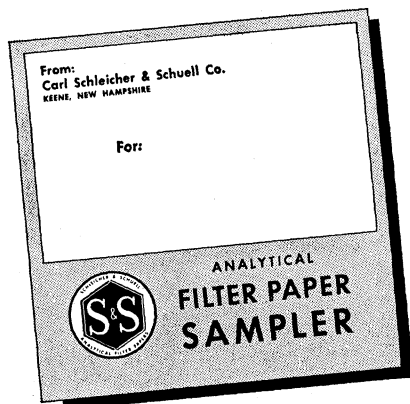


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seven presidents and vice presidents of universities with major research programs. Chairman is Lee A. DuBridge, president of California Institute of Technology.

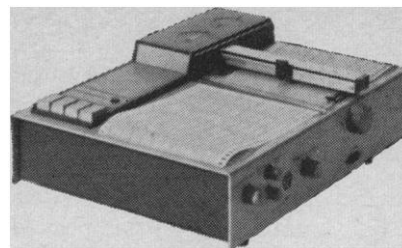
The A.C.E. is a voluntary association and its recommendations are not binding on its members. Its words, however, carry weight with both member universities and federal agencies, and in this case the council is talking in the spirit of a marriage counselor who recognizes that the honeymoon is over and that the principals better reconcile their differences before real difficulties develop.—J.W.

ACDA: Disarmament Agency Asks Congress for Some Small Changes That Probably Won't Change Much

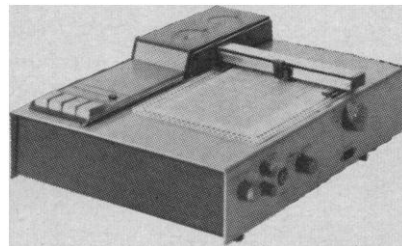
The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has been in the news a good deal recently, weathering an icy winter in which Congress and the disarmament negotiations were in session simultaneously. What has been called the "test ban scare"—the few weeks in February and March when agreement with the Russians seemed almost possible—has now largely passed, but vestiges of controversy remain.

An exchange of letters on the test ban between Adrian Fisher, the agency's deputy director, and Senator Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), in which the customary protestations of respect only faintly obscured the suspicious way each viewed the other's position, has kept the agency on the editorial pages, but it has also antagonized several members of the Senate club. The letters may put the agency in bad graces elsewhere as well, since it now appears that in his latest installment, Fisher may inadvertently have trespassed on the Atomic Energy Commission's security restrictions by telling Dodd, who thought the agency was toying with national security, not to worry because the U.S. now possesses an "enhanced radiation weapon." Only the language was classified, apparently, and not the fact, but the slip leaves the agency open to charges of carelessness. And the agency continues to be harassed as well by nervous Congressmen demanding its immediate dissolution. These do not really threaten the agency, but they do reveal something of the harried atmosphere in which it must work.

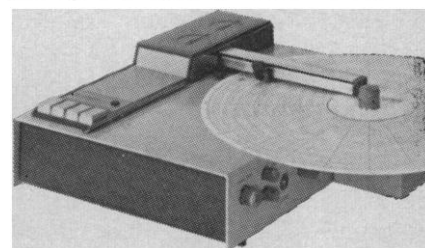
Neither does the agency really threat-



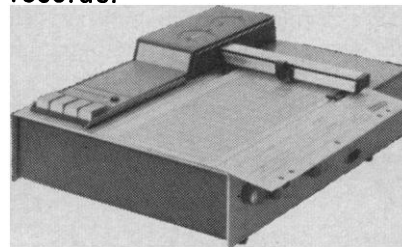
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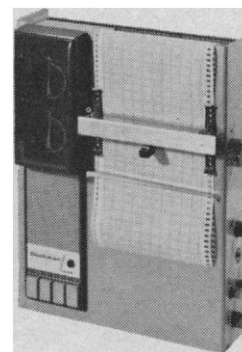
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en the military or political status quo—to the despair of the fervent partisans of disarmament who were once its strongest supporters. Comfortably ensconced in Washington's bureaucracy, the agency has developed a rather bland style of operation, a compound of modest goals and respectable demeanor in pursuing them.

The agency's work—the conduct of disarmament negotiations, and the establishment of a supporting research program—has been hampered by a small budget and extremely restrictive security procedures, both of which it is now seeking to change. It is asking Congress to replace its present \$10 million ceiling on expenditures with an open-ended authorization (standard practice for most agencies) and for a \$15 million appropriation for fiscal 1964. The security changes would permit people recently cleared by another "sensitive" agency to work for ACDA without undergoing a separate field investigation—a practice which in the past has delayed contracts for as much as 4 months, and has held up the agency's regular appointments as well. Since ACDA's Senate authorizing com-

mittee—Foreign Relations—takes a friendly view of its requests, they probably will go through, but while the agency may thus be strengthened, it will not be fundamentally changed.

When all deference has been paid to the limits—political, financial, procedural—which have impeded ACDA during its 20 months of life, the fact still remains that its performance has not been a very impressive one.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has not been noticeably receptive to new ideas, and it has stirred up controversy, if at all, only by accident. This is a matter of some disappointment to serious supporters of disarmament, both inside and outside the agency, demoralizing the former, and making it difficult to attract the latter. A bureaucratic structure in some disproportion to the agency's small size (185 people) has also contributed to its lack of effectiveness, both in terms of its own research and in its dealings with other government agencies, as has its concern with "respectability," especially at the upper levels.

The misfortune here is that it really might as well be controversial, since

all the caution in the world will not immunize the ACDA from the attacks of those who fear disarmament more than they fear the arms race. As Senator Church (D.-Idaho) warned William Foster, the agency's director, in a friendly way at Senate hearings last week: "You best proceed very carefully. Unlimited arms production is very respectable; limited arms control very suspect. . . . Administer your affairs in a way purer than Caesar's wife, because you will be under scrutiny from all sides." Foster, surely, didn't need to have this pointed out; a Republican, a former Deputy Secretary of Defense, and a cautious man besides, it is difficult to see how much "purer" he could be.

The agency's purity extends even to its research program which has been small, and of a noncontroversial character, focusing mainly on inspection and verification of disarmament agreements. Although ACDA has pleaded poverty as one excuse for granting so few contracts (only 12 or 13 have been let so far), the fact is that with only 3 months left in fiscal 1963, they have yet to obligate about half of the \$4 million allotted for research. At this rate it is difficult to see where the \$11 million they have requested for research in fiscal 1964 will go.

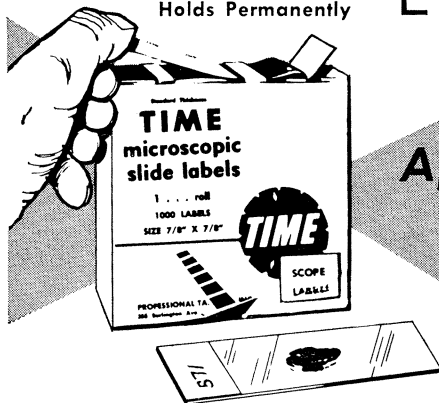
Finally, with respect to the agency's role in the test ban and disarmament negotiations at Geneva, the most that can be said is that it is not the agency's fault that the talks (at least those on general disarmament) are being pursued with only questionable earnestness by both sides. Here again the usual dichotomy between the agency's critics arises: some think it unfortunate that ACDA must spend so large a portion of its energy and time formulating detailed proposals on general disarmament to discuss around the barren tables of Geneva; others feel threatened simply by the fact that the negotiations are taking place at all.

With no notable laurels to their credit, ACDA officials are taking title to the proposed "hot wire" between Moscow and Washington as the first real international achievement in the arms control field. It must be recorded, however, that the idea is an old one, and that its acceptance now probably owes more to the Cuban crisis than it does to ACDA. The agency encouraged it, and will supervise the details, but its actual role is less than it claims.

—ELINOR LANGER

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