorality that masquerades as worldly sophistication. He could tell his followers that Reaganism stands for higher values than the bottom line on a balance sheet; that what is good for Citibank and Chase Manhattan is not necessarily good for America; that the Republican Party is something more than the political action committee of the Fortune 500; that, unfortunately, our party, too, is rife with the collaborationists Lenin had in mind when he coined the phrase, "the useful idiots."

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Central American Dominoes

Ralph de Toledano

The situation in Central America grows grimmer by the day. But what the daily prints headline is the new arrests of suspects in the killing of four American nuns in El Salvador. And even these arrests are being used by the national media as a news peg for accusations that the Salvadoran government is "foot-dragging" and "covering up."



Almost nothing is said of strong evidence that the nuns were aiding and abetting communist terrorists.

The situation is grim not because the terrorists and guerrillas are getting support from the people of El Salvador. If it were left to them, the terror and the killing would have long since abated. But what we are seeing is an all-out effort by the Soviet Union and its surrogates in the Caribbean to topple the government of El Salvador or, as a lesser goal, to disrupt scheduled elections.

The communist guerrillas do not want an election because they will surely lose. They demand "negotiations" which will lead to their inclusion in the government. This, they could never win in any balloting.

At the present time, planes, tanks and other weapons are arriving in Cuba from the Soviet Union in frightening quantities. These are being shipped to Nicaragua and distributed to the Salvadoran terrorists whose training camps are based in that neighboring country. Weapons are also going to Guatemalan

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communist guerrillas who have stepped up their war. Great oil reserves have been discovered in Guatemala, making seizure of that country by the communists of tremendous importance.

One by one, the dominoes are beginning to fall. First Cuba fell to Soviet gauler Fidel Castro. There was a setback when Chile, bankrupt and torn by the Marxist-Leninist Salvador Allende, was saved by a military coup under Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Then Nicaragua fell to the communists. This was a signal for launching of attacks on El Salvador and is Guatemala. If those two countries fall into communist hands, the next target will be Mexico.

A communist network of trained

fighters is already in place in Mexico. Should that country eventually fall, the United States will have a bloc of Soviet-directed enemies on its southern border. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean will be hostile waters for the U.S. Navy. Cuban effectives, who have been infiltrating Puerto Rico, will be able to move directly against the U.S. "Colonialists."

This is not scare talk or supposition. The Soviets, who decry U.S. concern over Poland as "interference" in their affairs and an incursion into their "sphere of influence," have long openly discussed their aggressive intentions in Latin America and the Caribbean. Neutralizing the United States by planting the Red flag in Central and South

America is a key part of their drive for world hegemony.

Those who sneer at this scenario forget the role of the communists in Mexico during the Hitler-Stalin pact days, when the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany were limited in a fond embrace. The Mexican labor confederation, controlled by the communists and having a substantial hold on the government, was working closely with the Nazis in a propaganda and espionage war against the United States. Nazi money was going to the communists and the confederation's propaganda organs were loaded with German advertising. It is no exaggeration to say that President Roosevelt and our national security agencies were very, very worried.

A communist Mexico would force the United States to close and perhaps fortify the border. This is something that should give Congress considerable pause. Instead, we have Chairman Charles Percy of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, along with a congeries of Democratic and Republican legislators, protesting that President Reagan's effort to increase both military and economic aid to embattled El Salvador is a no-no. Percy claims that the country is up in arms over such an eventuality, and that his constituents are screaming.

I doubt this. On most issues, Percy has been chronically wrong. At election time, he poses as a conservative, but in between he is no more a Republican than Sen. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, about whom the less said the better. Only the left is willing to see a Soviet Caribbean. The rest of the country is aware of the peril, but in Washington the rest of the country means nothing.

Bailing Out Greedy Bankers

Phyllis Schlafly

Over the last 10 years, a handful of the biggest, richest banks in America, including such giants as Chase Manhattan, Citibank and Morgan Guaranty, made large loans to communist Poland.



Those loans could never have been justified by any usual commercial criteria. The vast majority of American bankers refused to make such loans because the borrower (Poland) was a bad credit risk and because most bankers practice a generally conservative management (conservative is used here in the sense of a very careful handling of other people's money).

Any American businessman who borrows from a bank for business purposes knows what kinds of information he must supply, supervision he must accept, collateral he must provide and high interest rates he must pay. Poland simply could not or would not meet those standards, but the big New York banks lent the money anyway. Why? That's a very

interesting question that has never been fully answered.

One reason may be their international mind-set that King Money will transcend all ideology (communist as well as non-communist) and power relationship (Soviet bloc as well as Western bloc). Another reason is that the big banks secretly arranged for the U.S. government to guarantee their bad loans.

Many of us (including the writer of this column) have been predicting for years that these loans would eventually prove to be bad, but the billions of Western dollars kept pouring into communist countries anyway, and Congress kept voting the guarantees through an intricate network of international lending agencies.

The moment of truth came after martial law was imposed in Poland. That unhappy country came to the brink of default on the \$25 billion owed to Western countries, of which \$1.6 billion was owed to the big U.S. banks. It became clear that Poland not only could not pay the principal, it could not pay even the \$396 million interest due U.S. banks.

So, the Reagan administration came to the rescue of the big banks, agreeing recently to pay the Polish debt with U.S. taxpayers' money, starting with an im-

mediate payment of \$71 million (This action was secret until flushed out by the news media.) This is the same Reagan administration that has been talking tough about sanctions on Poland—and talking tough against bail-outs of U.S. cities with irresponsible fiscal policies or of corporations staggering under the competition of foreign imports.

The administration claims that the payment to the big banks is legal, indeed that it is required, because the loans were guaranteed through various federal lending programs such as the Commodity Credit Corp. That is not at all clear. The law says that the foreign country must first be declared to be in default before our government has to make good the guaranteed loans, and that has not happened.

The banks argue that this is a good deal for the West because saving Poland from default will enhance the chances of the West getting future payments from Poland. If Poland defaults, the banks argue, the Polish regime might just write off the entire \$1.6 billion owed to U.S. banks.

Well, that's the price those banks and their stockholders should pay for bad management and irresponsible loans.

During the last five years, the federal bank examiners have closed or forced into merger some banks and savings and loan institutions because of loans that proved later to be losers, but which, when made, were not a fraction as risky or irresponsible as loans to Poland.

The banks also make the phony argument that we should put up U.S. taxpayers' money in order to keep the Soviet Union from having to bail out Poland. On Jan. 6, the Russians granted Poland \$3.4 billion on easy credit terms, but specified that it was not to be used to pay interest on Western loans.

If the big banks take a big loss on their Polish loans, the innocent depositors will not suffer. The loss would be the stockholders, who can lodge their justifiable complaints against the boards of directors.

The big promoters of easy, non-collateral, low-interest loans to communist countries should pay for their mistakes. There is no reason why the taxpayers should pay for those mistakes. The Reagan administration should push to the letter of the law to avoid paying anything we don't have to pay, and it should stop immediately all such future U.S. handouts to communist countries disguised as "loan guarantees."

Why Negotiations Won't Help

Jon Basil Utley

Communist nations must have an external enemy to justify their dictatorship and internal repression, indeed to justify the very existence of the "Party."

This is the elemental truth so often ignored by Americans who just wish that they would leave us alone. Since the earliest of human history external danger has always caused citizens to subordinate individual liberties in even the freest societies to a dictator or king to manage the defense. Even today democracies severely curtail civil liberties during major wars, recognizing the need for discipline and a military hierarchy. The communist system is in many ways a refinement of this human convention. The ruling class justifies its power, position, and privilege by claiming that it is necessary in order to defend the nation from external enemies, namely the capitalists.

Even the rulers of the totalitarian governments must have some moral justification for their power. The classic story about the little boy who discovered that the king had no clothes is a fundamental truth. Even the simplest people must be given some justification for believing. Otherwise just ruling by naked power is too expensive, dangerous, and inefficient for any ruling class. Once upon a time governments rested upon the divine rights of kings, emperors, or priests who claimed their authority to rule from God. In modern times governments which are not elected or able to rule through the extended family must have some other justification. This is really the great appeal of communism



for many Third World dictators; it gives them "moral" justification for totalitarian rule.

This need for an enemy is so vital for them that Marxist regimes will even risk losing power rather than modify their doctrine. For example, what could be more stupid than for the Nicaraguans to insist upon keeping in their new national anthem the phrase that the United States is the greatest enemy of all mankind?

When so much of the U.S. liberal establishment favors them and is doing much to promote their cause, how can the Sandinistas be so stupid as to needlessly so antagonize Americans who want to help them? Why do they risk prejudicing American media aid for their allies in El Salvador when it is vital for their own preservation to subvert other Central American nations as well? The simplest answer is that attacking the United States is intrinsic to their very ability to govern Nicaragua, as necessary for them as is water for a thirsty man.

A similar analogy affected the Nazi

totalitarian system. A large part of its power ethos rested upon the concept that Germans were a super-race out to establish once and for all their hegemony over "inferior" races. Even when following this precept was patently inimical for their own preservation, the Nazis couldn't bring themselves to deviate from their ethos. For example, the invading German armies in Russia were at first greeted by the peasants as liberators from their communist masters. Entire Russian armies willingly surrendered to the German invaders. But instead of using this good will to help them win the war, the Germans abused and maltreated the Russians as "inferior" beings. Consequently the Russian peasants turned against them.

And there is a second, lesser but still vital, reason why communist rulers must oppose the Western democracies. The freedom and wealth of capitalist societies represent a threat just by their existence. They represent a constant reminder for people under communist rule that another system of government is possible. The existence of free societies

must always be a threat for totalitarian ones. The West's magnetism is a constant source of anxiety for Marxist rulers, a constant reminder for their people that elsewhere people are free and comfortable, that an alternative exists.

These are the elemental facts of life forgotten or not known to those who cry for "negotiations" with the Salvadoran guerrillas, who beg Fidel Castro and the Sandinistas just to be "reasonable" and not to export their revolutionaries. Negotiations with communists since 1945 have only served their purposes when they are weak (the only time they ever call for negotiating) and need time to regroup, or when they hope to gain a political foothold by means of a coalition government. Compromise is ipso facto impossible for Marxists, except as a temporary means for consolidating their strength.

The truths about totalitarian rule are, of course, not pleasant for Western democracies which want most of all to be left alone to enjoy their wealth and comfort. Especially in the United States today there are many non-leftists who keep imagining that there must be some way to accommodate with the communists. If only we could give them enough so that they would leave us alone.

Unfortunately this is impossible for them by the very nature of their political structure, the basis for the position and privilege of their ruling classes. No longer having an external "enemy" would undermine the ethos of communism. Without a perceived external threat there would be no need for block wardens, vast military establishments, secret police and all the totalitarian paraphernalia, ostensibly needed to "protect the revolution" as the Sandinistas like to phrase it. Communist rulers "need" enemies in order to justify their very being.

Tax Dollars for Special Interests

Donald Lambro

One of the least-publicized spending scandals in Washington is the heavy federal funding still going to thousands of lobbying groups, political organizations and special interests throughout the United States.



This is not a subject you will hear about on the evening news broadcasts or from most members of Congress. They are too busy telling us how the deficit cannot be cut without raising taxes.

Nonetheless, the list of recipients reads like a Who's Who of organizations, including political, social, fraternal and trade groups of every variety—from the Girl Scouts to the National Football League. And the miles of computer printouts that detail the grants and awards being poured into their bulging bank accounts reveal expenditures in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

With the help of congressional inves-

tigators and knowledgeable sources in the departments and agencies dishing out this money, I have spent several weeks investigating this shadowy world of federal grantsmanship.

My findings: At least half of the government's grants are worthless and most of them could be terminated without our country suffering in any way whatsoever.

Virtually all of these grant recipients are being paid to write a report, hold a conference, make a film, publish materials or administer some program—ostensibly for the public good. Yet contract officials say these expenditures are rarely evaluated or monitored by the program managers who bankroll these groups year after year.

"It is an unseen spending arm of government," says one Labor Department official. "These groups are being given millions, but taxpayers are getting very little in return."

For example, the National Endowment for the Humanities' 1981 list of grants shows the well-heeled American Bar Association receiving three grants totaling \$555,000. One, for \$28,000, was for "a program aimed at increasing

the public's understanding of fundamental principles of our legal and judicial system." Another \$450,000 grant, to the ABA in Chicago, sought "to promote good citizenship in students."

Still other NEH grants are supporting a history of the women's movement in Evanston, Ill., for \$2,400; creating an annotated bibliography on women's sexuality for \$36,000; helping the Institute for Social Justice and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now to explain "the history of social movements" for \$201,000; and developing two half-hour scripts for a series on the history of the American Communist Party for \$45,000.

The Energy Department is giving \$180,000 to the Environmental Action Foundation; \$10,000 to the Citizens-Labor Coalition of Kansas City, Mo.; \$52,000 to the Energy Foundation of Texas; \$10,000 to Consumer Action NOW of New York; \$315,000 to the National League of Cities; and \$43,437 to the National Wildlife Federation.

At ACTION, the government's corps of volunteer programs, millions of dollars have been funneled into political-

advocacy groups such as Organizing for Social Change, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass.; the feminist Nine To Five Organization for Women of Boston; and the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council of Washington, D.C.

At the Labor Department, \$10,000 went to the National Urban Coalition; \$2 million to the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Push for Excellence; \$55,000 to the U.S. Conference of Mayors; and \$200,000 to Rural America, Inc., of Washington, D.C. Virtually all of these groups regularly lobby for expanded federal welfare and other aid programs with the help of these tax dollars.

The depth of Washington's special-interest philanthropy is seemingly endless. And although some of these grants have been curbed under Reagan-administration cuts, the scandal is that in many other cases these spending practices persist.

Indeed, in most of the departments and agencies we examined, the grantsmanship game continues to be played.

It is as if nothing has changed in Washington. Unfortunately, in too many federal bureaucracies, little has.

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A Lesson in Economics

Hal McKenzie

Drawing conclusions from a comparison of economic conditions in two completely different countries is a perilous venture, since the situation in one country cannot be imposed on another.



However, an article in the January issue of Korean Culture magazine, published by the Korean Cultural Service in Los Angeles, inspired me to risk it.

The article is entitled "Upward Bound: A Look at Korea's Migrant Squatters" by Vincent S.R. Brandt, an associate of the Center for East Asian Research at Harvard. The author, together with a team of Korean assistants, studied the legions of poor migrants from the countryside who live in ramshackle shantytowns crowding the rugged hillsides around Seoul.

The researchers spent several months studying the migrants in 1969 and 1971-72, then did a follow-up study in 1976 and '77. Between the two time periods, they witnessed a dramatic change in attitude among the slum and shantytown dwellers, as well as a striking upward social mobility they had never expected to find. This was accomplished under a government where welfare as we know it is virtually nonexistent, and which has been branded in the Western media as a capitalist dictatorship where "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

As in many other countries throughout the developing world, rapid economic development in South Korea during the 1960s and early 1970s was accompanied by an enormous wave of migration from rural areas to the cities, especially to Seoul. A severe drought in

the southwest contributed to an influx of as many as 400,000 people to the capital in the peak years of 1969 and 1970. "During the period 1966-1970, the city of Seoul had an annual growth rate of between 8 and 9 percent, of which about 80 percent was due to migration," Brandt writes.

For shelter, most of these migrants were forced to build their own shacks out of whatever materials they could find on the steep hillsides around Seoul. In 1972, an unsympathetic Seoul government classified some 170,000 of these squatter shacks as "illegal" and ruthlessly enforced a prohibition against new shack construction. Furthermore, many of the inner city squatter neighborhoods were razed to make way for low-rent housing, high-rise office buildings, or highways, thus increasing crowding and social dislocation in squatter communities even further.

As could be expected from our own country's experience with urban slums, "widespread social disorganization and a considerable breakdown in traditional institutions and values characterized the areas studied," Brandt writes. There was frequent and intense conflict, both within families and among neighbors. Drunken brawls were common, often resulting in serious injury. Men frequently squandered their meager savings on drink or gambling, returning home late at night to terrorize their wives at any hint of protest. Women with small children were not infrequently deserted by their men when the financial pressures of trying to support a family became overwhelming.

In place of the traditional sense of community and mutual help that characterized village life, "Rather, distrust, jealousy, and incessant, hostile gossip were typical. . . . Noisy quarrels among neighbors over trash disposal, drainage, the use of privies, access to water, and

building space were a continuing part of the social scene," Brandt writes.

Brandt notes that in every neighborhood there was a minority of hard-working, frugal families who kept themselves apart from the squalor around them. However, they moved to better neighborhoods as soon as they got the chance. "Since the more respectable elements kept themselves apart or moved out, the prevailing atmosphere of impoverishment . . . remained undiluted," Brandt writes.

After the first stage of the study was completed in 1971, Brandt concluded gloomily that "The kind of impoverished existence that migrants lead in the city is more than a temporary adjustment to unfavorable economic conditions. It becomes . . . a self-perpetuating, alienated style of life which is transmitted to children, who develop a whole set of moral psychological defenses against the world of power and wealth that condemns them to failure."

Sound familiar? He might just as well have been speaking of Harlem or the South Bronx.

But when Brandt and his assistants returned in 1977, he found that his earlier assessment had been totally off the mark. "What we did not foresee," he writes, "was the speed with which this process could be halted and turned around once steady jobs became available."

Due to a surge in exports and GNP, by 1977 South Korea "was becoming an industrialized nation with one of the fastest-growing economies in the world," Brandt writes. "Contrary to our expectations, we discovered upon returning in 1976 and again in 1977 to those squatter districts that a truly dramatic improvement had taken place in living standards, physical comforts, and morale. . . . The chaotic, demoralized slums where we had lived in 1969

and 1971 had disappeared in a sociological sense. . . ."

The neighborhoods now had electricity, running water and basic sewage and trash removal services. "Inside the houses radio sets, sewing machines, and kerosene stoves were practically standard equipment, while such other electric appliances as television sets, small refrigerators, electric rice cookers, and stereo phonographs were abundant."

In short, Brandt writes, "The response of Koreans to the new opportunities was dynamic, both in rural and urban areas. Migrant squatters discovered that, like everyone else, they could improve their situation through hard work, determination and savings, and as a result, the discouraged, subsistence-oriented apathy of a few years previous gave way to a purposeful scramble for material rewards."

Obviously, the shantytowns of Seoul are not the slums of New York or other economically depressed areas in the United States. Furthermore, Korean culture and social mores are a world away from our own.

Nevertheless, the problems that the shantytown dwellers faced, as well as their response to those problems, are facets of the human condition which should be considered universal if we are not to take the racist attitude that some people "tolerate" hardships more than others, or that some kinds of people are "lazier" than others. It is therefore not far-fetched to say that increased availability of jobs in our nation's slum areas would also reverse the much-decried "subculture" of poverty and hopelessness.

President Reagan's proposed "urban enterprise zones" are designed to do exactly that. Korea's experience is further evidence that he is on the right track.

Washington Inquirer

Kreisky Welcomes Qaddafi

Marx Lewis

Amidst mounting protests from the Australian people, Bruno Kreisky, Austria's Socialist Chancellor, warmly welcomed last week Libyan strong man Qaddafi, leader of the international terrorist movement, for the second time in three years demonstrating his fondness for terrorist leaders. In 1979, Kreisky, and Willy Brandt, Socialist-former Chancellor of West Germany hosted Yasser Arafat, head of the PLO, next to Qaddafi the world's chief practitioner of terrorism.

Following the Kreisky-Qaddafi meeting, Kreisky said his talks with the Libyan terrorist were "calm, constructive and friendly." Qaddafi said that he and Kreisky were seeking a "stable international situation."

The stability both Kreisky and Qaddafi seek is evidenced by what they are both doing to overthrow existing regimes in all parts of the world.

Under the leadership of Willy Brandt, former West Germany Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, its current Chancellor, Kreisky, and former Swedish prime minister Olof Palme, the Socialist International (SI) became an ally of the terrorists and communists. It is now aligned with every subversive movement in the world. At a recent Congress it rejected a resolution condemning Castro's reign of terror in Cuba. Its leaders are now supporting the guerrilla movements in Latin America, supplying them with arms to establish dictatorships. It is currently undermining efforts to restore freedom in Poland. It leads the campaign to disarm the Western powers. It has betrayed the hopes of millions of people who once saw in the Socialist movement the promise of a world of peace and freedom, free from communism, from terrorism.



Now is the Time, Mr. President!

The following Telegram was sent to President Reagan by the Council for the Defense of Freedom.

President Ronald Reagan
The White House

We the undersigned, are gravely concerned about the successful propaganda campaign that is being waged to turn public opinion against your policy of halting the communist takeover of El Salvador.

We believe that this campaign has succeeded in part because the White House, the State Department and the Defense Department have not been effective in explaining the importance of El Salvador to the United States or in exposing and rebutting the disinformation and slanted stories being disseminated through the news media.

It appears to us that there has been a failure to

recognize that since World War II we have been confronted with a new type of warfare. Fourth-rate military powers defeated us in Vietnam and fought us to a draw in Korea despite our overwhelming military might. They achieved the impossible by targeting the morale of our people, undermining their will to carry on the war and to insist upon a winning strategy.

Our experience in Vietnam should have taught us that the war of words and ideas is of primary importance. Our enormous expenditures on military equipment will be in vain if the will to fight is eroded. Our enemies are successfully capitalizing on that truth. We seem to be ignoring it. We have virtually surrendered the field to the enemy.

There is one person in the country who, even at this late hour, can turn the tide.

That is Ronald Reagan. With your superb skills as a communicator, you, and perhaps you alone, can bring home to the American people the simple truth about what is at stake in El Salvador.

We beg that you do this as quickly as possible. Please be sure to include in your message the following points:

1. The Soviet Union, using its Cuban and Nicaraguan puppets, is tightening a noose around this country by consolidating and expanding the base that is already established in Central America. This not only poses a grave threat to vital communications links, including the Panama Canal, but it also clearly endangers our immediate neighbor, Mexico.

2. The fall of El Salvador to the communists will send a message throughout the world that the once great United States is no longer able to defend its friends anywhere in the world. This will enormously increase the danger to such countries as Israel, Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Korea.

3. The communist takeover of Central America and Mexico will confront this country with problems of unprecedented gravity. Our country will be flooded with perhaps millions of refugees, who will flow in across our southern border. Terrorism will become a far more serious problem, destroying our domestic tranquility and our economic productivity.

El Salvador may appear to your political advisers to be an unpopular political issue. That is true only because adequate efforts have not been taken in the past year to educate the public. If you act quickly and turn the tide, your place in history will be assured. If you fail to act, history will inevitably hold you responsible for the disasters that will engulf us.



Marx Lewis
Chairman

September 21, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: VOA - Mr. James B. Conkling

FROM: PL - Phil Nicolaides

In our recent discussion you reviewed a number of problems at VOA and asked me to come up with some considered recommendations. That's a tall order on the basis of my (admittedly) sketchy knowledge of VOA policy, programming, and the kinds of positive and negative feedback you are getting from a variety of sources--especially ambassadors.

The Problems

Oversimplifying your assessment: The VOA has had problems of underfunding, technical obsolescence, and maintaining a proper balance between its mission to provide straight "objective" news and to promote the policies and interests of the United States--as formulated and perceived by a number of administrations. Nevertheless, the VOA is doing a basically good job-- as proved by its huge audience (some 85 million--not counting PRC listeners) and the frantic (\$300 million) Soviet effort to jam it. Staff morale has taken a battering in recent years, and the Voice is still on the receiving end of some sharp criticism from ambassadors. Technical upgrading is under way, and efforts are being made to reverse the tendency toward mush that flowered in the previous administration. But turning things around cannot be accomplished overnight. So what do we do in the meantime to counter criticism and boost morale?

Closely related to this is the question: How can we make an objective judgment on whether we're making progress--how much and how fast? In the private sector you can tell when you 'turn around' a sick corporation: productivity; employee retention; recruitment of superior talent; sales volume, and--above all--profitability, the famous 'bottom line.' But what is the 'bottom line' in something with a goal as ethereal as the stated missions of the VOA?

Before attempting to come up with some concrete suggestions for attacking these problems, it might be helpful to give you some of my general reflections about the VOA.

General Background

Why is the United States Government in the business of running a world-wide radio network service in some 40 languages--providing news, music, entertainment and educational features as well as commentaries on global questions? Are we doing it because the USSR is doing the same thing on an even grander scale? Are we doing it simply because we want our policies to be understood, our customs appreciated, and our way of life better known to the teeming masses of the earth? The latter answer sounds utopian, even a bit maudlin--not very convincing.

Last week I listened to Radio Canada beaming a program to its southern neighbor: very enjoyable, a one-hour history of the American Musical Theater from Victor Herbert to Jerome Kern. But I can't for the life of me see how anyone could explain to the Canadian taxpayers what they were getting out of paying for this. Perhaps I'm being heretical in questioning the whole justification of "public diplomacy." I'm tempted to go further and question that fancy expression itself. Diplomacy means the influencing of foreign governments by direct contact with their officials, explaining, reasoning, apologizing, promising, threatening, in pursuit of the national interest as defined by the government which employs the diplomats. The key to successful diplomacy is effective persuasion. It matters little whether the government officials are happy about the course to which they have been persuaded or whether the persuasion has been done by irrefutable logic, promises, or veiled threats. Diplomacy can be devious and harsh--diplomats tell lies and deliver ultimata--but it is usually sugar-coated by elaborate language and rituals suffused with deference and bogus amiability.

Diplomacy, then, is primarily an effort at persuasion aimed at a small number of government officials, carried on with great tact, usually behind the scenes. The only thing it has in common with "Public Diplomacy" is that it is an effort to persuade. But blackmailers, preachers, and ardent suitors are also in the business of persuasion, and it would simply be confusing to suggest they are all practicing some special brand of 'diplomacy.'

The professor at Tufts who dreamed up the expression "Public Diplomacy," was looking for a bland, sanitized substitute for propaganda, a word that had fallen into disrepute because some of its most gifted practitioners had put it to the service of odious ideologies. But the fact is that propaganda has more in common with advertising and public relations than with 'diplomacy.' Advertising and public relations* involve the persuasion of large number of people--chiefly through mass media. One of the first great American copy-writers defined advertising as "selling in print." Today of course, he would include the broadcast media.

Every salesman knows that his efforts must result in more than assent on the part of the prospect; they must result in action, or at least a change of attitude--a disposition to act. Therefore selling involves more than reasoning, it involves emotions: people buy the sizzle not the steak; the fun of taking Polaroid pictures, not a piece of optical machinery; the protection against "offending," not a bar of soap. This is really nothing new. The ancients knew all about it. They distinguished between the science of logic and the art of rhetoric. What is new is the use of mass media to do what Demosthenes and Cicero did with their voices.

*In public relations, unlike advertising one does not have complete control over the content, context, and, placement of the message.

If I have taken a lot of time with definitions, it is not as a mere academic exercise. I feel that one of the reasons the USIA/USICA in general and the Voice of America in particular have not done as good a job as they might is that they have been 'positioned' somehow in the world of 'diplomacy' and staffed with a large number of people who fancy themselves as diplomats. "Public Diplomacy" is a term that suggests that what this agency and its components do is a species of the genus 'diplomacy.' In fact we are--as all the world understands--a propoganda agency. Propaganda is a species of the genus advertising: i.e. advertising in the service of a government, a government agency, or a public policy.

Since the word propaganda still suffers from negative connotations, lets agree that the generally acceptable substitute is information. But let's not let this lead us down another path to confusion: the view that the USIA/USICA (including and especially VOA) is a "news gathering and disseminating" agency--essentially a journalistic enterprise of some sort. This particular tilt may have come from the prominence of celebrated journalists (Murrow, Chancellor, Rowan) in the agency's history.

I was delighted when you described the programming on the Voice as the means of attracting the audience and the commentary as the "commercial." It suggests you have a far sounder understanding of why we are using public monies than the usual highfalutin essays about the value of supplying accurate, objective, and comprehensive factual information to an eagerly, waiting world. Every advertising man knows that the medium (whether it's a magazine or a radio station) can do only two things: (1) assemble a certain kind of audience, and (2) put them in a certain frame of mind. He selects the medium which will attract a high percentage of likely prospects for his message (Geritol favors the "Lawrence Welk Show," Cartier advertises in the New Yorker) and provides, if possible, a setting or ambience which is inclined to make the audience more receptive to the message.

Too often, it seems to me, the VOA has been blamed for the content of the message. This is manifestly unfair. It's like blaming a salesman for selling too many cars that are later subject to a manufacturer's recall. Clearly the fault is with the manufacturer, not the salesman. The VOA can hardly be blamed for conveying what it was told to convey. It has been criticized, for example, for inflaming the Hungarian masses in 1956-- and leading them to think the U.S. and its allies would quickly come to their aid if they revolted against their Soviet overlords. It is rarely pointed out that during the full week Imre Nagy proclaimed his government independent of the USSR we might have established a token presence which would have made the Soviets think twice before risking a confrontation with the West.

None of the recent articles about the Voice I have seen mentions the fact that during and immediately after the U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion the VOA was used to bombard Cuba with broadcasts asseverating that the United States

had nothing to do with the invasion and would not intervene with its own troops under any circumstances. If there were any forces in Cuba looking for a signal to join in a general uprising against Castro, they must have been effectively persuaded this was not a very opportune time. If there were any forces ready to pull a palace coup d'etat against Castro in the hope of prompt and effective support from the U.S., the VOA was surely effective in dissuading them. One wonders whether all the elements of the American Government -- the CIA, the military, the State Department, and even the President -- were all reading from the same script. Indeed, Adlai Stevenson later complained bitterly that he was kept in the dark about the operation, and found himself eloquently denying in the UN that the U.S. was involved in any way. Surely the VOA cannot be blamed for its role in this sad episode.

VOA - First Line of Defense

Let's get back to the question of why we ask the taxpayer to subsidize a global radio network? Now the answer is clear: to provide an appropriate and unduplicated medium with which to reach foreign audiences we need to reach in the interest of national security.

Fulbright scoffed at the VOA as a "relic of the Cold War." In one sense he was right. The justification for such an enterprise diminishes to the degree that we live in a world of friendly nations posing no threat to us or each other. In such a world most of the functions of the USIA/USICA in general and the VOA in particular would be nugatory or redundant. Some of the recent architects of national policy, indulging in wishful thinking, have tended to mislead us into imagining that we really do live in such a world. Schooled by Kissinger, President Ford spoke of "potential adversaries," where President Kennedy had spoken of "foes" and Eisenhower of "brutal and hostile regimes." President Carter even urged us to purge our hearts and minds of the "inordinate fear of communism."

To put it quite bluntly, the USIA/USICA is justified because it is (or should be) the primary psychological arm in a global struggle against a powerful, determined, implacable foe--bent on "burying" our system, as one of its more candid leaders confessed, and establishing "world hegemony," as one of its former allies continually warns us. We have, in fact, been in a state of "protracted conflict" with the Soviet Empire since the end of World War II. That conflict has many dimensions, military, economic, and psychological. The latter dimension is one to which they give great attention. On a global scale they sedulously pursue a propaganda program designed to exacerbate the

conflicts and tensions within our society and those of our allies, to create dissension between us and our allies, and to alienate from us and our allies the ruling elites and even the masses of the 'non-aligned' nations.

Like all good propagandists (advertisers) they have a consistent overall theme which they hammer out again and again with variations, embellishments and illustrations:

The United States is the leader of cabal of ruthless and heartless plutocrats bent on using any means to maintain and expand its worldwide web of oppression and exploitation. The Soviet Union and its fraternal socialist states is in the vanguard of the revolution, giving generous support to oppressed peoples everywhere who seek to root out the last traces of racist, colonialist, and capitalistic oppression. Increasingly the leaders and peoples of the 'Third World' (the 'Non-Aligned Nations') are joining the triumphant march of socialism, despite pockets of resistance by corrupt feudal and/or colonial regimes (the Shah, the Saudis, Somoza, Smith, Botha, et al.).

The number of such regimes, keeps dwindling, despite desperate efforts by capitalist ruling circles to prop them up. Unfortunately, socialist unity has been marred by eccentric deviationist movements in Albania and Yugoslavia (similar disturbing symptoms may now be noted in Poland). More serious, of course, has been the falling away from authentic Marxism-Leninism by China under the personality-cult rule of Mao Tse Tung and his successors who have been guilty of Great Han Chauvinism, racism, left extremism and -- finally -- selling out socialism by throwing in their lot with the U.S. Capitalist-Imperialist bloc against the Motherland of the Revolution.

The only convincing raison d'etre for the VOA, therefore, is to counter this broadcast barrage. But merely refuting Soviet canards is not enough. We, too, must have an overall theme. We must portray the Soviet Union as the last great predatory empire on earth, remorselessly enslaving its own diverse ethnic populations, crushing the legitimate aspirations of its captive nations, and ever seeking by all means, from subversion to military intervention, to widen the areas it subjugates. I will not attempt a detailed prescription for rewriting Radio Moscow's basic script, in which the white and black hats are so ludicrously misplaced. But here's a rough sketch:

We must strive to 'destabilize' the Soviet Union and its satellites by promoting disaffection between peoples and rulers, underscoring the lies and denials of rights, inefficient management of the economy, corruption, indifference to the real wants and needs of the people, suppression of cultural diversity, religious persecution, etc. We should seek to drive wedges of resentment and suspicion between the leadership of the various Communist Bloc nations. We should fan the flames of nationalism within the puppet states controlled by the USSR. We should encourage religious revivals behind the Iron Curtain. We should counter Soviet propaganda designed to alienate the populations of our allies and to foster hostility toward us among peoples of the Third World. We should extol the merits of our system of pluralist, representative democracy and free enterprise as the surest guarantor of human rights and proven provider of the greatest prosperity the world has ever known. We should portray our system as one which makes no false pretense of being perfect -- as do the closed totalitarian systems of our adversaries -- but which admits the possibility of correcting faults and achieving social betterment through peaceful reforms achieved by consensus, etc.

If that is our 'message' we do have a way of establishing a 'Bottom Line' for the VOA: to what extent is that message being listened to and 'bought' by the target populations. This raises several questions: Do we have a consistent 'message'? And, if so, have we been presenting it in a convincing way to the people we wish to influence?.

Assuming we have a go-ahead on a general theme and have singled out target audiences we wish to reach and influence, we can take steps to measure effectiveness. If we are trying to convince our Western European allies, for example, that the development of the neutron warhead and its availability for quick deployment in Europe will neutralize a very real threat from overwhelming Soviet armor and will not make the outbreak of nuclear war more likely, we can determine (by polling, monitoring European media, etc.) to what extent our campaign has been successful.

If we are trying to convince the predominantly Moslem populations of some Third World countries that the U.S., as a tolerant, pluralist society, poses no threat to Islam, but that Islam is threatened by an officially and militantly atheistic Soviet Government which represses the religious aspirations of its own large Moslem population and brutally crushes the national as well as religious aspirations of the Afghanistani people, we can (with greater difficulty) do some polling in selected Moslem countries.

But are we getting through to the people behind the Iron Curtain? This is more difficult to determine. We have a pretty good handle on how many people tune in. It's a huge audience that manages to listen despite jamming and risks of reprisal by repressive governments. But are we persuading them? Are we giving them the kinds of information they want, the kinds of insight into our culture and values? Reliable polling on such matters inside the Soviet Empire is out of the question. We must rely on second-hand reports and imperfect samples. But we should not scorn this kind of information even if it would not pass muster with Scammon and Wattenberg. I feel we should make very serious efforts to sample the attitudes of recent refugees and emigres from Soviet bloc countries. In quite a few cases we might also get input from people who left those countries some years ago, have since been naturalized as American citizens, and who have returned recently from revisiting their native land. Natives (often relatives, friends, and townsfolk) will open up to them in a way they would never open up to a Western diplomat or correspondent. I have some thoughts as to how we might reach these people through questionnaires, focus groups, etc. to develop a picture of how these very significant target populations feel about VOA and other international broadcast services.*

In my own informal discussion with a few such people I learned that people behind the Iron Curtain are starved for religious information, inspiration, etc. Yet only about 45 original minutes of weekly programming to the USSR is religious in nature and content -- and a lopsided one third of this is Jewish!

Emigres complain that the ratio of music to news and features is too high on channels which are subject to jamming. Almost nobody will listen to jammed music for any length of time. They complain that the news often dwells on stories in which they have little or no interest (e.g. the U.S. baseball strike) or on negative news about the U.S. and/or its allies which Soviet news sources tend to overplay anyway. They complain that the feature stories often lack bite or interest; that we seem to bend over backwards so as not to offend their Communist rulers (is the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine still in force?!). Our younger audiences want more music, especially current rock and roll, jazz, and country and western.

What I'm suggesting is that the first way to reduce criticism is to eliminate unwarranted criticism -- in other words make whatever improvements and changes that can be made within the law and get the law changed in those cases where it is holding us back: the rule, for example, that we cannot broadcast to West Germany in German, to France in French, or to Japan in Japanese. This strikes me as strange. Strengthening the resolve of our allies should be, a high priority mission.

*USICA's Office of Research has already developed an interesting technique of "surrogate interviewing."

"Our news should be factually accurate. Credibility is all-important. But we need not expatiate endlessly on stories which tend to put us or our allies in a bad light while glossing over stories which discredit the leadership of communist nations. Given the editorial choice of telling Bulgarians about another U.S. auto recall announcement or another crop failure in the Ukraine, we should not hesitate to blue pencil the Detroit story.

Our audiences do not expect us to lie to them, but they figure the VOA is telling them what the U.S. Government wants them to know. They must be puzzled about our self-confidence as a society if they must listen to protracted features from NPR exposing domestic scandals, etc.

Our commentaries should be very hard-hitting, unsparing in their criticisms of Soviet policies and political leadership, but we should praise the Russian people, their authentic culture, their immemorial spirituality ("Holy Russia"), etc.

We should never miss an opportunity to contrast their system -- in which they have no say in who rules them -- and ours, in which the "consent of the governed" is a central concept.

We should not hesitate to ask again and again "Why do the officials of your government waste hundreds of millions of rubles trying to jam this program, trying to prevent you from hearing this? Why do the commissars fear the truth? Why do they fear you?"

For a time the delusions of detente impelled us to have a rule that the name of Solzhenitsyn must not be spoken on any VOA programming to the USSR. We should now redress that balance with a vengeance. The voices of knowledgeable and celebrated emigres and defectors should be heard with frequency on commentary and features directed behind the Iron Curtain. They should also be quoted in English on our English-language broadcasts.

The VOA should serve as a vehicle for circulating samizdat throughout the length and breadth of the USSR in Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, etc., and also in English translations.

In presenting a 'cross section' of American opinion from radio and TV we should broaden our selection. (Right now VOA selects only from commentaries on the three major networks plus Turner's cable TV.) Radio and TV stations all across America should be invited (on a selective basis) to send tapes and transcripts of their local commentaries on world events for possible retransmission overseas. I suspect there

would be a lot of enthusiastic private sector co-operation on such a project and that the views of stations in Dallas, Los Angeles, Tulsa, Nashville and Denver might be a refreshing counterweight to the generally liberal consensus of northeastern communicators.

HOW TO HANDLE CRITICISM

I've suggested that the first line of defense against criticism is to work to change those aspects of VOA operation which deserve to be criticized. But criticism will still roll in from those who differ with us on what should be the VOA's prime focus.

One of the advantages of being a "New Broom" is that for a while we can attribute most of the blunders and shortcomings which prompt adverse comment to previous administrations, especially the most recent. Moreover, it is a commonplace of interpersonal psychology that one of the most effective ways of defanging a critic is to allow him to vent his hostility without immediate resistance, even asking in a quiet way for more elaboration. The same technique can often work in public relations. We can co-opt our critics. We can, in effect reposition them in their own minds as collaborators with us in improving the operation of the VOA. We should assume (or at least act as though we assume) that all critics (except those unabashedly in the enemy's camp) are really eager to work with us to strengthen and improve the VOA.

We should thank them for listening to VOA, point out how helpful it is to us and to all who are working in VOA to have thoughtful criticism by regular listeners with a keen interest in the agency's work. We should ask if they have any further criticisms -- general or particular, favorable or unfavorable. We should invite them to comment on a regular basis on the programming they listen to, etc. Whether we agree with the tenor of their criticism or not, we should assure them that we "share their concerns." If they allege factual error we should assure them we will investigate the matter closely and that it is our policy to check our facts very carefully. At this time much of the criticism, I suspect, leans in the direction that the VOA is too mealy-mouthed, too permissive of criticism of the U.S. and the Reagan Administration, too soft on the Soviets, etc. If we are able to change those things which give some color to these criticisms, we may then expect a barrage of charges that we're over-politicizing the VOA, losing credibility by slanting, reviving 'Cold War' attitudes!

During the transition period there will be some criticism of each kind. "The worst of all possible worlds," someone might say. Not at all. This can be cited as proof that we are being even-handed.

And when we finally get to the point that the only criticism of the VOA is howling from the Kremlin, antiphonal ululation from the U.S. hard left, and even greater Soviet efforts at jamming, we can crack open the champagne!

file
VOA

THE SOFT VOICE OF AMERICA

Aleksandr
Solzhenitsyn

THIRTY YEARS AGO, in 1953, when I had just been freed from the labor camp, I bought a radio receiver with the first money I earned. It was during my exile in Kazakhstan, and it was considered a suspicious move: why should someone in exile buy a radio? But I listened intently, through the horrendous jamming, and tried to catch some bits of information from the Western nations' Russian-language broadcasts. I got to be so expert that even if I could only catch half a sentence, I could complete it from just those few words. For twenty years I listened constantly to Russian-language broadcasts from the West. I made use of the information, rejoiced in the successes, and was deeply distressed by the mistakes.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance these broadcasts could have if they were well directed. Of course, people in the Soviet Union still listen to them, but many become disillusioned, as I did. I fear that those who determine the general tone of America's Russian-language broadcasts did not understand at the beginning, and do not understand today, the main aim and purpose of these broadcasts. The objective should be to establish mutual trust, warm feelings, and contact with the oppressed people, and thus to tear them away, to help them tear themselves away, from their Communist oppressors. If this had been done over the last thirty years, how different things might be today! I can say without exaggeration that maybe we would not be thinking that there is danger of another world war.

But this has never been understood. In recent years the quality of these broadcasts has steadily declined—the Voice of America has not been good for some time now, and Radio Liberty is getting worse, much worse.

In order to formulate correctly the general direction the broadcasts should take, at least two questions must be answered. First, what is the situation in the countries to which the broadcasts are beamed? And second, what is the condition of those oppressed peoples, what are their needs, what kind of spiritual hunger do they have? With respect to the first question, the entire West, including the United States, seems to be bewitched, doomed eternally to a false vision of the situation in Communist countries. In the Thirties—

during the most dreadful time of Stalinist terror, when Stalin was exterminating many millions of people—editorials in the United States proclaimed the Soviet Union to be a country of social justice. President Roosevelt extended a helping hand to Stalin, and American businessmen rushed to provide the technological assistance without which Stalin could not have built his industrial base. And at the end of the war, America and Britain made Stalin a gift of all of Eastern Europe. It should have been understood that the Soviet rulers were enemies of their own people. But this was not understood. Since, in the West, the government is elected by the people, Westerners like to think that the government and the people are one and the same. Even in this country that is not the case, as I see when I compare the opinions of the people I live among in Vermont with the news from Washington, D.C. And then consider that these differences of outlook are nothing compared to the situation behind the Iron Curtain. In actual fact, in all Communist countries the government and the people are categorically opposed to each other. There is a gulf between them.

Failing to understand this was the great historical mistake that Roosevelt made in the Thirties and Forties. This mistake cost the Free World half of the globe—perhaps less than half in terms of territory, but more than half in population. And today the greatest danger is that the Free World's leaders will repeat Roosevelt's fatal mistake.

In fact, the same mistake *has* been repeated over and over again through the years. For instance, with Tito. Tito was the murderer, the executioner, of his people. Right after World War II, he shot hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens. He even shot down American civilian planes near the Austrian border. All this was forgiven (and worse, forgotten), and he has been held up as a great statesman. The same error was repeated again with Cuba. It was proclaimed in the Free World that what had taken place in Cuba was a people's revolution. The same error was repeated again with North Vietnam. A totalitarian gang there seized the whole country, and American progressives proclaimed that it was a national movement for freedom. In Nicaragua, right under our nose, a totalitarian group of Communists seized power, and the Carter Administration hurried to help them financially.

This article is adapted from an interview with Representative John LeBoutillier, part of which was broadcast on NBC's Tomorrow Show. It was translated by Julia Mansvetov.

The fatal historical mistake of liberalism is to see no enemy on the left, to consider that the enemy is always on the right. It is the same mistake which destroyed Russian liberalism in 1917, when the liberals overlooked the real danger, which was from Lenin. The same error—the mistake of Russian liberalism—is being repeated on a worldwide scale today.

And worst of all is China. China in the Eighties is like the Soviet Union in the Thirties; it is in need of everything. It seeks aid from America. If the U.S. provides it with technology and then with weapons, China may, for a while, serve as a safeguard against the Soviet Union, although even that is problematical. But if the U.S. arms China, China may take over the second half of the earth—that second half which includes America.

Never forget that Mao's government murdered millions—even more, probably, in proportion to the population than Stalin did. China is even more closed to foreigners than the Soviet Union. The West knows even less about it. When, thirty years from now, you read the Chinese *Gulag Archipelago*, you will be amazed: "Oh, what a pity, and we didn't know!" But you must know! You must know in time, and not when it is too late.

No matter what the Chinese rulers may say when they are looking for favors from the U.S., no Communist government ever cares about the rights, the development of its people. Communist governments are like cancerous tumors: they grow wildly and have two aims only: first, to strengthen their power, and second, to expand their boundaries. Those are the aims of the Chinese government, as they are those of the Soviet government.

Now, to go back to the second point that VOA, Radio Liberty, and the other Western broadcasters should be considering: the inner state of the people toward whom the broadcasts are directed, their spiritual hunger, their frustrations, their aspirations.

Their main need is for knowledge. Information in the Soviet papers and on Soviet television is distorted beyond recognition. Those who live in the Soviet Union know, in a general way, what is happening in the world, but they know nothing of what is going on in the neighboring town, in the neighboring county. That is why foreign broadcasts are so important for them: only from such broadcasts can they get news about themselves, about what is happening to them.

Not to know what is happening in and to your own country is crippling. That is why the Voice of America's self-imposed limits are so misguided. What does the average Soviet citizen know about, say, Afghanistan? Everything he hears from the government is distorted. And yet the Voice of America, which could fill this gap, has placed limits on its own best sources of information. It refrains from using rich accumulations of material because it believes that it only has the right to broadcast in a way which will not irritate the Communist leaders. For instance, the émigré anti-Communist magazine *Possev*, published in Frankfurt am Main, contains plenty of material about Afghanistan; its reporters travel to Afghanistan and meet with Afghan resistance fighters. Yet the Voice of America does not broadcast such material to the Soviet Union because it comes from a magazine which is too anti-Communist. Instead, VOA feeds its listeners second-rate gossip about what diplomats in Delhi hear third-hand. Thus, instead of effectively giving us news, VOA helps to keep us ignorant. In order not to violate

State Department policy, it gives us a stone in place of bread.

Here is another example: a major rebellion took place in Novocherkassk in 1962, but for over ten years there was not a word about it on Western radio broadcasts—not one! Either the broadcasters did not know about the revolt or it was not reported in "sufficiently proven" sources. If the broadcasters do not have documentary proof, they can't report on rebellions. And so it was not until ten years later that we heard from Western broadcasts about our own great rebellion in Novocherkassk.

Here is still another example drawn from my personal experience. In December 1973, when I was still in the Soviet Union, *The Gulag Archipelago* was published in the West. VOA—or, rather, one VOA announcer—read an excerpt from *Gulag* on the air. Immediately, Radio Moscow started screaming that VOA had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, that the broadcast had fouled the international atmosphere. And what did VOA do? With the agreement of the State Department, it took the announcer off that assignment and forbade the reading of

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The Gulag Archipelago to Russia! More, for several years it was forbidden to quote Solzhenitsyn on VOA, so as not to discredit Communist propaganda. My book was written for Russians. Millions of copies were read in the West, but it could not be read to our Motherland!

But the Western broadcasters should be considering not only what the people of the Soviet Union know and don't know, but also what their concrete situation is. For 65 years, Soviet citizens have been working for a pittance. For 65 years, both the mother and the father in a family have worked, but their combined earnings are insufficient to support the family. They are never paid more than 10 or 20 per cent of what their work is worth. All the rest is taken by the government in order to produce weapons. Several generations of my people have gone hungry. We may even be approaching physical degeneration. We are poisoned with alcohol. Women are carrying a load which men could not manage, a double load as workers both inside and outside the home. Our birthrate has fallen sharply, and infant mortality has risen.

We are poisoned both physically and morally. Poisoned physically by military manufacturing that is carried out without any protection of the surrounding environment—there is no control of water or air pollution. And poisoned morally because for 65 years we have been inculcated with Communist lies.

This combination of poisons has brought my people to a

state close to spiritual and physical death. All memory of our past, our history, and especially the history of the last century has been wiped out. The history of the last century is particularly dangerous for the Communists, because that history is their enemy. The Communists are systematically destroying all traces of the truth, so that soon we won't know anything about ourselves. I would compare this to when, in Stalinist times, the father and the mother of a family were both arrested, the children sent to an orphanage, and their last names changed so that they never knew whose children they were, what their origins were, what their past was.

Our people are in the same situation. They are deprived of any memories about themselves. Or they are like someone lying in bed, dying; and the American radio broadcasts are like a visitor—not a doctor, but a visitor—who comes in very self-satisfied, cheerful, beautifully dressed, and sits down, and says: "Now I will entertain you. Now I will tell you how I dress, how many suits I have, what a wonderful apartment I have, what I recently bought, how much money I save, what a good time I have. Do you want me to do a little dance for you?" And the visitor begins to do various dances in front of him.

That's how radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union are run today. They give us nothing to slake our spiritual hunger. Instead, a foreign voice reads us propaganda lectures on how to understand the world. Granted, these lectures come not from a Communist point of view but from a liberal democratic one. But after 65 years *all* propaganda has become repulsive to us.

That's just one aspect. It is the most important aspect for our people; but there is another side, the one that is most important for America. These broadcasts give a picture which does not correspond to the spiritual life of the American people. They speak of trite, superficial things, so that our people have a lower opinion of Americans than Americans deserve.

VOA broadcasts are full of frivolity. For instance, there are three different jazz programs, a program of pop music, a program of dance music, and then a youth program on which all of these are repeated. This is such a mistake. Perhaps those interested in jazz may turn on their radio five minutes earlier or turn it off five minutes later and in this way happen to hear something besides jazz. But the point is, we don't need VOA jazz programs, which are jammed, because our jazz fans have at their disposal jazz programs from the rest of the world, which no one jams. They can hear these programs perfectly. So VOA does not attract listeners that way; all it does is waste valuable air-time.

Or consider sports. With great solemnity VOA broadcasts programs on sports. But sports are a favorite subject of Soviet radio. It is the only interest which Soviet radio willingly fosters in our youth—because, in the Soviet Union, sports act as the opium of the people. They divert young people from thinking about their situation, about their history, and about politics—something the Western broadcasts should not be encouraging. Even worse, the stations find time to broadcast about hobbies. These programs repel and anger the Soviet listener and make him turn off the radio; he feels only contempt for a broadcast that tells him how people with lots of time at their disposal collect empty bottles, or labels from something or another. Or he is told, in great detail, about the conveniences of international travel—information of no conceivable use to him—

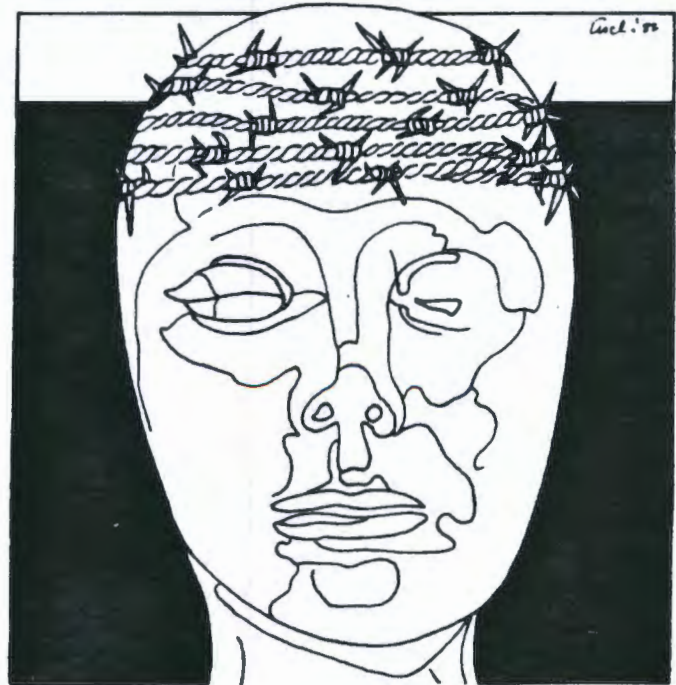
when the time could be spent on subjects of value to him such as history and religion.

To sum up: Radio broadcasts from the United States do not give our people the spiritual help they need. That's one point. Secondly, the broadcasts present Americans as more trivial and less significant than they really are, i.e., they are doing America harm. And, thirdly, the stations limit even simple information about current events. In matters of foreign policy, they are overly scrupulous about sources, as witness the case of Afghanistan. So far as the internal situation in the Soviet Union is concerned, the broadcasts concentrate on material provided by dissidents in Moscow. If tomorrow the dissident movement should be destroyed, that source of information would be lost altogether.

But there are great fields of information about the Soviet Union of which Soviet citizens need to hear, and which the American broadcasters either do not have or do not wish to use. Instead, there is wide coverage on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. Half-hour after half-hour is spent on interviews with recent émigrés: how they like America; how they have found work; how much they earn; how they have furnished their houses. Not that there is anything wrong with this. But it is given disproportionate emphasis, and it replaces needed information about the situation within the Soviet Union. And what feeling does it arouse in the Soviet listener? Irritation. Most Soviet citizens cannot emigrate to the West. Only a certain number of Jews can. Why then boast about how well they are doing? It is tactless.

Our people want to be told about our workers, how they fare in our country, but the broadcasts do not speak of that. What is the situation of our peasantry? There is never a broadcast on that subject. The situation in the provinces? The cruel conditions of service in the army? People in the army listen to the broadcasts—there are many shortwave sets there. But nothing is ever broadcast about any of these situations.

The Soviet worker, the peasant, the soldier—all live under dreadful pressure, but their stories remain untold. Such in-



formation is widely available in the émigré press, and it could be broadcast to the USSR without much effort. But to do so would violate State Department policy. The Soviet rulers might get angry at the State Department and refuse to buy from the U.S. the modern electronics without which they cannot live.

The greatest spiritual need of our people is to become aware of themselves. If during the past thirty years the Western broadcasts had helped our people remember who they were, helped them to rise spiritually to their feet, the entire world situation would be different. Our recent history has been trampled and distorted beyond recognition;

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everything we hear is saturated with propaganda. It is hard for Americans to imagine such ignorance. The average Soviet citizen in essence knows nothing: what were the causes of the Revolution; how it occurred, and how the Bolsheviks took it over and instituted totalitarian rule; what people's movements there were against the Bolsheviks, and how they were suppressed; how our peasantry and our working class were destroyed by terrorist means. We need to know the truth about all this. If such knowledge were given us, we would—both civilian and soldier—become spiritually free of our government.

However, programming at VOA and Radio Liberty is now mostly in the hands of ideologues who are operating under the influence of myths, of false beliefs about Russia. And at the root of these myths we find Karl Marx. Marx claimed that the Russian people were "reactionary." And from that claim it followed that all of Russian history was "reactionary"—the monarchy was "reactionary," Russian traditions were "reactionary," most Russian leaders were "reactionary," even our Orthodox religion was "reactionary." So what do the ideologues do? They shoot down two-thirds of our historical figures for fear that they might be called "reactionary." If some American journalist—just one—or some second-rate scholar has ever said about a Russian that he was "reactionary," then that Russian is eliminated from history: he no longer exists.

In this way, paradoxically, American broadcasts tend to help the Communists. The Communists fight to root out our memory of our history, and U.S. broadcasts do the same. Consider a recent example: Last September was the seventieth anniversary of the death—actually the murder—of the greatest Russian statesman of the twentieth century, Prime Minister Stolypin (1862-1911). In the five years prior to his death, Stolypin had succeeded in pulling Russia out of complete chaos and disintegration into a state of prosperity. The act of his murder inaugurated the great terror of the twen-

tieth century. Yet both Radio Liberty and the Voice of America killed anniversary broadcasts on Stolypin. A fine broadcast had been prepared at Radio Liberty: it was dropped without discussion or explanation. The Voice of America had prepared an eight-minute reading from my chapter on Stolypin. The broadcast had already been announced, but it too was killed. These parallel actions show that there is no question of different administrators making independent decisions—there is an ideology that dominates the direction taken by both stations. No matter where one locates Stolypin—some consider him a liberal, others a conservative—he was a great Russian statesman, and I would like to underline the amazing fact that both American radio stations, independently of each other, censored their broadcasts in advance, even though their listeners had been told that the broadcasts would take place.

Consider a final example of the kind of self-censorship which prevents Radio Liberty and the Voice of America from satisfying the spiritual needs of their audience. Russian Orthodoxy, during the past 65 years, has suffered its own Golgotha. Constant efforts have been made to destroy Christianity in Russia, to root it completely out of memory and heart. That is the consistent policy of the Soviet government, and it has resulted in tens of millions of people not being able to go to church. Many live three hundred miles from the nearest church, i.e., they can have a child christened, but they cannot attend church regularly. American broadcasts once again could help fill this gap: they could carry services, mark Christian holidays, explain the divine services and Christian terminology, especially to children, who are almost totally deprived of religion in the USSR. Communist power seeks to deprive us of religion; and American



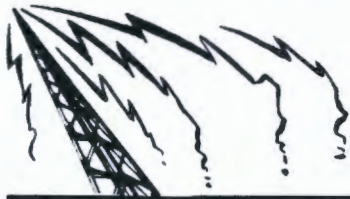
radio broadcasts, directed by ideologues who accept the stupid premise that Russian Christianity is "reactionary," follow the Communists' lead.

For thirty years the broadcasts have avoided any encouragement to Russian Orthodoxy to rise up and become an organized social power in Russia. I don't know anything about the American Polish-language broadcasts. I hope they have been excellent. I hope they have supported Polish Catholicism, strengthened it. But for the Russian people, the broadcasts ignore religion; it is as if they deliberately seek to avoid encouraging us to find strength in the Church, to create such religious unification as exists in Poland.

The year 1981 saw a sharp turn for the worse in Radio Liberty. I will say nothing about the 15 other languages in

which Radio Liberty broadcasts, which I do not know. But the programs in Russian have degenerated to such an extent that, if they continue as they are going, it would be better to do away with them altogether.

Still, there is a Latin proverb that goes, "*Dum spiro, spero*"—where there's life, there's hope. Thirty years have gone by, but that does not mean that we should not begin again today. We do not know how much time history will give us, and maybe it is still possible to accomplish much if the Reagan Administration actively undertakes to improve U.S. broadcasts. I am not speaking about an increase in the budget, but about a fundamental change in direction. I have said much that needed to be said. The rest is in the hands of your Administration. □



Richard Brookhiser

ON THE RIGHT-HAND side of the Mall, as you approach the Capitol, lies a squat, characterless building, indistinguishable from its squat fellows, which houses the main offices of the Voice of America. For a few days last fall, the Voice figured luridly in news stories and on the editorial pages of the larger newspapers. A senator fumed and Herblock drew a cartoon. The brouhaha was quickly tamped down, however, and last month Philip Nicolaidis, the Reagan appointee who had stimulated it, was released from the Voice's parent agency. The Voice receded from the consciousness of the people for whom it speaks.

It does not deserve this neglect. The Voice of America is one of the largest radio stations in the world. Its 101 transmitters are scattered around the globe, from Liberia to Sri Lanka to Greenville, North Carolina. It broadcasts in 39 languages, from Albanian to Vietnamese, and is heard by as many people in the Soviet Union as read *Pravda* (the Soviets spend more money on jamming VOA than America spends on broadcasting it). The recent events at the Voice were more than an episode in the career of one man; they form a chapter in the endless—and, it sometimes seems, endlessly futile—attempts of Republican Presidents and their supporters to have some influence on their own Administration; they illuminate, from yet another angle, the prejudices of the media, and they raise questions about American strategy—or non-strategy.

The Voice of America first went on the air a month and a half after Pearl Harbor. Eight years after the war's end, Congress placed it within the newly created United States Information Agency—now the U.S. International Communication Agency—where it remains today. (Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are entirely distinct entities, never associated with the Voice, and overseen by the Board of International Broadcasting.) The mission of the Voice—or as much mission as Congress ever saw fit to commit to paper—was spelled out in its Charter: since "the long-range interests of the United States are served by communicating directly with the people of the world by radio," the Voice

is enjoined to "serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news"; to "present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions"; and to "present the policies of the United States" along with "responsible discussion . . . on these policies."

These injunctions were not Delphic, but they were not exhaustive in their precision either, and over the years there has been a fair amount of hauling and tugging. John Chancellor, Voice Director in the mid-Sixties, observed that "the Voice has been placed at the intersection of journalism and diplomacy." Diplomacy required it, on one famous occasion, to lie: the Voice denied, in 1961, that Washington had anything to do with the Bay of Pigs invasion. There have been acts of omission as well. In 1975, the Voice was urged to withhold for 48 hours the news that Saigon was doomed, in the interests of averting a panic.

Throughout the Seventies, the tidal pull of detente gave rise to numerous flows and eddies. When Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn received the Nobel Prize, the strongest anti-Communist passages in his acceptance speech were blue-penciled from the Voice's account. The prevailing view at the Voice to this day is that he is discredited, generally unpopular, heeded only by small groups of intellectuals. Also a little dull: "He says the same things all the time," one newsroom veteran paraphrased the conventional wisdom. "We can't bug the Soviets about it." In 1978, the Voice edited its own Warsaw correspondent. A poet, addressing a meeting of the Polish Writers' Congress, had denounced the censorship enveloping the Katyn Forest Massacre. It was a remarkable story, a premonition of the spirit of Solidarity, and the reporter got all of it. But the account as finally broadcast omitted all the poet's references to the Soviet Union.

The fact is that different Voice employees have always tended to interpret the Charter in different ways. "The Voice is two radio networks," is how one employee expressed it to me—an English-language one, centered in news and programming, from which most of the scripts emanate; and a foreign-language conglomerate, comprising all the translators and broadcasters responsible for actually reaching the Voice's non-English-speaking listeners. To these two networks, there is added a small diplomatic corps—Foreign

Service Officers (FSOs) who fill various posts, including the top slots in many of the language services.

The English copywriters are overwhelmingly American-born and universally better paid. Their byword—or buzz word—is “professional,” and their fondest memory is Watergate (VOA told the whole story; the Soviet Union downplayed it). In fact, they have all the ambitions and preconceptions of private-sector American newsmen, whose peers they feel they are. They want to be “an international CBS,” a veteran of the European division told me. “We are not spokesmen for the United States,” William Haratunian, acting director during the Carter-Reagan transition, declared to the *Washington Post Magazine* last summer. The planted assumption here is that no one could simultaneously be a spokesman for the United States and a professional; so every effort must be made to avoid the least semblance of spokespersonship. “When Brezhnev’s talking against us,” a former newsroom employee said, “we carry the whole speech. When we talk against them, we give one or two lines.”

If professionalism in practice seems to resemble liberalism, that is because it often is liberalism. “Probably around

newsroom pegged Republicans in the foreign-language services at 80 per cent. But their main rallying cry is topicality, not politics. They are obliged, with few exceptions, to use the news and features passed to them from the central ganglion, and the choices—a 22-part series on crime in America, sweaty excerpts from Albert Goldman’s *Elvis*—often strike them as irrelevant or bizarre. Also parochial: on January 13 of this year, a Solidarity leader who had endorsed the coup reneged. But the top three stories the next day, for every language, were the Air Florida plane crash, the bad winter weather, and the DC Metro crash.

The Foreign Service Officers, the diplomacy half of Chancellor’s intersection, typically stay at the Voice for two- or three-year stints. The rotation is supposed to guarantee a continuous infusion of people with recent foreign experience; it also means that in the context of their own careers the FSOs are marking time—thus reinforcing the natural diplomatic instinct to ruffle no feathers. The occurrence or non-occurrence of some Voice-caused eruption can mean the difference between a post in Ouagadougou and a post in Paris. “Just as they pour tea in their embassies,” said one non-FSO, “they want us to pour tea over the air.”

Coexistence among the three groups is seldom peaceful. Occasionally, the diplomats and the newsroom Woodsteins come to blows, especially whenever there is talk of pulling the Voice under the control of the State Department. But their interests for the most part broadly intersect—the newsroom wants warts-and-all stories about America, the diplomats want no-warts stories about the rest of the world—and they are natural allies in the common face-off with the foreign-language broadcasters. The key word here is “émigré,” suggesting as it does thick accents and soirées spent in the company of deteriorating archdukes. Any reporter covering Voice affairs who uses it is sure to have been coached by newsroom or Foreign Service sources. For the former, “émigré” means the culturally benighted, not raised in the traditions of Milton, Zenger, and Dan Rather; for the latter, it means axe-grinding conspirators, fresh from the cellars and coffeehouses, eager to involve us in dark Balkan plots. The foreign-language broadcasters, meanwhile, continue to wonder what Elvis’s pelvis can mean to Cambodians.

Reagan picked Charles Z. Wick, an entertainment and real-estate millionaire and a personal friend, to be head of the USICA. Wick’s and Reagan’s choice for Director of the Voice was James B. Conkling, founder and president of Warner Brothers Records.

The new team got off to an exciting start. In August, the National Security Council chewed out the Voice for giving American airtime to Georgi Arbatov, whose main job, as head of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies in Moscow, is to figure out how to destroy America. (The Voice had replayed an interview taped by National Public Radio.) That same week, Voice newscasts referred to the Afghan resistance as “anti-government guerrillas.”

Conkling, who was of a mind to take up the complaints, had not reckoned with the bureaucratic skills of his subordinates. When he asked who had been involved in the Arbatov boner, his Acting Program Manager told him the question smacked of McCarthyism. A fortnight later, the staff counter-attacked. Conkling agreed to an interview with an in-house newsletter. Rambling and candid, the text

Should the
*Administration stay in neutral,
then the Voice will
continue, doing what radio stations
do at home—selling America
by random show-and-tell*

85 to 90 per cent of the people in the central newsroom are Democrats,” a foreign-language broadcaster, himself a Republican, guesses. “Any senator is well covered by us if he is a Democrat,” another employee offered, “very seldom if he is a Republican.” The three-part treatment given to Reagan’s State of the Union address, in February 1981, was suggestive. Part one, outlining the proposals, focused entirely on the “sharp cuts”—in “food for the needy,” “free school lunches,” “research and development of solar energy,” “passenger-train service.” Part two, domestic reactions, led off with the Congressional Black Caucus, dwelled at length on the AFL-CIO, and closed with a brief paragraph of praise from “business leaders” and “bankers.” Part three gave the foreign reaction, ending with TASS. Taxes were mentioned twice, both times in passing; inflation, only once. Occasionally, the newsroom gets complaints about this kind of thing, but these are easily deflected. “If there was a congressman showing interest,” a former newsroom employee explained, a new version of a story might be prepared and distributed. “Maybe it never ran—but the books showed it had been carried.”

The employees in the foreign-language services tend to be foreign-born. They are permitted, by law, to rise as high in the government pay scale as GS-13 (newsroom employees may rise to GS-15). As the native Americans are liberal, so the naturalized Americans are conservative. The same Voice employee who estimated the percentage of Democrats in the

yielded to patient sifters such nuggets as, "I don't know if we're addressing our goals right, because I don't know exactly what our goals are . . . I'm thinking about it." Two days later (surprise, surprise!) the *Baltimore Sun* ran a blast against Reagan's VOA, citing the Conkling interview.

It was the *Sun* hatchet job and Conkling's ensuing displeasure which brought Philip Nicolaides into the picture. Nicolaides had had experience with radio broadcasting in Houston, and with TV documentaries, and he had come to the USICA in early August. The higher-ups now suggested that he and Conkling get together to try to put the criticisms into perspective. Nicolaides put his thoughts into a ten-page memorandum to Conkling.

The tinder was now in place. Criticism of the Voice continued throughout the fall. Then, early in October, a reading of a short passage from *October 1916*, Solzhenitsyn's work-in-progress, was edited out of the Russian-language "World of Books" program, on the orders of the FSO in charge; Russian listeners heard Joyce Carol Oates instead. Representatives John LeBoutillier and Toby Roth gave public talks in Washington, attacking the Voice's programming. On November 10, the USICA announced three new Voice appointments: Nicolaides was the new Deputy Director for Commentary and Analysis.

Three days later, the *Washington Post* ran a story based on a purloined copy of Nicolaides's memo to Conkling. "Why," Nicolaides had asked, do "we ask the taxpayer to subsidize a global radio network?"

[Senator] Fulbright scoffed at the VOA as a "relic of the cold war." In a sense he was right. The justification for such an enterprise diminishes to the degree that we live in a world of friendly nations posing no threat to us. In such a world most of the functions of the USICA in general and the VOA in particular would be nugatory or redundant . . .

We have, in fact, been in a state of "protracted conflict" with the Soviet Empire since the end of World War II. . . . To put it quite bluntly, the USICA is justified because it is (or should be) the primary psychological arm in a global struggle against a powerful, determined, implacable foe—bent on "burying" our system, as one of its more candid leaders confessed.

There had followed five pages of suggested guidelines and specific recommendations.

We must portray the Soviet Union as the last great predatory empire on earth. . . . We must strive to "destabilize" the Soviet Union and its satellites by promoting disaffection between peoples and rulers. . . . We should fan the flames of nationalism . . . encourage religious revivals behind the Iron Curtain. . . . Our news *should* be factually accurate. But we need not expatiate endlessly on stories which tend to put us or our allies in a bad light while glossing over stories which discredit the leadership of Communist nations. Given the editorial choice of telling Bulgarians about another U.S. auto-recall announcement or another crop failure in the Ukraine, we should not hesitate to blue-pencil the Detroit story.

But most newsworthy, in the *Post's* judgment, were Nicolaides's preliminary definitions.

Diplomacy is primarily an effort at persuasion aimed at a small number of government officials, carried on with great tact, usually behind the scenes. . . . Advertising involves the persuasion of large numbers of people—chiefly through mass media. . . . Propaganda is a species of the genus advertising: i.e., advertising in the service of a government. . . . In fact we are—as all the world understands—a propaganda agency.

PROPAGANDA ROLE URGED FOR VOICE OF AMERICA, was the *Post's* page-one headline.

All week long, the dead cats flew. The Society of Professional Journalists passed a resolution "condemn[ing] any effort to politicize" the Voice. The *Post* warned the Voice against "imitating Radio Moscow." Senator Charles Percy was "deeply alarmed." Herblock was—the usual.

Reagan's appointees dropped Nicolaides like a hot rock. He was not fired, and indeed he moved physically into the Voice's offices at the end of November. But Conkling had stressed, in a post-*Post* news conference, that he would "not have great policy influence"; and for the next month and a half, Nicolaides led the ghostly, after-life sort of existence of a bureaucratic non-person. It took three days for a typewriter to appear in his office; there never was a secretary or a coat hanger. No one reported to him, and only



one of the commentaries he wrote—a Christmas Eve piece on Poland—was broadcast. A former USICA employee, working in another part of the government, thought to call Nicolaides about going back to the Voice. “Don’t approach him,” a friend at the Voice advised. “He’s finished.”

On January 13, Nicolaides moved back to the USICA building on Pennsylvania Avenue, from one idleness to another. At the CPAC conference in March, LeBoutillier attacked the Voice’s wimpiness and suggested that Nicolaides replace Conkling. Too much, too late. The USICA finally extruded its notorious employee on March 12. James Conkling resigned a week later: “I have been in the private sector too many years to be able to understand the different ways of government workings.” Conkling’s replacement will be John Hughes, now Associate Director of Programs for the USICA: a former editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* and winner, in 1967, of a Pulitzer Prize for reporting on the Indonesian coup. Any opinions on the Nicolaides memorandum? the *New York Times* asked. “It is a closed chapter,” Hughes answered. “I want to start with a clean slate.”

So, what is the Voice for, anyway? It is an academic question, since whatever chance there was of raising it in any substantive way was squandered in the bungled *affaire Nicolaides*. The Administration could always create a second chance, but only at the cost of the sort of sustained political effort which it has so far been unwilling to make.

If the Reagan Administration stays in neutral, then the Voice will continue, doing abroad what radio stations do at home—selling America by random show-and-tell; CBS Goes to Bucharest. In many parts of the world, this will be harmless, though as Nicolaides pointed out it is also redundant and unnecessary. T. S. Eliot, Coca-Cola, and rock-'n'-roll, America’s three great cultural exports of this century, all made their way without a boost from Uncle Sam.

But in other parts of the world—Bucharest, for instance—the situation is different. It has been the premise of our grand strategy, roughly since George Kennan’s “Mr. X” article, that the Soviet Union is an enemy, potentially dangerous, which will, however, collapse of its own weight, provided we respond to its aggression in appropriate ways—containment prescribing “hard” responses, detente “soft” ones. James Burnham argued thirty years ago that the strategy was flawed. But even assuming it is not, is there anything in the strategy itself which prevents us from helping the collapse along? We fear the Soviet empire, and expect “history”—which can only mean, the people of the empire—to remove the cause of our fear. We proved, in 1956, that we would not give those people material help. The lesson stuck; neither Dubcek nor Walesa expected or wanted it. But what debars us from offering intellectual help: facts, news, opinions, relevant discussion—a Lend-Lease of the mind?

The Voice of America should not be in the vanguard of such an effort. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe exist for that purpose. (Radio Marti is on the way, and, in the private sector, Vladimir Bukovsky has proposed a Radio Free Kabul, broadcasting to Russian conscripts in Afghanistan.) But a Voice which speaks in the idiom of the evening news and the embassy reception is good for nothing. People risk their lives to listen to the Voice of America; they don’t want to hear Bill Moyers, prompted by George Ball.

Supporters of the Voice’s status quo often seize on the BBC as a stick for beating conservative critics. The BBC, they say, achieved its respected position, and holds it, by pure objectivity. True enough today, perhaps. It is also true that, since the Suez fiasco, the BBC’s masters have not had a foreign policy which anyone particularly needed to care about. When they did, in World War II, while Britain stood alone, the BBC was honest, but never “objective.” Those who disagreed with British policy frothed at the BBC, George Orwell calling it a “whoreshop and a lunatic asylum.” To his credit, Orwell also acknowledged that the goals he and the government held in common outweighed their differences.

After he defected, former Polish Ambassador Romuald Spasowski recalled building a secret radio during World War II to listen to the BBC, the Beethoven “V” signal giving him a feeling of hope. Today, the Ambassador went on, a similar war is being fought over the airwaves, not a war of weapons, but of information and thought, a war which the forces of freedom must win.

There is a programming option, at least as compelling as the DC Metro crash. □

Glorobots

A man who had been a gourmet
Used to plug in his robot and say,
“Now try not to bolt
Your vintage of volt,
But sip it to taste the bouquet.”

A Soviet robot confessed
His treatment was not of the best,
So he willfully broke,
And the Communists spoke
Of him as “a defect to the West.”

The robot did not have myalgia
Or any known kind of neuralgia,
But his recall was such
He remembered too much
And suffered from chronic nostalgia.

The teacher’s old influence fades
Since teaching machines became aides,
And kiddies bring treats
Of apples and sweets
To the robot computing the grades.

GLORIA A. MAXSON

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PRESERVATION COPY

Controversial Nicolaides Is Leaving Post at VOA

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

Philip Nicolaides, the Voice of America official who called for the broadcasting agency to abandon its "tendency toward mush" and engage in anti-Soviet propaganda, is leaving his post as deputy program director for commentary and news analysis, VOA sources said yesterday.

A spokesman for VOA's parent organization, the International Communications Agency, said only that Nicolaides "has not formally left the Voice" and has been assigned, for now, to working on special projects for ICA Director Charles Z. Wick.

However, sources at VOA, where Nicolaides was

the target of a staff petition calling for his ouster, said he has been away from his office for more than a week and had told various co-workers he was leaving because the "entrenched bureaucracy" was unwilling to adapt to his ideas.

The conservative weekly Human Events reports in its current issue that VOA chief James B. Conkling had forced Nicolaides out by denying him office staff and suppressing all but one of the scripts Nicolaides had prepared for broadcast.

Nicolaides, a former Houston radio commentator who had worked in the campaigns of several conservative politicians, became the subject of controversy in November, when The Washington Post published excerpts from a memo he had written outlining his views of VOA's mission.

In the memo he said VOA should "reverse the tendency toward mush that flowered in the previous administration," abandon the contention that it is "a journalistic enterprise of some sort" and function as "a propaganda agency" portraying the Soviet Union as "the last great predatory empire on earth."

That triggered the staff petition calling for cancellation of his appointment.

Conkling also said VOA would comply with its legislative charter to be a "reliable and authoritative source of news."

ICA officials said yesterday that Nicolaides had been assigned by Wick to work on Project Truth, an ICA-coordinated effort to counter Soviet "disinformation" tactics against the United States.