

Max M. Kampelman Papers

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THE US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA





27th ANNUAL NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR

Objectives and Organizations

The objectives of this seminar are:

—To provide a privileged forum in which distinguished speakers may discuss their views on issues of importance to the nation's security and welfare with students and faculty of the Army War College, and invited guests from across the country.

—To provide an extended opportunity for free and candid dialogue on these issues among the college students, faculty and guests, the latter a widely representative group of American citizens drawn from varied segments and fields of American life and endeavor.



Major General Jack N. Merritt Commandant

—And finally, through all the activities of the seminar, to enable representative American citizens to get to know some of the prospective leaders of their American armed forces, and, in turn, to permit the students "to go home again" in a sense to the society they serve.

Organizationally, this seminar rests principally on the framework of the 16 existing college seminar groups, each having some 14 student members and a faculty instructor. Each of these groups is joined for the duration of the seminar by some eight guests. Key issues relating to our nation, the world and national security will have been identified by students and faculty as points of departure for discussion, and these will be given added focus by the guest speakers. It is within the free and relatively unstructured framework of seminar discussion that the fundamental purposes of NSS are best served.

Guests are not expected to prepare extensively for the seminar week. Their individual backgrounds of experience, day-to-day awareness of key national and international issues, and personal commitment to the nation's weal more than suffice for seminar discussions.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR

Seminar Guests

The guests are widely representative American citizens who have already achieved much in many fields of American life and endeavor. By design, they represent a cross section of age, sex, race, religion, region, experience, and contemporary interests and views. Each is invited as a citizen representative of the best in our richly diverse society, someone deeply concerned with the welfare and security of the nation, as he or she defines them individually, and as a person whose experience, knowledge and interests will enable him or her to contribute helpfully to seminar group discussions.

Students

The carefully selected student body is composed of 205 military officers, 8 civilian employees of the US Government, and 15 senior Army officers from foreign nations. Although the class is drawn predominantly from the Army, 31 of the student officers are from the Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, or Air Force. Nearly all the officer students are in the grade of either Colonel/Captain or Lieutenant Colonel/Commander, and the civilian students are of comparable grade. Two of the International Fellows are Major Generals, and three are Brigadier Generals. The students of this year's class vary in age from 36 to 52, with the average being about 42. The average length of active commissioned military service is about 18 years; 87% of the military students have commanded battalions or larger military organizations, and 49% of them have served on their department's headquarters staff. Almost 72% of the student body have already earned graduate degrees from civilian educational institutions before attending the War College, and, of those remaining, most are currently candidates for advanced degrees in disciplines of importance to their future work.

Faculty

The resident faculty, to include the Strategic Studies Institute, of the Army War College consists of both military officers, civil service professionals, and civilian college professors. Although predominantly Army in composition, the faculty also includes senior military representatives of the other services. Faculty members are selected on the basis of formal education, training, and career experiences which uniquely qualify them as experts in one or more of the various categories which comprise the total discipline of military art and science. The average military faculty member holds at least one advance degree, is serving in the grade of colonel, has over 20 years of commissioned service, and is approximately 45 years of age. The resident faculty is augmented by many distinguished leaders and educators who commute to Carlisle Barracks and conduct some of the wide range of courses offered during the Advanced Courses phase of the academic year.

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

MONDAY JUNE 1981 Morning and Afternoon **Guests Arrive** 1:00 p.m. **Optional Tours** of College and Post Facilities 4:00 p.m. Orientation (Seminar Groups) 7:00 p.m. Informal Social **Activities by Seminar** Groups

TUESDAY		
S M T 1 2 7 8 9 14 15 16	E 1981 W T F S 3 4 5 6 10 11 12 13 17 18 19 20 24 25 26 27 JUNE 1981	
8:30 a.m.	Commandant's Opening Remarks	
9:30 a.m.	Distinguished Guest Speaker (Domestic Issues)	
10:30 a.m.	Plenary Session Question and Answer Period	
12:00 a.m.	Luncheon	
1:30 p.m.	Seminar Group Discussions	
5:30 p.m.	Buffet Dinner	
7:30 p.m.	Voluntary sessions with Faculty and Research Professionals of the College	

WEDNESDAY JUNE 1981 S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 (19 20) 21 22 23 24 25 16 27 28 29 30 JUNE 1981		
9:00 a.m.	Distinguished Guest Speaker (International Issues)	
10:00 a.m.	Plenary Session Question and Answer Period	
11:00 a.m.	Seminar Group Discussions	
12:00 a.m.	Luncheon	
1:30 p.m.	Seminar Group Discussions	
5:00 p.m.	Concert — United States Army Field Band and Chorus	
6:00 p.m.	Buffet Dinner	
8:00 p.m.	Voluntary Sessions with Faculty and Research Professionals of the College	

THURSDAY JUNE 1981 S M T W T F S		
7 8 9 14 15 16 21 22 23 28 29 30	3 4 5 6 10 11 12 13 17 18 19 20 24 25 26 27 JUNE 1981	
9:00 a.m. Distinguished Guest Speaker (Defense Issues)		
10:00 a.m.	Plenary Session Question and Answer Period	
11:00 a.m.	Seminar Group Discussions	
12:00 a.m.	Luncheon	
1:30 p.m.	Seminar Group Discussions	
6:00 p.m.	Commandant's Reception, and Performance by the Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps	

	FRIDAY
S M T 1 2 7 8 9 14 15 16	W Y F S 3 4 5 6 10 11 12 13 17 18 19 20 24 25 26 27 JUNE 1981
9:00 a.m.	Guest Speaker (The
9:00 a.m.	Guest Speaker (The United States Army)
	•
10:00 a.m.	Plenary Session Question and Answer Period
11:00 a.m.	NSS Closing
12:00 a.m.	Luncheon
1:30 p.m.	Guests Depart

NOTE: Guest speakers will be nationally distinguished authorities who will address domestic, international, defense, and US Army issues.

U S A R M Y

 $W \mid A \mid R$

COLLEGE



Mission — Curriculum — Objective

The US Army War College is dedicated to the professional education of carefully selected individuals from diverse backgrounds in the military service and government agencies. Its general purposes are to educate selected officers to serve in positions of significant responsibility in times of both peace and war, and to promote understanding of the art and science of land warfare. Additionally, it conducts strategic studies of matters related to national security. The students become better prepared, both personally and professionally, to contribute to the wise and responsible use of military power within the constitutional framework of our free society.

The academic discipline incorporates studies in those fields which concern the military profession. It provides study into the development, operation, and support of military forces; the interrelationships of military, economic, political, and social factors associated with the broad aspects of national security; and the role and utility of military force as the servant of foreign policy and an element of national power.

The learning environment is dedicated to meeting the individual needs of each student. The College recognizes the requirement for specialists who are educated in depth and have exceptional knowledge of a portion of the military profession; but it also recognizes that there is a need for knowledgeable and understanding generalists in military art and science to fill leadership roles.

The academic year is organized as a series of interrelated instructional blocks consisting of a common overview, elective courses, and studies. The common overview phase provides a broad background in domestic and international affairs which relate directly to national security; defense management and decisionmaking; leadership and command; and issues of military strategy, planning and operations. The electives program provides courses which permit study of special areas in greater depth to support the present-day need for special expertise. The studies program permits individual or group research into significant problems or opportunities associated with national security. Running concurrently are seminars on military strategy which provide a theoretical and practical base for study of historical military strategies, contemporary regional objectives, and military strategy concepts.

In time of peace, there is no more fundamental military responsibility than the education and training of the leaders and forces that serve to preserve the peace, and would defend the nation in wartime. The College is committed to this educational need.

History

The US Army War College, the Army's senior educational institution, was founded in 1901 by Elihu Root, then the Secretary of War. Secretary Root's founding guidance contained words which best describe the College philosophy and have become its motto:

"Not to promote war, but to preserve peace through intelligent and adequate preparation . . . this institution is founded."

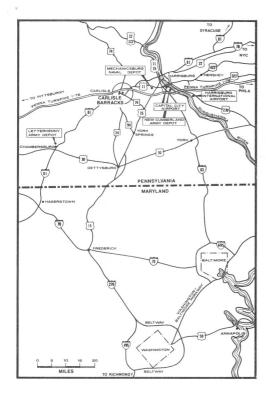
Except for the two world war periods, the College has operated continuously for more than 70 years. It has graduated 8,245 students, 2,082 of whom have achieved General or Flag Officer rank. Among its many illustrious graduates are former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, Fleet-Admiral William F. Halsey, Jr., General George S. Patton, Jr., General Matthew B. Ridgway, General Maxwell D. Taylor, General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, USAF, Lieutenant General John A. Lejeune, USMC, and Ambassadors Davies, Underhill, and Troxel.

Carlisle Barracks

Carlisle Barracks, located in the Cumberland Valley about 18 miles west of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, was founded by Colonel John Stanwix of the British Army on 30 May 1757, and was initially manned by a battalion of British Regulars and Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia provincials. By the time of the Revolutionary War, Carlisle Barracks was a well-established post. The Army's first educational institution, The Artillery School, was started at the Barracks in 1778. Thereafter the post served as the home of The School of Cavalry Practice, and was both occupied and later burned by Confederate forces during the Civil War. From 1879 to 1918, the famous Carlisle Indian School was located here, contributing to the academic and vocational preparation of young Indians from all over America and also producing such famed athletes as Jim Thorpe. From 1920 to 1946 Carlisle Barracks was the home of the Medical Field Service School. During the period 1946-1951, there were a number of Army Schools in residence—Chaplain, Adjutant General, Army Security Agency, and Armed Forces Information School. Since 1951, Carlisle Barracks has been the home of the US Army War College.



Road Net



Location

The US Army War College is located at Carlisle Barracks, in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania, about 18 miles west of Harrisburg, on US Route 11 south. The Borough of Carlisle adjoins the post on the south and is about 27 miles north of Gettysburg on Pennsylvania Route 34. A short distance north of Carlisle Barracks on US Route 11 are Interchanges for I-81, exit 17W, and I-76, exit 16 (the Pennsylvania Turnpike). Highway travel time to Carlisle Barracks from Washington, DC or Philadelphia is about three hours; from New York is about four and one half hours; and from Pittsburgh is about four hours.

Carlisle Barracks (USAWC) telephone (717) 245-3131

Travel

Key air and railroad terminals are located in the vicinity of Harrisburg. USAir and Trans World Airlines fly regularly scheduled flights into Harrisburg International Airport. The Penn-Central Railroad also services Harrisburg.

A representative of this command will be on hand to meet visitors arriving at Harrisburg or Carlisle transportation terminals and to arrange further transportation to Carlisle Barracks.

A PROSPECTUS

27th ANNUAL

NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR

1-5 JUNE 1981



US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA

"Not to promote war, but to preserve peace"

NOTES FOR LECTURE BY MAX M. KAMPELMAN

National War College

August 18, 1977

First, may I congratulate you on your having been selected to be part of the National War College. I have had the occasion to examine your curriculum, participate in your classes during a previous visit, and I envy you the opportunity to learn and to be exposed and to be stimulated through this valuable experience.

Secondly, may I take the opportunity to thank you for the careers that you have chosen for yourselves. A strong and intelligent military force is a prerequisite to the achievement of peace.

Now for our discussion of "the media," which includes both its printed and its visual form.

For an understanding of my theme, it is useful for me to reveal that when I think of the media, I think of power. Text-books in political science have written for years about executive power and Congressional power and the balance between them as crucial criteria in determining the strength of our democratic society. During recent years, these issues have been vividly sharpened as we have analyzed abuses of power in both the executive and legislative branches. The media has played a vital role in this discussion. Indeed, the legislative and the executive branches, in seeking allies in support of their respective authorities, can

only reach and influence public opinion through the institution of the media. For this is the means of communication with the electorate. It is through the media that public attitudes are highly influenced.

The critical question for our democracy, however, is not so much the power of the Presidency, which is restrained by the Congress, by the opposing political party, by the press and by the courts; it is not so much the power of the legislature, which is restrained by the President, by partisan politics, by the press and by the courts -- the critical, current serious issue of the power facing our democracy stems rather, in my opinion, from the relatively unrestrained power of the media. Indeed, the relatively unrestrained power of the media may well represent an even greater challenge to our democratic society than the other questions of power to which we have long been addressing ourselves.

Power itself if not anathema to a democracy. But it does require a wariness on the part of those subject to it. Power is manageable in a democratic society so long as there are proper restraints on that power. We have seen that there are restraints on the power of the President and on the power of the Congress. Powerful corporations and unions restrain one another; and both are restrained by government and by laws. The American press, however, perhaps the second most powerful institution in the country next to the Presidency, functions with few, if any, restraints.

(P.9)

The critics of democracy are many and their historical and philosophical arguments frequently persuasive. This is not the forum in which to review and examine those arguments and that eternal debate about the nature of man and the nature of society. What is clear, however, is that if democracy has any reason or capacity to function, it is on the theory of sound public opinion — and that, in turn, depends on good information. Distortions of content and emphasis, deliberate or not, no matter how righteous the motivation, tend to pollute the information flow necessary for the effective functioning of our democratic system.

The historic justification for the constitutional protections of the press rely primarily on this function of information, the dissemination of news and facts, the honest exchange of ideas.

It is interesting in this connection to note that when the framers of the Constitution considered the idea of freedom of the press they did not envision a press possessed of very nearly unrestrained license. The idea of an unrestrained press was foreign to the liberal philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries. The idea of freedom without responsibility was also foreign to the very experience of the founding fathers.

When the First Amendment provided that "Congress shall make no law" abridging the freedom of press, it was clearly intended that it was the national government that would be subject to that prohibition rather than the states. Indeed, Pennsylvania, Delaware

and Virginia expressly imposed liabilities for the abuses of free speech. Thomas Jefferson explained: "While we deny that Congress have the right to control the freedom of the press, we have ever asserted the right of the states and their exclusive right to do so." In letters to Madison and to Abagail Adams he made this point over and over again. He frequently attacked the press for its "licentiousness and its lying." At one point he wrote: "I have long thought that a few prosecutions of the most prominent offenders would have a wholesome effect in restoring the integrity of the presses."

In England, even today, after 200 years, still a strong democracy, there exists official secrets acts, strict libel laws, rigid rules on the reporting of judicial proceedings and other restraints which put limits upon the freedom of the press.

In the United States, however, particularly after the passage of the Sedition Act and the reaction to it, a pattern developed under which restraints against the press were gradually removed. The Supreme Court came to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment as extending the prohibition against press abridgement under the First Amendment to the states as well as to the national government. Court decisions began effectively to remove libel laws as a restraint against the press; and in the Pentagon Papers case, the press was allowed to publish stolen government documents without restraint or liability.

The philosophical dilemma, however, remains. Freedom of the press indeed is essential to political liberty, and where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another, no freedom is secure. But what if that freedom is used in a vulgar, cynical, immoral, dishonest, libelous, obscene, or seditious manner? Is it not true that the abuse of liberty can destroy liberty? And is a democratic society unable to defend itself against these kinds of threats to its internal health, and welfare, and safety?

The freedom of the press is indeed a cornerstone of liberty. A society of self-governing people is possible only if the people are informed. Hence, the right to exchange words and to print words. Yet, is it not true that no man is free if he can be terrorized by his neighbor; and is it not possible for words as well as swords to terrorize? Furthermore, can a citizen be truly informed if falsehoods come masquerading as truths? We punish for false advertising of foods and drugs. Is corrupt advertising of ideas less damaging to society?

And is it also not true that the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the right of free press and free speech is not the only freedom but is one of a series of constitutional protections in the area of civil rights? What happens when these rights conflict with one another? If the right to a fair trial is fundamental to liberty, what happens to it if the press is free to prejudice a fair trial by what it publishes?

X

The press is very jealous of what it asserts is its right to protect its sources of information. At a press conference called to defend Daniel Schorr who had arranged for the publication of a classified Congressional document, Dan Rather asserted the right was "not for the benefit of reporters. It is for the benefit of listeners and viewers and readers...The cause is America." At that same press conference, a statement by the Fresno Four, reporters who had been briefly jailed for disobeying a judge's order by printing secret grand jury testimony, similarly asserted that "the need for confidential sources is an important test" of their profession, going on to assert yet another "right," to the "public's right to know." But what about the public's right to know the sources of their news stories?

It is interesting in this connection to note that the media is insisting on a degree of confidentiality which it denies to the government. For some it appears incongruous that a private, profitmaking enterprise such as the media would have a greater right of confidentiality than a government elected by the people.

There is a guaranteed right to publish, modified and subject to conflicting rights. But the right to know is an oversimplification, in that it cannot be enforced or guaranteed. If one opens a government meeting to the public it merely means that the private debate is moved elsewhere.

It does not appear to me that there was anything very glorious

about a man violating his trust, stealing the Pentagon Papers; and then to have a newspaper publish those stolen documents is no demonstration of journalistic skill, particularly since the papers had nothing new in them anyhow.

I question the public interest in printing grand jury testimony.

They are secret for a good judicial reason and our system is undermined when secrecy goes.

Nor am I prepared to make a hero of a journalist, in this case a man of whom I am personally very fond, who purloined and then sold a public document to the owner of the <u>Village Voice</u>, who decided to publish the report without even reading it first because it would make a flashy headline and sell papers.

There is a need for secrecy in government. We would all agree, for example, that troop movements and military installations fall into that category. Those who leak these secrets should be punished. There are other "secrets" that can perhaps safely be made public. To say that it is for the media itself to decide which leaks are in the public interest and which are not is to give to the press a power it does not constitutionally possess and has not demonstrated its capacity to use in the public interest. (Washington Monthly, November 1976)

Other institutions in our society with power are required to exercise that power with responsibility. Is the press, surely one of the more powerful institutions of society, not accountable for

what it does? Obviously, this freedom can be abused. Good men can be slandered; justice can be thwarted; base passions may be aroused; people may be misinformed; government might be subverted; all the institutions of society might be undermined.

It is also interesting in this connection to note that as the media grew more powerful and with fewer restraints, the media also became more and more business and profit oriented. We are, after all, not dealing with nonprofit institutions. Ben Bagdikian, the distinguished newspaperman critic of newspapers, reports that when he was writing his book on the media industry, he found that profits were running at the average of seventy-six percent higher than the average for all American industry. On August 3, the Washington Post published a financial profile of 13 leading public newspaper firms showing an average 35.8% increase in net income from 1975 to 1976.

Profits too are not anathema to a democratic society, just as power is not anathema to a democratic society. But these figures are important and revealing as we note that the press is not only an institution to help provide means of communication, the exchange of ideas in our body politic, but is also an institution of business and profit for those who own that institution. The newspaper industry today is American's third largest manufacturer behind only automobiles and steel. It is understandable that in a March speech to the Houston Press Club, former Treasury Secretary John Connally

argued that the nation's major media conglomerates should be viewed not only as unprecedented power centers but also as "massive business empires." It is this phenomenon that led one commentator, Henry Fairlie, to suggest that as profits have become the major goal of publishers, daily newspapers have become "as flavorless but as profitable as a Big Mac."

But let us go on from the philosophical to the specific as we examine the power of the press and its impact on modern society.

As early as 1920, Walter Lippman gave his conception of that power when he wrote: "The news of the day as it reaches the newspaper office is an incredible medley of fact, propaganda, rumor, suspicion, clues, hopes and fears.... The power to determine each day what shall seem important and what shall be neglected is a power unlike any that has been exercised since the Pope lost his hold on the secular mind."

More recently, Douglass Cater, journalist, writer, critic, educator, stated it this way: "Communications media have a vast power to shape government -- both its policies and its leaders. This is not an editorial page power. It is the power to select -- out of the tens of thousands of words spoken in Washington each day and the tens of dozens of events -- which words and events are projected for mankind to see. Equally powerful is the media's capacity to ignore; those words and events that fail to get projected might as well not have occurred."

There was a time when that power faced the restraint of competition. That restraining influence, however, is disappearing. There are today fewer than 45 cities with two or more competing dailies; and about 1500 cities with a non-competitive daily press and each year more and more non-competitive dailies are swallowed up by the large corporate chains. The Washington Post reported last month that within two decades it expected that "virtually all daily newspapers in America will be owned by perhaps fewer than two dozen major communications conglomerates." Seventy-two percent today of daily newspaper circulation is controlled by companies with two or more dailies.

The problem is a real one. Walter Lippman wrote: "A free press exists only when newspaper readers have access to other newspapers which are competitors and rivals so that editorial comment and news reports can -- regularly and promptly -- be compared, verified and validated. A press monopoly is incompatible with the free press."

But the facts remain. Ninety-six percent of the daily news-paper cities in the country have only one publication. In 1910 100 million Americans were served by 2,400 newspapers; today, 220 million are served by 1,762. Sixty percent of all the individual newspapers in the country are owned by chains, compared to 30% in 1960.

And the chains are getting bigger. Today the top 25 chains have more than 52% of total circulation, compared to 38% in 1960. It is indeed true that "never before has so much been under the control of so few." And now the chains are buying other chains, with the 30 newspaper Newhouse chain purchasing, for example, the eight Booth newspapers (for \$305 million, the largest newspaper deal in history); and the Gannet chain purchasing the Spiedel 13 dailies.

Today's press is a far cry from the fragile printing presses that the Bill of Rights in the early days of our national life were designed to guarantee and safeguard. The Washington Post Company is a vivid illustration of the power to which I refer as we note its five-level presence in the nation's capitol - a newspaper, a radio station, a television station, a national newsmagazine, and a major news service. Today the press is among the most profitable business groups in America, corporate giants, big business as big as any in America.

I earlier referred to the fact that libel laws were less of a restraint on the press. This was a result of the New York Times versus Sullivan case which was decided in 1964, where the Supreme Court held that public officials could sue and collect for libel only if the libel was uttered "with reckless disregard whether it was false or not." This double standard against public officials and in favor of newspapers was further broadened to include

"public figures" and then even to private individuals who might be involved "in an event of public or general concern" (although recently the Court began to apply the brakes with respect to private individuals).

Broadening this concept, the New York Court of Appeals on May 25, 1977, in Edwards, et. al. versus The National Audubon Society overruled a lower court decision which found a libel had been committed with malice by the New York Times in an article labeling certain scientists as "paid liars." The Court of Appeals, without challenging the fact that the charge was false and without condoning "the mischievous and unwarranted assault on the good name" of the scientists, ruled that the reporting was justified because the charges were "newsworthy" regardless of their falsity!

Ben Bagdikian, in commenting further about the power of the press, pointed out that nobody likes to make enemies with the town crier. Not only, he said, is the press protected by the Constitution as it is now interpreted by the Supreme Court, but very often it has additional protection as government officials hesitate to apply other laws, such as antitrust laws, against the press. He writes: "the press is traditionally permitted to go further and is reprimanded more gently than other enterprises."

What we see is a powerful, ever growing institution, the press, with huge financial resources to supplement the power it wields in its control over the dissemination of news, but with fewer and fewer restraints on that power.

1-13

It is appropriate here to note the statement of Stanley Baldwin, who, as Prime Minister, was vehemently attacked by Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, press lords of that day. Quoting Rudyard Kipling, Mr. Baldwin said: "The press lords were claiming power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot through the ages."

But what about professionalism as a form of self-restraint?

All of us recognize that the development of a sense of professionalism is likely to produce self-restraint, particularly when it is accompanied by good intentions. Regrettably, however, here too Irving Kristol's characterization of journalism as "the underdeveloped profession" comes to mind.

In this regard, it is of interest to look at some of the characteristics of the press and how it performs its responsibilities.

Critics of the press have pointed out that the difficulties in accurately presenting information to the body politic begins with the very first principle of modern journalism. I am informed that schools of journalism teach that every news story must begin with a "lead."

This is defined as "an attention arresting sentence." The process of distortion has begun!

In television this is accompanied by what Walter Cronkite recently called the "hypercompression" of the news. He said:
"We fall far short of presenting all or a goodly part of the news each day that a citizen would need to intelligently exercise his

franchise in this democracy. So as he depends more and more on us, presumably the depth of knowledge of the average man diminishes. This clearly can lead to disaster in a democracy."

The emphasis on drawing attention because that is what sells newspapers and produces profits and gains influence is one of the serious problems faced by modern journalism. A corollary of this is the editor's love for the "scoop." All of this adds to an already feverish drive for the sensational story and has a tendency to result in overplays that tend to distort not only the story itself, but the balance of news in our newspapers. The current issue of The New Yorker (August 15, 1977) dramatically summarizes this criticism of the press in its lead article analyzing the New York newspapers and their treatment of the Son of Sam murders.

This is also related to the growing importance of investigative journalism. The "success" of the <u>Washington Post</u> in its Watergate investigation has stimulated other newspapers to set up investigative squads. We must remember that it is the investigative reporter who receives the awards that journalists bestow upon themselves. It is the investigative reporter who writes the "big money" books and who has become the superman of the fourth estate.

This ties in with the development of what has been called "new journalism," a theory which asserts that the responsibility of the press is "to discover truth, not merely facts." Other words for this new type of journalism are "advocacy journalism" or

"personal journalism." In either event, the reporter is encouraged to indicate and further his point of view in his news stories.

Words like "objectivity" are ridiculed as impossible of attainment.

This has meant that to an unprecedented scale, the media has not been an institution just to report events, but indeed has become a stimulator and sometimes a creator of events, as well as an active participant in those events.

In this connection, I quote a statement of Ben Bradlee, the pragmatic executive editor of the <u>Washington Post</u>, who wrote: "The press won in Watergate." Bradlee went on, as an astute observer, to make clear that he understood the implications of that declaration of victory by saying: "I believe, though, that power corrupts. We are in a powerful position and I hope we don't misuse it."

It is understandable that a significant segment of the media has become impatient with its limited information dissemination role. It is not easy and frequently not exciting for an intelligent person simply to report events. The tendency, therefore, has been for imaginative and socially dedicated journalists to go beyond normal reporting in order to seek fuller expression of their talents or social values.

We must not forget, however, that these tendencies to develop a social, messianic role for the media, when added to the already feverish drive for the sensational story and the scoop, leads further to the distortions that should concern us. Max Frankel, the editorial page editor of The New York Times
recently admitted the tendency of some journalists, the newer recruits,
to be impatient with standards of objectivity, or "with any standard that would prevent them from placing their own views before the public."

What are those views? Here, again, we have some guidance in the form of a Daniel Yankelovich survey reported in the <u>Wall Street</u>

<u>Journal</u> to the effect that there is a serious gap in values between the bulk of journalists and society as a whole.

Journalists are reported to have an instinctive suspicion and distrust of authority, particularly governmental authority. There are also troublesome signs of a homogeneity of political, social and economic attitudes. Theodore White described journalists as a "self-selected group" drawn from a social and educational elite affected by the "adversary culture."

Increasingly, journalists see it as their function to place before the public the needs of society as they see them. Roger Mudd of CBS stated this clearly and approvingly recently when he wrote: "What the national media, and mainly television, have done is to believe that their chief duty is to put before the nation its unfinished business...the media have become the nation's critics. As critics no political administration, regardless of how hard it tries, will satisfy them."

This is an interesting development. Traditionally, in our democracy, the nation's political agenda was the prerogative of the

politician seeking public office. Now the media is assuming for itself that role. In addition to looking upon himself as a defender of people, the journalist now looks upon himself increasingly as a spokesman for the people and yet, as the Daniel Yankelovich survey demonstrates, his values and the values of society as a whole are not the same.

The fact is that many reporters tend to think of themselves as representing the people in a disinterested way and with purity of motive that a self-serving politician in their opinion cannot hope to duplicate. Thus, if a politician attacks the press, the press believes he is really attacking democracy itself.

This is a military audience. It is perhaps, therefore, appropriate to look at the power of the press as it directly relates to data we have available as to its impact on military matters.

There is substantial evidence that television became a potent influence in turning public opinion against the Viet Nam War. The writer, Edward J. Epstein, early and conclusively demonstrated that the three television networks all began treating the war negatively after the Tet offensive. Any doubts as to this effect were put to rest with the publication a few months ago of Peter Braestrup's two volume study on how the American press and television interpret the Tet crisis. The American media virtually single-handedly turned a significant victory for American and South Vietnamese troops into a demoralizing defeat, leading at the time the tight-lipped Dean Rusk

to ask some journalists which side they were on. Analyzing the Braestrup study and the period, Professor John Roche of Tufts recently described the period as "a shameful episode in the annals of the American media." (July 22, 1977)

Dr. Ernest Lefever, in his analysis of all the CBS Evening
News programs in 1972, also produced very impressive data with
respect to the media and defense. He found that the stories on
Viet Nam that were critical of U.S. policy were aired 651 times that
year as compared to 153 times when the themes supportive of American
policies were aired. Information supporting national defense questions,
he said, were: "almost totally neglected." Almost two-thirds of the
stories that year interpreted the U.S. military in an unfavorable
light, as compared to only 13% in a favorable light. Statements by
those who were critical of official policies and wanted the U.S.
either to get out or cut back were quoted 842 times in 1972, while
those who wanted to see the war pursued more vigorously were quoted 23
times that year, a ratio of 36 to 1.

James Reston recognized this reality when he drew the following conclusion: "Maybe the historians will agree that the reporters and the cameras were decisive in the end. They brought the issue of the war to the people before the Congress and the Courts and forced the withdrawal of American power from Viet Nam." And yet is is clear that Robert Bartley of the <u>Wall Street Journal</u> is correct in stating that the essence of "professionalism" is to set personal attitudes aside when writing stories or preparing a broadcast.

Personal opinion and bias, however, are not the only ingredients in news selectivity. Let me use an illustration.

According to reliable French sources, the Communist leaders who today run Cambodia have probably killed, directly or indirectly, more than a million people since they took power. This information has authoritatively appeared regularly over the French news wire services. There are, however, no American correspondents now in Cambodia. The result is that until a few weeks ago (July 27) when a high State Department officer testified as to the situation, these stories did not appear in the American press.

Contrast this, however, with the news from South Africa now considered to a "A hotspot." Every swing of a policeman's club in South Africa brings with it thorough news and television coverage.

A similar situation demonstrating that what is news depends on the presence of newsmen and television cameras can be found in Israel. Massacres and mass executions in third world countries will only bring a few paragraphs, but a rock-throwing incident on the West Bank or a single unfortunate murder in Bethlehem will bring forth front page news stories and photographs.

It is ironic that some of this is due to the fact that the press can be found only where it is permitted to be. Israel is one of the few places in the world, other than Europe, Japan or the United States, where the press can cover its stories freely. It is difficult to cover the story of an execution in Sudan or the training of terrorists in Libya where no press is permitted.

In this connection, I had an opportunity to read an article on terrorism in Harper's by Walter Lacquer. He pointed out that the media acts as a selective magnifying glass, enormously attracted to terrorism because of its mystery, quick action, tension and drama. And yet, the terrorists in turn depend on that publicity and media attention.

As an example, he refers to the Algerian rebels of the 1950s who deliberately transferred their struggle from the countryside to the capital, even though they knew they could not win the battle for the capital. One of their leaders is quoted as saying that if ten were killed in the countryside, nobody would notice; but that a small incident in Algiers would draw the attention of the American press and give them the publicity they need. They proved to be right. The rebels were beaten in the capital, but won the fight for publicity, which proved to be the decisive battle.

The media role in terror threats is producing growing concern at home as well. The Son of Sam press coverage led The New Yorker to complain: "By transferring a killer into a celebrity, the press has not merely encouraged but perhaps driven him to strike again — and may have stirred others brooding madly over their grievances to act."

Does the holding of a police captain in Ohio by one man justify banner headlines all over the country? Is our definition of "news" such that individual gunmen or bands of gunmen can command

of the CBS affiliate in Cleveland expressed this concern well when he stated after the fact: "We feel that the coverage we give such incidents is partly to blame, for we are glorifying lawbreakers, we are making heros out of non-heros. In effect, we are losing control over our news departments. We are being used." (Wall Street Journal, March 14, 1977)

And yet the Dean of the University of Pennsylvania School of Communications is not at all sanguine that these concerns will produce change in behavior patterns of the media, because such stories, he says, "fit exactly into the media pattern" in that they are dramatic, provide good action-filled film. He states: "For the media it's a tremendously competitive situation, and as long as they can attract attention and ratings by covering these things, they will."

There are crucial questions of international and domestic policy that are crying out for public information and discussion and knowledge. But here again it is easier for reporters to be assigned to cover the scoops and the scandals. Reporters on the diplomatic beat complain constantly that they can barely keep their heads above water.

Detente has been a dominant theme of American foreign policy for the past few years. And yet Senator Fulbright, when he was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, complained and thoughtful Committee hearings on the subject held by his Committee. At one time he noted that the mistake they made was to have their hearings held in the open. It would have been far better, he urged, for the hearings to have been held in secrecy and then for the transcripts to be leaked. In that way, they would have gotten prompt press attention.

Last year we were in the midst of a Presidential political campaign. The newspapers were filled with stories of that campaign. Let us look at the role of the media in the candidate selection campaign.

The Democratic Party, as part of its reform package, had eliminated the "winner take all" concept in state primary campaigns for a proportionate division within each state. This was designed to eliminate the concept of "winner" within each state. But the media thought otherwise. Roger Mudd, on January 19, 1976, said on the CBS Evening News: "It's not exactly the precise figures that will be important, it's whether or not the media and the politicians agree that this man won and this man lost."

In the first state to choose delegates Carter got 28% of the Iowa vote. The next day Mudd named him the "clear winner," asserting that "no amount" of bad-mouthing by the others can lessen the importance of Jimmy Carter's "finish."

In New Hampshire, Carter came first in the primary with 30% of the vote. Walter Cronkite stated that this gave Carter "a commanding head start in the race," with Roger Mudd saying that Carter's victory "was substantial."

One week later, Scoop Jackson won the Massachusetts primary with 23% of the vote. Paul Weaver, writing in the New York Times

Magazine in August 1976, pointed out that the reporters didn't much like Jackson, and that television dismissed his victories as special cases. Whereas Carter's win in New Hampshire was considered a "substantial victory," giving him a commanding head start, Jackson's vote in a state seven times as large was looked upon only as "a strong finish" that "scrambles the race." Carter's 23,000 votes merited a great deal of respectful talk about his momentum; Jackson's 163,000 votes elicited little more than surprise.

When Jackson won in New York, Roger Mudd said that his winning coalition was "peculiar to New York" and Leslie Stahl of CBS News declared that his victory did not give him momentum. Furthermore, in absolute terms, television news coverage of the New York primary was only 25% of that of New Hampshire.

Presidential primaries attract attention. Professor Michael Robertson of Catholic University pointed out that before the 1976 New Hampshire Primary, eleven states held caucuses or conventions and that these states accounted for a total of 587 delegates as against New Hampshire's thirty-eight. Yet, the news stories on

those eleven states covered less than 10% of the total networks' political news stories as compared with 23% for New Hampshire alone. Delegate for delegate, that is, New Hampshire received more than eighty times as much coverage as those early non-primary states, each New Hampshire vote received 170 times the coverage given to each New York vote.

It is too early for a scholarly analyses of the 1976 general election. A study of the previous 1972 compaign, published last summer in <u>Psychology Today</u> reported that television viewers in that election learned more from the paid advertising than from the news broadcasting, leading the analyst to conclude "the industry has succeeded in making itself irrelevant to the democratic society in which it operates."

The preliminary 1976 analyses do not seem significantly different. Frank Mankiewicz has objected to the cynical assumption he found prevalent in the media to the effect that no candidate ever advocated anything for any reason other than it would bring him votes. Cyncism is not a service to our democratic society. It is one of the virtues of a democratic society that a politician is aware of the voters and their wishes. But, as the English journalist Henry Fairlie observed of American politics, "most politicians are believing and honest men...however many individuals amongst them are venal or stupid, (they) are the most hopeful messengers of a society's will to improve." (The New Republic, November 13, 1976)

Agreeing with Mankiewicz, Fairlie asserts that "Political journalists have been seduced into believing that politics is probably, if not necessarily, ignoble," whereas in his opinion "the political world is inherently good." Let me go on with Fairlie: "It is as if every journalist is afraid that he might be caught in believing in something or a somebody. Yet on the whole, the political world in the past 200 years has accomplished a great deal of good for a vast number of people."

During the past two years, the media has been filled with headlines about the CIA. There are a number of important questions at issue. Are there, for example, too many intelligence agencies functioning and vying for power? How does one define the line between freedom and security? How is authority to be exercised over intelligence services? How are intelligence operations to be kept nonpolitical? How is freedom of the press to be preserved while preventing irresponsible dissemination of classified information? Indeed, how can a democratic government operate without secrecy?

These serious questions require careful consideration by an informed public as well as by the institutions of government. But pursuing these inquiries through headlines and sensational scoops does not serve that end, at the same time as it does serve to damage the intelligence structure. We are reminded here of what Oscar Wilde wrote in 1895 when he had Sir Robert Chiltern say: "Oh, spies are of no use nowadays. Their profession is over. The newspapers do their work instead."

It has been said that the media has been acquiring an unwholesome fascination with the singer to the neglect of the song -there is an excess of emphasis on personalities and not enough
on policy. The crucial ingredient for press attention seems to be
scandal, whether it is corporate, political or personal. News
programs appear to move from one disaster to another, air crashes,
earthquakes, floods, scandals. In a speech to the Associated Press,
outgoing president Wes Gallagher warned: "Too many readers are
beginning to look upon the press as a multivoiced shrew, nitpicking
through the debris of government decisions for scandals."

It is relevant here to note that when contrasted with daily newspapers, television journalism tends to be more sensational. Since seeing journalists, rather than just reading them, makes them appear more credible as well as more familiar, their influence is that much greater, leading Professor Michael J. Robinson of Catholic University to conclude that "the networks produce an image of society that tends to be both melodramatic and probably inordinately negative." (The Public Interest, 1977)

The media seems to have distorted its priorities and it is falling far short in its higher responsibility of public education.

Much of what we are discussing this evening is only being touched upon in a sketchy fashion. Some of the questions raised deserve an evening's attention all to themselves. My purpose is not to exhaust the subject, but rather to stimulate you to a recognition that the subject is a serious one and that the problem is a serious one.

A number of the dangers to democracy have already been high-lighted. An additional danger is that these shortcomings of the press are producing a diminishing public confidence in journalism. The Harris Poll reports that confidence in television news fell from 35% in 1975 to 28% in 1976; confidence in the press fell from 26% to 20%. A nationwide survey conducted through the University of Texas found that 84.4% of those responding believing that journalists sometimes slant the news. Indeed, 71.6% of journalists reached the same conclusion.

A. H. Raskin, an editor of the <u>New York Times</u>, once said: "No week passes without someone prominent in politics, industry, labor or civic affairs complaining to me in virtually identical terms: 'Whenever I read a story about something in which I really know what is going on, I am astonished at how little of what is important gets into the papers and often that little is wrong.'"

James Reston recently warned: "The credit of the American newspapers with the American people for accuracy and judgment is not high."

At the end of his second term in office Harry Truman wrote to a friend: "I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens who reading newspapers live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time."

Theodore Sorenson, after returning to private life, wrote:
"In the White House I felt sorry for those who had to make judgments on the basis of daily newspapers."

Whether the media can face up to legitimate criticisms is not clear. Raskin, himself, has expressed doubts referring to "the unshatterable smugness of the publishers and editors."

Constitutional protections of the press are today an integral part of our society. The dangers of outside government regulation of the press are clear. Yet, the power of the press presents a clear problem to our democracy.

An important lesson of history is that self-regulation is the best defense against undesirable control by the government. Walter B. Wriston, Chairman of City Bank and a leader with familiarity with power, once warned the press: "When any sector of our society grows too powerful, it is only a matter of time before that power is curbed." It is time for the press to come up with an initiative of its own to help the problems created by its great power.

A sense of professionalism is absent. Professions provide procedures and standards for qualifying and disqualifying their practitioners. Lawyers, doctors and all other professionals must reach a level of training and learning before they are admitted.

There are no formal standards for admission to journalism.

There is no universally-accepted code of professional ethics to guide and judge the behavior of newsmen or their editors. There is no

procedure, external or internal, for suspending or in any way condemning those who do not live up to a pattern of responsible conduct. (Stockbrokers who sell securities and even real estate salesmen must first pass an examination to qualify and can be barred from selling their wares to the public in cases of fraud or failure to disclose pertinent data. But a newsman and his editor can with impunity inflict greater damage to our society by selling wares that pollute the wells of information.)

Besides the need for greater professionalism, additional measures of self-correction are required. When the Twentieth Century Fund, on the advice of some leading figures in American journalism, established a Press Council, such leading papers as The New York Times and the Washington Post refused to cooperate with that council. Indeed, the American Society of Newspaper Editors voted by three to one against the establishment of even its own internal grievance committee.

An independent press council is necessary to consider complaints arising out of alleged unfair press treatment.

Major newspapers and television stations should establish their own independent ombudsmen, who are not members of their staff, with authority to act to redress valid complaints. In a recent exchange, Hugh Sidey of <u>Time Magazine</u> reported that his magazine has "never allowed a correction to run in their news columns." He suggested the possibility that major errors can be corrected and

should be corrected in the same space, giving the same manner of treatment. In that connection, <u>The New York Times</u> prints no letters correcting or challenging facts in its news stories.

A code of ethics is needed to address itself to the problem of personal bias on the part of news writers and editors.

Legislation is needed to minimize the inequitable protection now afforded the press in libel litigation by permitting public figures to sue for declaratory judgments when they are defamed, even if little or no money damages flow as a legal consequence.

A law somewhat like that suggested by Senator MacIntyre should limit the number of newspapers a company could own and should prohibit newspaper ownership of television or radio stations in the same metropolitan area. Antitrust attention to communications conglomerates is called for, as book publishing is linked with newspaper chains, magazines, movies and broadcasting. It is time to reconsider a tax ruling which encourages newspapers to accumulate undistributed profits to acquire additional properties.

In April, Congressman Morris Udall introduced legislation to include publishing and communications in the subject matter of a proposed federal commission to look into industrial concentration, saying: "I dread the day when all American newspapers look alike and when there won't be much more difference in the daily papers in Topeka and New York than there is in...a Big Mac."

A report is here relevant. The New York Times had a series on medical incompetence. That company also owned a journal Modern

Medicine, which, as a result, found itself threatened with a loss of 260 pages in advertising. The company sold the magazine shortly thereafter.

The tasks required are not simple. A serious professional effort may well require a self-reformation that could take on the characteristics of a self-revolution. The recruitment and training of editors, reporters and the like would require change. News stories would have to be written less hastily. They would probably be longer and in greater depth, possibly at the risk of not being as lively.

The challenge is for the media to come up with its own standards of professionalism and adapt those standards to the realities of its responsibilities in a free society. There is not further room for complacency and arrogance.

Our country requires a political theory adequate to its new role as a world power. We have had a perilously short apprenticeship for the burdens of that power. We are unfamiliar and morally uncomfortable with our new role. This makes defense policy, foreign commitments and intelligence serious issues to be discussed, debated and understood.

The traditional American political philosophy based on 19th Century liberal rationalism is now undergoing serious challenge and re-examination. We need a working political philosophy that will help us effectively to deal with the problems of power.

The whole concept of power has been given a modern twist by revolutionary developments in technology and communication. Furthermore, the existence of messianic political movements backed by massive military power is adding a complexity to the threat abroad.

More than slogans are needed to deal with the complex relationships that exist between freedom and authority.

Whether our institutions of government can work to help our nation mature to a responsible world power committed to democratic values is what is at stake in this year and in the years to come. The power of the media is real and is great.

The subject of the media as it affects our national interests must be seen within that perspective.

June 25, 1976 Colonel William H. Patterson Department of the Navy U. S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013 Dear Colonel: Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of June 23. I am looking forward to being with you on September 20. Our plan will be to arrive oo later than 5:00 in the afternoon on that date, but I am not as yet certain as to whether I will drive or fly. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK:ph



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

AWCAB

23 June 1976

Dr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver
and Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

Needless to say, I am simply delighted that you will be with us on September 20th to lecture on "The Media in National Life."

In the Bicentennial Year we are making a particular effort to high-light the United States environment, with emphasis on the national heritage and institutions. I believe this emphasis is apparent in the course planning calendar which I am inclosing. In addition to your lecture, we plan to include a 15-hour research seminar for selected students and a 12-week elective course on the media in the fall-winter curriculum. As you are well aware, this topic engenders more than the normal degree of emotionalism in the military breast. We hope to put it in perspective as a positive feature of the American scene.

The program page on the lecture from our course directive is the second inclosure. I would suggest that the portion on "Scope" constitute a bare bones outline for the presentation, although I hope you will accent any other aspect of the topic you feel to be relevant.

To set the subject a little apart from the daily routine, this will be one in our series of evening lectures. We have found that this variation on a theme is welcomed by students, since it permits their wives and a few invited guests from the local academic and civic communities to attend.

I would suggest you plan to arrive at Carlisle Barracks in the early evening on Monday the 20th, at perhaps 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. We are about two hours and 20 minutes by car from downtown Washington. Allegheny and Penn Commuter Air Lines also operate a D.C.-Harrisburg afternoon service from National. We would, of course, meet the flight and escort you to the post.



AWCAB Dr. Max M. Kampelman

23 June 1976

The Commandant plans to host an informal dinner for you at about 6:30. The lecture is scheduled to begin at 8:15. Your presentation of about 50 minutes will be followed by a brief break and, subsequently, 40 minutes or so of questions and discussion. A suite in the College guest house will be available for your overnight accommodation. If your schedule permits, you might enjoy a tour of the College facilities, or of our associated Military History Research Collection and Bradley Museum, on the morning of the 21st prior to departure.

I neglected to mention the economics of the occasion on the telephone. The College is permitted to extend a \$100 honorarium as well as reimbursement for all travel, lodging, and incidental expenses. We obviously rely rather more heavily on the good will of distinguished guests than on financial inducement.

The Class of '77 will consist of 228 lieutenant colonels, colonels, or equivalent naval grades, and will include officers from the four services as well as a number of mid-career executive branch civilians. Army students are selected from the top 5% of the officer corps. Historically, roughly 20% are later promoted to general officer/flag rank. I believe I can guarantee you a sincerely interested, inquiring audience. The greatest pleasure of a faculty tour here is daily association with these "young tigers."

At your convenience, I would appreciate a photo, preferably 8"x10", for our guest speaker board and a vitae or biographic sketch. An addressed envelope is inclosed.

Finally, we are prepared to assist with graphics if you wish to use them. We can reproduce any illustration as a 35mm slide or VUGRAF transparency with about three days lead time, and will be happy to do so. Our audio/visual support group will be available to project graphics during the lecture.

The College Visitors Bureau will be in contact during the summer to verify your travel plans and anticipated time of arrival.

Let me apologize both for the length of this letter and its impersonal tone. Administrative details, it seems, are the deadliest form of human communication, no matter how they are phrased. Having presumed to this extent on your patience, however, may I simply add that I look forward to your visit with keen personal anticipation and hope that you will find it a stimulating personal experience.

Incl as stated WILLIAM H. PATTERSON

Colonel, US Army

Sincerely,

Chairman, Department of National and International Security Studies

1. Lecture.

- a. Title. The Media in National Life (WL-13).
- b. <u>Introduction</u>. It is barely possible, but doubtful, that the press, radio, and television media of a free society could peacefully coexist with other societal institutions. From the 18th century hand-press to the onset of the 25-inch "living color" picture tube, the arbiters of the Fourth Estate have critically observed and cheerfully critiqued the mores of American government, society, and military. In print and electronic journalism, the 20th century has been the era of the muckraker, the tabloid journalist, and adversary reporter. Exploits and excesses were both inevitable as the media matured into a colossus capable of simultaneously informing-or misinforming--an audience of tens of millions.

In the 1970's, the media's impassioned apologias on behalf of its classic Constitutional guarantees have been answered by public demands for increased journalistic responsibility and self-restraint. Compromise may be possible on particulars, but the timeless argument over whether the journalist influences the national and world environment, or merely reports it, is certain to endure.

- c. Objective. To understand the role of the media as a national institution.
 - d. Scope. This lecture will address:
 - (1) The functions of a free press in the United States.
- (2) The interrelationships between the media and other elements of US society.
- (3) The arguments pro and con on the media's unrestricted right to access and release of all-source information.
 - (4) The status of the American media in the decade ahead.
 - e. Additional factors for consideration.
- (1) In the last ten years, has the media been a neutral, positive, or negative factor in US national life?
- (2) Is increased regulation of the media desirable? By government? Through self-enforcement?
- (3) Do the commercial aspects of corporate print, radio, and television journalism reinforce or conflict with the public interest?

- (4) What should the US media print, broadcast, or televise? What should they refrain from disseminating?
- (5) Who should support public broadcasting and television? Commercial concerns? Federal, state, and local governments? The public alone?
- (6) How can the public be heard most effectively in its response to editorial views expressed by the media?
- (7) To what extent is bias present in the nightly news programs of the major commercial television networks?
 - 2. Required readings. See Section , Selected Reading Volume.
 - a. Royster, Vermont. "A Free Press: The Struggle Goes On." Washington Post, 1 July 1974, p. 18.

(A respected emeritus among America's columnists, editors, and journalism educators poses the classic dilemma of absolute press freedom vs. exercise of the other Constitutional freedoms.)

b. Geyelin, Philip. "The Role of the Press in an Open Society." Lecture given at the Naval War College. <u>Naval War College</u> Review, Vol. 27, March-April 1975, pp. 3-7.

(The Editorial Page Editor of the <u>Washington Post</u> analyzes a "chicken or egg" question, whether the press influences or simply reports events, and provides a thoughtful view of the relationship between press and government.)

c. Francois, William E. "The Fate of the National News Council." America, Vol. 134, 8 May 1976, pp. 402-404.

(Mr. Francois is a professor of journalism at Drake University. His article recaps the brief history of the nation's first independent media-monitoring agency and poses a disturbing question with respect to the media's responsibility to inform the public of its existence and activities.)

d. Smith, DeWitt C., Jr. "Vital Relationship." Guest editorial. Evening Sentinel (Carlisle, Pa.), 1 November 1975, p. 4.

(The Army War College Commandant addresses himself to the media-military relationship and finds a common obligation and concurrent shortcomings on both sides of the equation.)

- 3. Recommended additional readings. The following are representative of the hundreds of books and extended studies on this topic which have been published in the sixties and seventies. The list includes works which range from establishment orthodoxy to unabashed partisanship, and cover both print and electronic journalism.
 - a. Brown, Lee. The Reluctant Reformation: On Criticizing the Press in America. New York: McKay, 1974.

 (PN4888 E8B7)
 - b. Cater, Douglass. <u>Communications and Society: Toward a Public Philosophy</u>. Palo Alto: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1973. (P92 U5C3)
 - c. Diamond, Edwin. The Tin Kazoo: Television, Politics, and the News. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975. (PN4888 T4D5)
 - d. Lefever, Ernest W. TV and National Defense: An Analysis of CBS News, 1972-1973. Boston, Va.: Institute for American Strategy Press, 1974. (PN4784 T4L44)
 - e. Rivers, William L., and Nyhan, Michael J., eds. Aspen

 Notebook on Government and the Media. New York: Praeger,

 1973. (HN90 M3A8)
 - f. Sigal, Leon V. Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking. Lexington, Mass.:
 Lexington Books, 1973. (PN4738 S5)

PLANNING CALENDAR THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD ENVIRONMENT ACADEMIC YEAR 1977

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WE DNE SDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9 AUG USAWC ORIENTATION	10 AUG 0830-1200: COMMANDANT'S TIME	11 AUG 0830-1200: WL-01 THE NATIONAL PURPOSE	12 AUG 0830-1200: WL-02 AMERICAN IDEALS IN TRANSITION	13 AUG 0830-1200: WL-03 AMERICAN IDEALS IN TRANSITION
	USWE COURSE INTRO- DUCTION AND SEMINAR GROUP ORGANIZATION			
16 AUG 0830-1200: WL-04 THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES	17 AUG SMS	18 AUG 0830-1200: WS-01, 02, 03, 04 SOCIO-POLITICAL- MILITARY SEMINARS	19 AUG 0830-0900: O&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: WS-01, 02, 03, 04 SOCIO-POLITICAL- MILITARY SEMINARS	20 AUG SMS

KEY: L - Lecture

W/SS - Joint USWE/SMS Seminar

S - Seminar

SSG - Special Study Group

P - Panel

O&I - Operations Group

Operations & Intelligence Briefing

SMS - Strategic Military Studies Course

	25 AUG 0830-1200: WL-06 THE UNITED STATES ECONOMIC ORDER 1330-1630: WS-01, 02, 03, 04 SOCIO-POLITICAL- MILITARY SEMINARS 1 SEP 0830-1200: WL-09 MINORITIES IN THE ARMED FORCES	2 SEP 0830-0900: 0&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: SSG-02	27 AUG SMS
	03, 04 SOCIO-POLITICAL- MILITARY SEMINARS 1 SEP 0830-1200: WL-09 MINORITIES IN THE	2 SEP 0830-0900: 0&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: SSG-02	
	0830-1200: WL-09 MINORITIES IN THE	0830-0900: 0&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: SSG-02	
		SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES	
ES IN	1330-1630: WS-05 US MINORITIES: THE DECADE AHEAD		
	8 SEP 0830-1200: SSG-03 SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES	9 SEP 0830-1200: SSG-04 SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES	10 SEP SMS
		ALFA EXERCISE	
		8 SEP 0830-1200: SSG-03 SPECIFIC NATIONAL	8 SEP 0830-1200: SSG-03 SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES 9 SEP 0830-1200: SSG-04 SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES

TUE SDAY	WE DNE SDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
14 SEP SMS	15 SEP 0830-1200: WL-11 THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN NATIONAL POLICY- MAKING	16 SEP 0830-1200: WS-07 SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES REPORTS & DISCUSSION	17 SEP SMS
ALFA EXERCISE	1330-1630: WS-06 SPECIFIC MATIONAL ISSUES REPORTS & DIS- CUSSION	ALFA EXERCISE	
21 SEP SMS	22 SEP 0830-1200: WL-14 CONCEPTS OF INTER- NATIONAL RELATIONS	23 SEP 0830-0900: O&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: WS-08 RELATIONSHIPS OF DOMESTIC & INTER- NATIONAL ISSUES	24 SEP SMS
ALFA EXERCISE (ALTERNATE)			
28 SEP SMS	29 SEP SMS	30 SEP SMS	1 OCT SMS
	14 SEP SMS ALFA EXERCISE 21 SEP SMS ALFA EXERCISE (ALTERNATE) 28 SEP	14 SEP SMS 15 SEP 0830-1200: WL-11 THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN NATIONAL POLICY- MAKING ALFA EXERCISE 1330-1630: WS-06 SPECIFIC NATIONAL ISSUES REPORTS & DIS- CUSSION 21 SEP 22 SEP 0830-1200: WL-14 CONCEPTS OF INTER- NATIONAL RELATIONS ALFA EXERCISE (ALTERNATE) 28 SEP 29 SEP	14 SEP

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
4 OCT 0830-1200: WL-15 THE USSR IN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE	5 OCT 0830-1200: WL-16 THE DYNAMICS OF SOVIET NATIONAL POWER	6 OCT 0830-1200: WL-17 CONTEMPORARY EASTERN EUROPE	7 OCT 0830-0900: O&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: W/SS-01 OPTIONS IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS	8 OCT 0830-1200: WL-18 WESTERN EUROPE IN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
		SMS		18.977 - 172 N
11 OCT HOLIDAY (COLUMBUS DAY)	12 OCT 0830-1200: WL-19 EUROPE'S SOUTH FLANK AND THE MEDITERRANEAN	13 OCT SMS	14 OCT 0830-1200: WP-01 THE DIMENSIONS OF US/ SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN POLICY	15 OCT 0830-1200: WL-20 THE PERSIAN GULF
		1330-1630: W/SS-02 US INTERESTS IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN	1330-1630: W/SS-03 US INTERESTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	
18 OCT 0830-1200: WL-21 THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA	19 OCT 0830-1200: WL-22 THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE PRC	20 OCT 0830-1200: WL-23 JAPAN & KOREA: THE ASIAN KEYSTONES	21 OCT 0830-0900: O&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: WP-02 DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA	22 OCT 0830-0915: WL-24 NEW YORK CITY TRIP BRIEFING 0930-1200: WL-25 THE UNITED NATIONS IN PERSPECTIVE
1330-1630: W/SS-04 US INTERESTS IN MID-EAST	SMS			

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
25 OCT HOLIDAY (VETERANS' DAY)	26 OCT NEW YORK CITY TRIP	27 OCT NEW YORK CITY TRIP	28 OCT NEW YORK CITY TRIP	29 OCT 0830-1200: WS-09 NEW YORK CITY TRIP SUMMARY
1 NOV SMS	2 NOV 0830-1200: WL-26 THE US AND CANADA: A SPECIAL RELATION- SHIP	3 NOV 0830-1200: WL-27 THE CARIBBEAN CAULDRON	4 NOV 0830-0900: O&I BRIEFING 0910-1200: WL-28 THE US/LATIN AMERICAN EQUATION	5 NOV SMS
1330-1630: W/SS-05 US INTERESTS IN ASIA/ PACIFIC/INDIAN OCEAN			EVENING: WL-29 PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE	
8 NOV SMS	9 NOV 0830-0920: WL-30 ORIENTATION ON REQUIREMENT 0930-1200: WS-10 ISSUES & PRIORITIES FOR THE DECADE AHEAD	10 NOV 0830-1200: WS-11 ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES	11 NOV 0830-1200: WS-12 PREPARATION OF FINAL REPORT (COURSE REQUIREMENT)	12 NOV 0830-1200: WS-13 PRESENTATION OF FINAL REPORT (COURSE REQUIREMENT)
1330-1630: W/SS-06 US INTERESTS IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE				

F

July 12, 1976 Major General DeWitt C. Smith, Jr. U. S. Army War College Carlise Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013 Dear General: Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of June 29th. I am looking forward to the September visit and to having an opportunity to chat and become better acquainted. In the meantime, I did want to commend you on that guest editorial. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman





DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Office of the Commandant

2 9 JUN 1976

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

I am most gratified that you will be able to lecture at the War College on Monday evening, September 20th, on the topic, "The Media in National Life."

As Colonel Patterson has told you, in the past two years, we have spent considerably more time on the media in national context and in its relationships with the military establishment than in the past. I feel keenly that if our Army is to function effectively as a principal component of a free society, every War College graduate must assume the responsibility for improving the quality of the military-media dialogue. Better mutual understanding of motivations, attitudes, and philosophies is certainly fundamental to that objective.

Incidentally, sometime ago, I expressed some of my thoughts on the military-media equation in a guest editorial in the area newspaper, the Carlisle Sentinel. I am taking the liberty of inclosing a copy.

I look forward to your September visit and to the opportunity of a personal exchange of views on this topic.

Sincerely,

Incl as stated DeWITT C. SMITH, JR. Major General, USA

Commandant

Dr. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037



Another Viewpoint

VITAL RELATIONSHIP

Last February, in a valuable contribution, Dickinson College sponsored a symposium entitled, "News Reporting in America: Can It Be Free and Responsible?" Last weekend, a symposium of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, hosted jointly by Dickinson, Franklin and Marshall College and the Army War College, included within its larger framework a panel on "The Media and National Security Policy." These occasions are indicative of widespread interest in the relationship of the Fourth Estate to our society.

This is true of the citizen-soldiers and civilian officials who study at the Army War College. Their interests are broad, oriented toward national security in its fullest sense--political, social, economic and philosophical as well as military. Along with matters of manpower, materiel, strategy and foreign affairs, they are concerned with the relationship of the American military to the society it serves, and to that society's basic institutions. Far from the least of these institutions is the press, serving as it does as the people's advocate, and as perhaps the ultimate guarantor of individual freedom.

Our students understand that constitutional role of the press. Philosophically, they understand that skepticism and criticism of the "establishment," including the military, are requisites of freedom itself. They know that the track record for human freedom is poor where free speech and the free press have been limited or forbidden.

Yet, for good men and women sharing a sworn commitment to public service, it is not easy to accept the probing skepticism to which they and their institutions are subjected, however healthy that skepticism may be. It is even more difficult to accept stereotypes, biases, emotional judgments and non-facts which some newsmen employ in reporting on military people and military affairs.

The relationship between the press and the military, two of the principal guarantors of national security, is so important as to warrant sincere efforts to improve it. Total agreement between the two is neither likely, necessary

Reprinted with permission from The Evening Sentinel, Carlisle, Pa., November 1, 1975, page 4.

nor desirable. But there is a need to strengthen communications, understanding, trust and mutual respect. It is a curricular purpose at the Army War College to work toward these ends. In turn, we hope the news profession shares a similar goal.

Progress requires that we overcome some long-standing obstacles. On the one hand, the press shares the historical American skepticism of things military. This is healthy. But sometimes this skepticism becomes cynicism. Specific wrongs become generalized indictments. Ancient history and hearsay become present-day "fact." Clichés are perpetuated. Distaste for war becomes distaste for the military—those who may hate it most, and whose basic purpose is to prevent it. Unthinking stereotypes are substituted for discriminating judgments—all sergeants are "Bilko's," colonels are "Blimps," and generals are "Brass."

On the other hand, some members of the military have been incompetent, untruthful or even criminal. Some have developed a hostility toward the press. Many, as with other segments of our society, have not understood that the probes, the perceptions, the stings and occasionally the low blows of the press, are part of the price of true national security.

Most of the American press has been responsible, and most of American military has been both effective and honorable. But, in the public interest, both must seek to be better yet, and this requires an improved relationship.

The people have the right to expect from both groups unvarnished facts, informed judgments, reasoned and civil discourse, high ethical standards, and an end to biases and stereotypes. In brief: openness, objectivity and above all, the truth.

The truth will keep us free, and protecting it is the business of both the free press and the responsible American military.

Major General DeWitt C. Smith, Jr.
Commandant
US Army War College



US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA

Schedule of Events for the Visit of

Doctor Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman

Monday, 20 September 1976

1705- 1715	Arrival by MDW Helicopter. Met by COL Patterson and escorted to Guest House.	Carlisle Barracks Helipad
1800	Dinner with Commandant and Mrs. D. C. Smith, Jr.	Qtrs #1
2015	Lecture: "The Media in National Life." Presented by: Dr. M. M. Kampelman	Bliss Hall
	Tuesday, 21 September 1976	
0745	Breakfast with COL Patterson	Washington Hall
0830	Tour of Academic Facilities, USA Military History Research and Bradley Museum (as desired) (Accompanied by COL Patterson)	Carlisle Barracks
0930	Discuss College and Curriculum with Commandant	Commandant's Office
1030	Attend Lecture: "The Yom Kippur War." Presented by: MG A. Adan	Bliss Hall
1200	Luncheon with Deputy Commandant Guests: Dr. M. M. Kampelman MG A. Adan COL A. Aialon COL W. H. Patterson, Jr. LTC B. D. Friend COL D. L. Adams COL R. J. Browne II COL L. W. Smith, Jr. LTC M. Colliso LTC J. M. Colliso LTC J. B. Barron LTC C. Cunningham LTC C. B. Moore LTC J. D. Canfiel LTC J. D. Canfiel LTC L. Simmons	d

Schedule of Events for the Visit of Dr. Max M. Kampelman, 20-21 Sep 1976, (Cont'd)

Tuesday, 21 September 1976

Departure by USAWC Sedan (Accompanied to Airport by COL Patterson)

Departure by AA #767

HIA

Escort Officer: COL W. H. Patterson, Jr.

Aide: LT T. P. Hannum

Billets: Guest House Suite 110-11 Telephone: 3963, 4262

September 21, 1976 Major General and Mrs. DeWitt Clinton Smith, Jr. U.S. Army War College Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17103 Dear General and Mrs. Smith: I am writing to thank you both for your most gracious hospitality last night. Your friends and neighbors were pleasant to be with, but I was particularly impressed with each of you. Mrs. Smith allowed me to bend her ear during most of dinner, and I was highly stimulated by the General's philosophical commitments and integrity. The audience at last night's lecture was an attentive one, and one I greatly appreciated. I look forward to our seeing each other on other occasions. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/jan



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Office of the Commandant

27 SEP 1976

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

The College continually seeks strong speakers with strong opinions. Occasionally, our high hopes are not realized in the event. Your lecture on "The Media in National Life," however, reaffirmed the validity of that concept. It was thought provoking, impressively researched, and exceptionally well presented. Student discussion of both message and medium has continued through the week, the surest sign of all that you stimulated an unusually powerful response.

Thank you for taking the time from a busy schedule to visit the War College and share your thoughts on the media with us. I hope that you will permit us to impose upon your good will again and will return to Carlisle Barracks at a future date as a consultant or course lecturer.

Sincerely,

DeWITT C. SMITH, JR. Major General, USA Commandant

Dr. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037



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October 8, 1976 Mr. Ray Jones Assistant to the General Manager Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers' Association 2717 North Front Street Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17110 Dear Mr. Jones: You were so thoughtful to write. I am grateful to you for your letter of September 23, 1976. You may know that you appeared at General Smith's home just after he was giving me some background about you and telling me of the very high regard that he had for you. I was pleased that you enjoyed the talk although not so pleased that you indicated that you did not agree with my message. I did not assume that disagreement from the fact that you were associated with a group of newspaper publishers. Indeed, I find an increasing number of people in journalism agreeing, at least quietly, with the points of view that I expressed in my lecture that evening. I would hope, however, that with some increased exposure we can gain a convert in you. I do not have a prepared text of my talk to the Army War College. I was speaking from notes. At some point I suppose I'll have to take those notes and put them together. In the meantime, however, they are not that much different from two articles that I have written and I am taking the

Mr. Ray Jones Page two October 8, 1976 liberty of enclosing those with this letter. You certainly may use extracts from either of those articles for whatever appropriate use you may find for them. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/mlh Enclosures

2717 North Front Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 17110 Telephone Area Code 717/234-4067

G. Richard Dew, General Manager

President: **Richard H. Mayer**The Tribune-Democrat
Johnstown

Vice-President: Tom T. Andrews, Jr.
The Leader-Vindicator
New Bethlehem

Secretary-Treasurer: Richard A. Swank
Duncannon Record

September 23, 1976

Dr. Max Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman Suite 1000, The Watergate 600 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

I wanted to tell you how much I enjoyed the opportunity to dine with you the other night at Gen. Smith's home, and to hear your talk afterward. Although I helped plan the P.A.S. at Dickinson last year, I was unable to hear your talk, and consequently was happy to have a chance to hear it straight from the horse's mouth.

The title below my signature would not be what it is if I agreed with your message, although I am happy that you believe professional standards can only properly be established and improved by the profession itself, and not by any outside agency, particularly the government.

Incidentally, not a day goes by that I don't suffer in some way because of the low regard people have for journalists. That's why I am currently working at a job whose primary (indeed only) purpose is to enhance professional standards. We're both working toward the same end.

While I am writing, I would like to ask if you would mind sending me a copy of your prepared text for the War College talk. We have a monthly newspaper here, the <u>PNPA Report</u>, which goes to 1,000 editors and publishers in the state. We like to include appropriate comments by responsible critics such as yourself, and I'd like to see if we can use some excerpts. It would also be helpful to have a biography of yourself and a photograph, if possible.

I know the War College operates with a non-attribution policy, so I will be understanding if you do not want to release the text. If it

Dr. Kampelman 9/23/76 - 2 makes no difference, however, we'd very much like to see if we can work it into our upcoming issue. With many thanks for your consideration. Sincerely, Ray Jones, Assistant to the General Manager RJ:ah

mm K- per ches

US ARMY WAR COLLEGE Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania

		18 August 1977
MEMORANDUI	M FOR RECORD:	
SUBJECT:	Statement of Expenses for the visit of	'Dr. Max Kampelman
	1. Category:	
	a. Guest Speaker X	
	b. Consultant	
	c. Other	
	 Following is a statement of expenses US Army War College: 	s incident to my visit to the
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August 24, 1977 Colonel William H. Patterson Chairman Department of National and International Security Studies U. S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17103 Dear Colonel: I am certain that you do not need a long letter from me to know how much I continue to appreciate your courtesy and your hospitality. I thoroughly enjoyed my brief stay at the Army War College and this was, in no small measure, due to your planning and your leadership. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/skh

August 24, 1977 Major General Robert George Yerks Commandant U. S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17103 Dear General Yerks: I want to take this opportunity to thank you and Mrs. Yerks for your splendid hospitality at dinner last Thursday evening. It was a most pleasant introduction to an active and interesting evening for me. The informality and warmth of your difiner table set just the proper tone for the evening and for a most pleasant stay for me. I trust that you will have a most stimulating and satisfying experience at the Army War College. I know that the faculty and students are most furtunate to have you as their leader. I trust that we will have an opportunity to become better acquaanted in the months ahead. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/skh

August 24, 1977 Colonel Z. E. Finkelstein U. S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17103 Dear Zane: You and Rosemark were splendid escorts. Thank you very much for your hosptiality. I thoroughly enjoyed Thursday evening and the breakfast at your home on Friday morning waska delightful finishing touch. I trust that we will have opportunities to become better acquainted and certainly hope that you will let me know when you are in the Washington area. All my best. Sincerply, Max M. Kampelman MMK/shh



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013



Office of the Commandant

2 3 AUG 1977

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

You and John Sharnik gave us a lively evening of intellectual fireworks last Thursday, the 18th. Thank you--and that comes from all of us at the College.

After two visits, you have certainly sensed the intense interest in the media common to recent classes. We return to the topic at intervals in the curriculum, but this year, as in 1976, you will be a tough act to follow. A number of students have already suggested that you come back with the "other 32 pages."

I appreciate your sincere interest in the War College. With your forbearance, I hope that we may call on you again in the future.

Respectfully,

ROBERT G. YERKS Major General, USA Commandant

Dr. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman

600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.

Washington, DC 20037

MMK ITINERARY, 8/18-8/19/77 CARLISLE, PA.

8/18 - lv. D.C. via Alleg.fl. 769 5: pm ar. Harrisburg 5:45

YOU WILL BE MET AT AIRPORT

Col. Patterson, 717/245-3108

8/19 - lv. Harrisburg via Alleg.fl.768 10:40am ar. D.C. 11.25

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US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA

Schedule of Events for the Visit of Doctor Max M. Kampelman Attorney Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman Washington, D.C.

and

Mr. John Sharnik Senior Vice President Public Affairs Broadcasts Columbia Broadcasting System News New York, New York

Thursday, 18 August 1977

1705	Arrival by Alt Air - Mr. Sharnik	HIA
1745	Arrival by AA #769 - Dr. Kampleman Met by COL Patterson and escorted to	HIA
	Carlisle Barracks.	
1830	Dinner with Commandant and Mrs. Yerks	Qtrs #1
2015	Panel: "The Media in National Life."	Bliss Hall
1111	Presented by: Dr. M. M. Kampelman Mr. J. Sharnik	

	Friday, 19 August 1977	
a.m.	Breakfast with Escort Officer	Washington Hall
0915	Departure by USAWC Sedan (Accompanied to Airport by Dr. Kuhlman)	Carlisle Barracks
1015 1040	Departure - Mr. Sharnik Departure - Dr. Kampelman	HIA Exp & Honoracision HIA For Both
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Escort Officers: Dr. Kampelman - COL Z. E. Finkelstein

Mr. Sharnik - COL C. L. Alton

Aide: CPT J. E. Thomas

N.	AME	BILLETS	TELEPHONE
Dr.	Kampelman	Suite 210-11	
Mr.	Sharnik	Suite 208-09	245-4217



US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA

Schedule of Events for the Visit of

Doctor Max M. Kampelman Attorney

Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman Washington, D.C.

and

Mr. John Sharnik
Senior Vice President
Public Affairs Broadcasts
Columbia Broadcasting System News
New York, New York

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1015 1040	Departure - Mr. Sharnik Departure - Dr. Kampelman	HIA HIA

Escort Officers: Dr. Kampelman - COL Z. E. Finkelstein

Mr. Sharnik - COL C. L. Alton

Aide: CPT J. E. Thomas

NAME	BILLETS	TELEPHONE 245-4246
Dr. Kampelman	Suite 210-11	
Mr. Sharnik	Suite 208-09	245-4217

July 22, 1977

General Joseph H. Kastner
Brigadier General, USA
Deputy Commandant
Department of the Navy
US Army War College
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17103

Dear General Kastner:

Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of July 15. It was good of you to write. Needless to say, I consider it a privilege to have been asked to participate in the US Army War panel and look forward to the August 18 session. It will be good to see you again.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:ph



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Office of the Deputy Commandant

15 JUL 1977

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

Colonel Bill Patterson has passed on the good news that you will be able to participate in our panel on "The Media in National Life" on the evening of Thursday, August 18th.

You provided us a thoughtful and provocative experience in 1976 and your second visit will be a genuine dividend for our new class.

Thank you in advance for taking the time from a very busy schedule to share your insights on the media with all of us at the Army War College.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH H. KASTNER Brigadier General, USA

Deputy Commandant

Dr. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037

July 22, 1977

Colonel William H. Patterson Chairman, Department of National and International Security Studies Department of the Army U.S.Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

Dear Colonel Patterson:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 12. I'm looking forward to being with you on August 18. I haven't as yet checked the transportation availabilities, but will make it my plan to arrive before 5:00 p.m.

All my best.

Sincerely,

中可製

Max M. Kampelman

MMK: ph

V



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

AWCAB

12 July 1977

Dr. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

I cannot tell you how glad I am that you will be with us once again, on August 18th, to discuss "The Media in National Life."

After some ifing-and-anding, I decided to follow my initial inclination and shoot for a two-man panel. Given the time constraints I am afraid that three or more participants would frustrate selves and audience. Consequently, your opposite number will be John Sharnik, Senior Vice President of CBS for Public Affairs Broadcasting.

May I suggest that you plan to arrive at a time convenient to you on Thursday afternoon, the 18th, preferably before 5:00 p.m. and overnight at the guest house before your return Friday morning. I anticipate that the Commandant or Deputy Commandant will host an informal dinner at about 6:00 p.m., with the panel scheduled for 8:15.

Because of the co-pairing, it seems to me that it would be best if you and Mr. Sharnik each delivered 20-25 minutes of prepared remarks, to be followed by the usual break and about 45 minutes of questions and discussion.

Although you will find few changes from last year, I am inclosing the program page on the presentation from the draft of this year's course directive. It would be cruel and unusual punishment—and a physical impossibility—to ask you to address more than one or two of the points touched on under the objective, scope, and additional factors headings. Please feel free to pick and choose as you will. Some of the other issues will certainly be touched on during the discussion period.

You may be aware that General Smith is being promoted to lieutenant general and transferred back to Washington as Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Department of the Army. His successor as Commandant, AWCAB

Dr. Max M. Kampelman

12 July 1977

effective August 1st, will be Major General Robert G. Yerks, presently Commander of the Military District of Washington and Deputy Commandant of the War College in 1974-75.

As last year, the College will be happy to reimburse you for all travel expenses, lodging, and meals incident to your visit and provide a nominal honorarium of \$100.

Please call me collect at any time additional information is necessary. My office telephone number is (717) 245-3108. In the meantime, I look forward to the panel on August 18th with double anticipation.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. PATTERSON

Colonel, US Army

Chairman, Department of National and International Security Studies

Bill Patterson

Incl as stated

1. Lecture.

ε. Title. The Media in National Life (WL-E).

b. Introduction.

- (1) It is barely possible, but doubtful, that the press, radio, and television media of a free nation can peacefully coexist with other societal institutions. From the 18th century hand-press to the onset of the 25-inch "living color" picture tube, the arbiters of the Fourth Estate have critically observed and cheerfully critiqued the mores of American government, society, and military. In print and electronic journalism, the 20th century has been the era of the muckraker, the tabloid journalist, and adversary reporter. Exploits and excesses were both inevitable as the media matured into a colossus capable of simultaneously informing—or misinforming—an audience of tens of millions.
- (2) In the 1970's, the media's apologias on behalf of its classic Constitutional guarantees have been answered by public demands for increased journalistic responsibility and self-restraint. Compromise may be possible on particulars, but the timeless argument is certain to endure over whether the journalist influences the national and world environments, or merely reports them.
- c. Objective. To understand the role of the media as a national institution.
 - ¿. Scope. This lecture will address:
 - (1) The functions of a free press in the United States.
- (2) The interrelationships between the media and other elements of US society.
- The arguments pro and con on the media's unrestricted right to access and release of all-source information.
 - (4) The status of the American media in the decade ahead.
 - e. Additional factors for consideration.
- (1) In the last ten years, has the media been a neutral, positive, or negative factor in US national life?
- (2) Is increased regulation of the media desirable? By government? Through self-enforcement?

- (3) Do the commercial aspects of corporate print, radio, and television journalism reinforce or conflict with the public interest?
- (4) What should the US media print, broadcast, or televise? What should they refrain from disseminating?
- (5) Who should support public broadcasting and television? Commercial concerns? Federal, state, and local governments? The public alone?
- (6) How can the public be heard most effectively in its response to editorial views expressed by the media?
 - 2. Required readings. See Section F, Selected Reading Volume.
 - a. Royster, Vermont. "A Free Press: The Struggle Goes On." Washington Post, 1 July 1974, p. 18.
 - (A respected emeritus among America's columnists, editors, and journalism educators poses the classic dilemma of absolute press freedom versus exercise of the other Constitutional freedoms.)
 - b. Geyelin, Philip. "The Role of the Press in an Open Society." Lecture given at the Naval War College. <u>Naval War College</u> Review, Vol. 27, March-April 1975, pp. 3-7.

(The Editorial Page Editor of the <u>Washington Post</u> analyzes a "chicken or egg" question, whether the press influences or simply reports events, and provides a thoughtful view of the relationship between press and government.)

c. Francois, William E. "The Fate of the National News Council." America, Vol. 134, 8 May 1976, pp. 402-404.

(Mr. Francois is a professor of journalism at Drake University. His article recaps the brief history of the nation's first independent media-monitoring agency and poses a disturbing question with respect to the media's responsibility to inform the public of its existence and activities.)

- 3. Recommended additional readings. The following are representative of the hundreds of books and extended studies on this topic which have been published in the sixties and seventies. The list includes works which range from establishment orthodoxy to unabashed partisanship, and cover both print and electronic journalism.
 - a. Brown, Lee. The Reluctant Reformation: On Criticizing the Press in America. New York: McKay, 1974. (PN4888 E8B7)

- b. Cater, Douglass. <u>Communications and Society: Toward a Public Philosophy</u>. Palo Alto: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1973. (P92 U5C3)
- C. Diamond, Edwin. The Tin Kazoo: Television, Politics, and the News. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975. (PN4888 T4D5)
- d. Lefever, Ernest W. TV and National Defense: An Analysis of CBS News, 1972-1973. Boston, Va.: Institute for American Strategy Press, 1974. (PN4784 T4L44)
- e. Rivers, William L., and Nyhan, Michael J., eds. Aspen Notebook on Government and the Media. New York: Praeger, 1973. (HN90 M3A8)
- f. Sigal, Leon V. Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973. (PN4738 S5)

WEEKLY



SCHEDU

NO. 2

15 - 19 AUG 77

US ARMY WAR COLLEGE, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. 17013

Monday, 15 Aug

Time 0930 - 1115 The National Purpose (Notes 1, 2 & 3)

WL-02 Mr A.K. Blood

WS:01

1330 - 1630 The National Purpose (Notes 1 & 4)

Tuesday, 16 Aug

0930	The Dimensions of Military (Notes 1, 2 & 3)	ry Strategy SI-L-01 Prof M. Howard	
1000 - 1200	Scope and Theories of Military Strategy (Notes 1 & 4)	SI-S-01	
1330 - 1630	Philosophy of Command (Notes 1 & 5)	CWA-1 GEN L.L. Lemnitzer, USA Pet	

Wednesday, 17 Aug

Seminar Group Discussion

The United States Marine Corps

(Notes 1 & 4)

(Notes 2 & 6)

0830 - 0920

0930 - 1020

MSGD-02

ML-02

USA Ket

GEN L.H. Wilson, USMC

		1040 - 1110	Question & Answer Period (Notes 2 & 6)	
		1330 - 1530	Minorities and Women in American Society (Notes 1, 2 & 3)	WL-03 Mr N.R. Jones
		1540 - 1630	Seminar Group Discussion (Notes 1 & 4)	SGD
	,	1540 - 1630	ALC-Three mbr from each SO (Notes 1 & 7)	G
			Thursday, 18 Aug	
		0830 - 0900	Operations & Intelligence Briefing (Notes 1 & 2)	Operations Group

0900 - 1045	Maritime Power as a National Strategy SI-S-0 (Notes 1 & 4)	2 1035 - 1200 Group Discussions SG 1-8 Bliss Hall SG 9-13 Wil Washcoe Auditorium
1100 - 1200	(Notes 1, 2 & 3) LCDR H.K. Ullma	(Nata 1)
2015 - 2145	The Media in National Life WL- (Notes 1, 3 & 8) Dr M.M. Kampelman Mr J. Sharni	NOTES: 1. Uniform—optional: Civilian coat and tie, Army Green, Khaki, or
	Friday, 19 Aug	 Seminar Rooms, Root Hall (Configuration A, Memo, AWCSA, 5 Aug 77). Wil Washcoe Auditorium (WWA), Root Hall; attendance by
0830 - 1030	Minorities and Women in American Society (Notes 1, 2 & 3) Ms J.E. Randal COL G.L. Black, Re Mr M.A. Carrille Mr H. Floye Mr A. Pere	arrangement with DCMGT. 6. Uniform—required: Army Green. Comparable attire for other services. 7. Wil Washcoe Auditorium (WWA), Root Hall. 8. Bliss Hall, random seating.

September 26, 1978

202-342-3520

Robert C. Gaskill
Major General, USA
Deputy Commandant
Department of the Army
US Army War College
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

Dear General:

That was a most gracious letter of September 19. Thank you very much.

All my best to you in your assignment.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:pjp



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Office of the Deputy Commandant

19 September 1978

Dr. Max M. Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

I am aware that our Commandant, Major General DeWitt C. Smith, Jr., has expressed the appreciation of the US Army War College for your outstanding presentation. I must, however, reaffirm my personal pleasure in having the opportunity to chat with you during dinner and the following day in Bliss Hall.

Your candor and well reasoned observations regarding the role of the media in our society provided much food for thought and greatly helped to enhance the perspectives of all in attendance. Though I shall be leaving the Army War College at the end of this week to assume new duties at the Defense Logistics Agency, I certainly hope that you will find time in your demanding schedule to continue supporting the vital educational efforts of the Army War College.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

ROBERT C. GASKILL Major General, USA Deputy Commandant



US ARMY WAR COLLEGE Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

Office of the Commandant

8 SEP 1978

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

It is always a pleasure to have someone with your depth of knowledge and ability present a topic as important as "The Media in US Society." The comments from students were very favorable, and you provoked a number of lively discussions in the seminar rooms.

I am sorry that we weren't able to enjoy a meal together, but, as a family man, I heartily agree with your priorities. We'll get another chance to dine together, hopefully, soon.

Sincerely,

DeWITT C. SMITH, JR. Major General, USA

Commandant

Dr. Max M. Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013



IN REPLY REFER TO:

AWCAB1

5 September 1978

Dr. Max M. Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

It was both an honor and a pleasure to have served as your escort officer during your all too brief visit to Carlisle Barracks. My seminar group students who had been promised the opportunity to have you to themselves for a period were genuinely disappointed. I neglected to mention to you enroute to the airport that one of the other faculty instructors also came up at the conclusion of the question and answer period to ask if there was any way I could get you to his group for a few minutes.

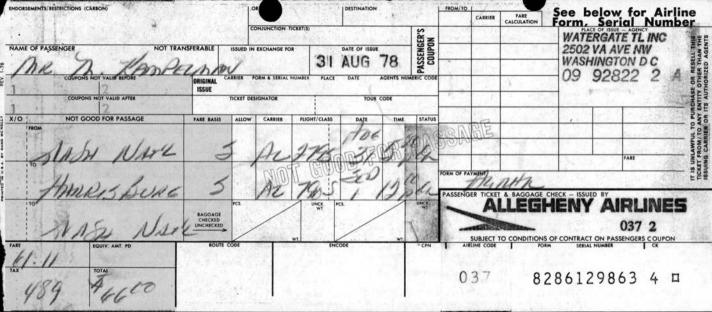
Thank you both for the offer to help me line up points of contact and for the copy of your script. Several of us are looking forward to the completed article.

Sincerely,

DAVID W. BLACKLEDGE

Colonel, US Army

Director, US National Security Studies



NOTICE

If the passenger's journey involves an ultimate destination or stop in a country other than the country of departure the Warsaw Convention may be applicable and the Convention governs and in most cases limits the liability of carriers for death or personal injury and in respect of loss of or damage to baggage. See also notice headed "Advice to International Passengers on Limitation of Liability" CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT

- 1. As used in this contract "ticket" means this passenger ticket and baggage check, of which these conditions and the notices form part, "carriage" is equivalent to "transportation", "carrier" means all air carriers that carry or undertake to carry the passenger or his baggage hereunder or perform any other service incidental to such air carriage, "WARSAW CONVENTION" means the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw, 12th October 1929, or that Convention as amended at The Hague, 28th September 1955, whichever may be applicable.
- 2. Carriage hereunder is subject to the rules and limitations relating to liability established by the Warsaw Convention unless such carriage is not "international carriage" as defined by that Convention.
- 3. To the extent not in conflict with the foregoing carriage and other services performed by each carrier are subject to: (I) provisions contained in this ticket, (II) applicable tariffs. (III) carrier's conditions of carriage and related regulations which are made part hereof (and are available on application at the offices of carrier), except in transportation between a place in the United States or Canada and
- any place outside thereof to which tariffs in force in those countries apply. 4. Carrier's name may be abbreviated in the ticket, the full name and its abbreviation being set forth in carrier's tariffs, conditions of carriage, regulations or timetables; carrier's address shall be the airport of departure shown opposite the first abbreviation of carrier's name in the ticket; the agreed stopping places are those places set forth in this ticket or as shown in carrier's timetables as scheduled stopping places on the passenger's route; carriage to be performed hereunder by several successive carriers is regarded as a single operation.
- 5. An air carrier issuing a ticket for carriage over the lines of another air carrier does so only as its agent.

- 6. Any exclusion or limitation of liability of carrier shall apply to and be for th benefit of agents, servants and representatives of carrier and any person whos

transportation.

7. Checked baggage will be delivered to bearer of the baggage check. In case of damage to baggage moving in international transportation complaint must be made in writing to carrier forthwith after discovery of damage and, at the latest, within 7 day from receipt; in case of delay, complaint must be made within 21 days from date th

aircraft is used by carrier for carriage and its agents, servants and representatives

baggage was delivered. See tariffs or conditions of carriage regarding non-international

- 8. This ticket is good for carriage for one year from date of issue, except a otherwise provided in this ticket, in carrier's tariffs, conditions of carriage, of related regulations. The fare for carriage hereunder is subject to change prior t commencement of carriage. Carrier may refuse transportation if the applicable far has not been paid.
- 9. Carrier undertakes to use its best efforts to carry the passenger and baggag with reasonable dispatch. Times shown in timetable or elsewhere are not guaran teed and form no part of this contract. Carrier may without notice substitute alternate carriers or aircraft, and may alter or omit stopping places shown or the ticket in case of necessity. Schedules are subject to change without notice Carrier assumes no responsibility for making connections.
- 10. Passenger shall comply with Government travel requirements, present exists entry and other required documents and arrive at airport by time fixed by carrier of if no time is fixed, early enough to complete departure procedures.
- 11. No agent, servant or representative of carrier has authority to alter, modified or waive any provision of this contract.
- CARRIER RESERVES THE RIGHT TO REFUSE CARRIAGE TO ANY PERSON WHO HAS ACQUIRED A TICKET IN VIOLATION OF APPLICABLE LAW OR CARRIER'S TARIFFS, RULES OR REGULATIONS

Issued by the Carrier whose name is in the "Issued By" section on the face of the Passenger Ticket and Baggage Check. SUBJECT TO TARIFF REGULATIONS

September 1, 19798 202-342-3520 Colonel David W. Blackledge Director, U.S. National Security Studies Department of National and International Society Studies U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania Dear Colonel Blackledge: I am sure you know how pleased I was at my brief stay at the Army War College. Your pressence and your thoughtfulness was most instrumental in that successful trip. Your courtesy was very much appreciated. Thank you again, and also express my appreciation to Mrs. Blackledge for her act which was over and above the call of duty. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/sac

BLACKLEDGE, David W. Ave.

DOR: 4 May 74 (53 Yr Gp)

BORN: 10 Mar 30, Cincinnati, OH

WIFE'S NAME: Diana M. Wiley

(Nan)

CHILDREN: David N., 24; William,

21; Alan, 18; Naomi, 15

EDUCATION

DatesName and PlaceStudyDegree1949-53Purdue Univ, West Lafayette, INPol SciBS1963-65Rutgers Univ, New Brunswick, NJAmer HistMA

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Position, Organization and Location Nov 53-Dec 54 Recon & Surv Off, CO, Svc Btry, & LO, 135th FA Bn (redsg: 25th, Ft Riley, KS), Camp Polk, LA Dec 54-May 55 Ammo Train Cdr, R&S Off, Btry XO, 816th FA Bn, USAREUR Jun 55-Feb 57 BC, C-765th FA Bn, USAREUR Mar 57-Aug 57 Asst S3, 765th FA Bn, Ft Sill, OK BC, 2d How Bn, 2d Arty, Ft Sill, OK Nov 58-Mar 59 May 59-May 60 Asst S3, 4th USA Ms1 Comd Jul 61-Jun 64 Asst PMS, Rutgers Univ, New Brunswick, NJ Feb 65-Nov 65 CO, IX Corps Arty & Asst G3, IX Corps, Okinawa Nov 65-May 66 SGS, IX Corps, Okinawa Jun 66-Sep 66 Asst G1, USARCONTHAI, Thailand Sep 66-Aug 67 Plans & Op Off, USARSUPTHAI, Thailand Sep 67-Jul 68 Asst S3, XVIII Abn Corps Arty, Ft Bragg, NC Aug 69-Jan 70 XO, XVIII Abn Corps Arty, Ft Bragg, NC CO, 6th Bn, 82d FA, XVIII Abn Corps Arty, Ft Bragg, NC Jan 70-Jun 71 Jun 71-Jun 62 Advr, IV RVN Corps Arty, Delta, Vietnam Jun 72-Jul 74 Stf Off, Pac Div, Current Op Dir, ODCSOPS, DA, Washington, DC Cdr, 212th FA Gp, Ft Sill, OK Jul 75-Jan 76 Jan 77-Jun 78 Deputy Cdr, III US Corps Arty, Ft Sill, OK Jun 78-Present Director, US Natl Scty Studies, Dept of Natl & Intl Scty Studies, USAWC, Carlisle Barracks, PA

SERVICE SCHOOLS: Grad-USACGSC, 69; Nat1 WC, 75
INSTRUCTOR EXPERIENCE: Amer Mil Hist, Ldrship, Rutgers Univ, Aug 61-May 64;
Amer Hist since 1860, Univ of MD (Thailand Ext), Sep 66-Feb 67
SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS: OPMS-FA (13), Op & Force Dev (54); Prcht, Instr, FAO
BATTLE CAMPAIGNS: Vietnam, 4
AWARDS: LM, MSM w OLC, AM, ARCOM w OLC, MUE, RVN Staff Svc Medal, GSIdentBad,
PrchtBad, RgrT
FIELDS OR AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST: Amer Mil Heritage, Far Eastern Affairs
PUBLICATIONS: "ROTC Counterguerillas," Infantry Magazine, 63; "A Hard Look at
Project Transition," Army Magazine, 71
ORGANIZATIONS & SOCIETIES: US Army Field Artillery Association

MMK ITINERARY - HZ RISBURGH, PA., 8/31-9/1

- 8/31 1v. D.C. Via Allegy.fl. 2795 5:20 pm ar. Harrisburg 6:05
- 9/1 lv. Harrisburg via Allgy.fl. 790 12: ar. D. C. 12:45

Col. Blackledge 717/245-3820

202-352-3520 September 1, 1978 Major General DeWitt C. Smith, Jr. Commandant U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania Dear General Smith: I have already told you in person how pleased I was that we had an opportunity to meet again. My deep regret is that it was impossible for us to have lunch together. I hope that this did not inconvenience you in any way. I would have considered it a privilege to spend more time with you. I recall vividly the excitement and pleasure at our last meeting two years ago. As I dictate this letter, Sarge is not in the office but he will receive your message. Once again let me say how fortunate the nation, the Army and the students at the War College are at your continued service as Commandant. Please send my best wishes to Mrs. Smith. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/sac

SMITH, DeWitt C., Jr
Major General USA
578-22-0205

BORN: 31 Aug 20, Baltimore, MD

WIFE'S NAME: Margaret Bond (Betty)

CHILDREN: DeWitt C., III, 31; Dana (Mrs D Wimert), 27; Shelley (Mrs M Knudson), 25; Kevin, 24; Betsy, 22; Barbara, 19





Major General DeWitt C. Smith, Jr., is a native of Bethesda, Maryland. Graduated from the University of Maryland with a BA in Government and Politics, he is also a graduate of the Command and General Staff College, Armed Forces Staff College, and the Army War College.

Having served briefly as a private in the Canadian Army, General Smith, then a college student, entered the US Army as a private in World War II. Commissioned through Officer Candidate School, he served in Europe as an armored infantry commander in the 4th Armored Division. General Smith was wounded three times in campaigns extending from Normandy to Czechoslovakia, serving mainly with spearhead elements at Patton's 3d Army, including the relief of Bastogne. At war's end, he returned to civil life for five years.

In that time, General Smith first covered the US Congress as a reporter for a newsletter service, then was Assistant to the Director of the National Social Welfare Assembly, and also studied at Columbia University. With the onset of the Korean War, he volunteered for return to active duty.

In the years since, General Smith has worn the insignia of and had troop assignments in three of the combat arms -- Infantry, Armor and Artillery; held commands at every appropriate level; served on unit staffs, and within NATO, the Army General Staff, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the offices of the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of Defense. He has been assigned to Korea, Vietnam, and Europe. General Smith has worked closely for four Secretaries of the Army and the Deputy Secretary of Defense; served as aide to the Army Chief of Staff; and twice worked in the staff group of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

More recently, he has been a brigade commander; an assistant division commander at Fort Carson; the Army's Deputy Chief of Information; Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel of the Army; from 1974 to 1977, the Commandant of the Army War College; and finally served as the Army's Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. In these and earlier capacities, he has written and spoken widely.

On 1 August 1978, General Smith retired from active duty in the grade of lieutenant general. Subsequent to that, at the request of the Secretary of the Army and Chief of Staff, General Smith agreed to recall to active duty in the grade of major general and to return once again to the position of Commandant, Army War College.

A one-time regional Junior Davis Cup tennis player, General Smith now plays golf and is interested in American history, world politics and all the arts. He is married to the former Betty Bond of Scituate, Massachusetts. Mrs. Smith has been variously a radio announcer, secretary, nursing aide, school teacher, artist and model, as well as the mother of their six children.

General Smith is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the Newcomen Society, Ends of the Earth, the Associations of the United States Army and the 4th Armored Division, and Phi Delta Theta. He is a board member of the Civilian-Military Institute, the Army Mutual Aid Association, and the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, Georgetown University. In 1977, General Smith was the United States Army's Kermit Roosevelt Lecturer to the United Kingdom. He was named a member of the Infantry OCS Hall of Fame, and is also listed in Who's Who in America.

Among others, General Smith has received the Distinguished Service Medal, Silver Star, Legion of Merit (four times), Bronze Star (twice), Army Commendation Medal, Purple Heart (three times), Korea Chung Mu with Gold Star, Combat Infantry Badge, Presidential Unit Citation and French Fourragere.



US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA

Schedule of Events for the Visit of

Doctor Max M. Kampelman
Partner - Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman
Washington, DC

Thursday, 31 August 1978

1805	Arrival by AL #2795. Met by COL Blackledge and escorted to Carlisle Barracks.	HIA
1915	Dinner with Deputy Commandant Guests:	Pershing Room, Officers' Club
	Dr. M. M. Kampelman COL J. L. Cooper	• 000
	COL D. W. Blackledge LTC S. W. Kennedy, COL A. J. Mock LTC S. G. Cadoria	Jr.
	COL A. J. Mock LTC S. G. Cadoria Mr. G. C. Kinzer LTC H. G. Taylor	
	210 111 01 14/101	
	Friday, 1 September 1978	
0730	Breakfast with COL Finkelstein and escorted to Bliss Hall.	Qtrs #206-A
0830	Lecture: "The Media in US Society." Presented by: Dr. M. M. Kampelman	Bliss Hall
1040	Attend Seminar Group Discussion. (Accompanied by COL Blackledge)	Root Hall
1130	Comot MG DeWith Smith	
1130	Luncheon with Secretary, COL W. F. Schless Guests:	Pershing Room, Officers' Club
	Dr. M. M. Kampelman LTC R. E. Tozier	
	COL D. W. Blackledge LTC J. W. Neely	
	Mr. W. V. Kennedy LTC N. T. Jaco	
	Mr. R. V. Gildea COL A. J. Habig	
	LTC P. C. Hutton	, III
1230	Departure by USAWC Sedan. (Accompanied to Airport by COL Blackledge)	Carlisle Barracks
1353	Departure by AL #506.	HIA

Escort Officer: COL D. W. Blackledge

Guest House Suite: 110-11 Telephone: 245-3963

September 1, 1978 202-342-3520 Brigadier General Robert C. Gaskill Deputy Commandant U. S. Army War College Carlisle, Pennsylvania Dear General: I am writing to tell you how much I appreciated your efforts to make my stay at the Army War College a pleasant one. The dinner on Thursday evening was a warm and stimulating one. The food was good and the company most pleasing. Thank you very much for helping to make my introduction to the College this year such a successful one. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/sac

GASKILL, Robert C. Brigadier General

USA 224-32-2389

DOR: 18 Aug 75 (52 Yr Gp)

BORN: 12 Apr 31, Yonkers, NY

WIFE'S NAME: Erotida Ponce

CHILDREN: Robert C., Jr, 22;

Vivienne, 19; Juli, 17;

Cheryl, 16





Brigadier General Robert C. Gaskill is a native of Yonkers, New York. However, he grew up mostly in the Washington, D. C. area. General Gaskill graduated from Howard University, Washington, D.C., where he received a BA degree (Cum Laude) in Accounting and Business Administration. He has a MBA degree from the George Washington University, also in Washington, D.C. In addition, he is a graduate of the US Army Command and General Staff College, Armed Forces Staff College, Army Logistics Management Center, Army Institute for Military Assistance and the Navy Postgraduate School. From 1971 through 1972, he was a student at the Army War College where he remained until 1974 as a faculty member teaching in the areas of command management and executive development.

General Gaskill started his military career in 1952 after receiving a commission as a Distinguished Military Graduate of Army ROTC from Howard University. Initially, he served in a variety of Infantry assignments prior to company and staff duty at the Quartermaster Center, Fort Lee, Virginia. He has held numerous high level logistical staff positions. These have been with the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Department of the Army; J4/Logistics Directorate (Deputy Senior Advisor to the Chiefs of the Quartermaster, Procurement, and Commissary and Exchange Departments), US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; J4/Logistics Directorate, US European Command, where his duties included serving as US Logistics Liaison Officer to the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe (SHAPE). In general, his career has included a variety of command, staff and teaching assignments in the US, Europe, Korea and Vietnam in the professional areas of logistics, comptrollership and personnel management.

General Gaskill's logistics command experience has been diversified and challenging. In 1968 he moved from the hallowed halls of the Pentagon to Fort Carson, Colorado, where he commanded the 5th Supply and Transportation Battalion, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized)—better known as "The Red Diamond Division." Later in August 1974, he became the Commander of Letterkenny Army Depot, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. During his subsequent tour of duty in Germany, he served as Commanding General of the 1st Support Brigade and Deputy Commanding General of the new 21st Support Command which he helped to organize.

Mrs. Gaskill is a soprano vocalist. She has been active in a variety of religious and other community programs. She has enjoyed occasional forays on the stage as actress-singer ("The King And I" and "Showboat"), choral director, concert soloist and inspirational guest speaker.

Robert, Jr is a gravate of Oral Roberts University. Vivienne is a sophomore at Shippensburg State College majoring in business administration. Juli and Cheryl attend Carlisle Senior High School.

General Gaskill has been active in chapel and other community affairs. In Europe he served as Boy Scout District Commissioner (Three Rivers District) and President of the Mid-Palatinate Chapter of the Association of the United States Army. In addition, he has been a frequent guest speaker in the fields of logistics, human relations, executive development and professional ethics. He is a strong supporter of continuing adult education and "total person professionalism." Other interests include bowling, tennis and professional writing.

His decorations include the Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, Army Commendation Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, Republic of Vietnam Honor Medal (1st Class), Army General Staff Identification Badge and the Republic of Vietnam Quartermaster Badge.

General Gaskillassumed duties as the Deputy Commandant, US Army War College in August 1977.

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STEEDER HOTELD

THIS PARAGRAPH APPLIES ONLY TO QUOTATIONS SUBM

Supplies are of domestic origin unless otherwise indicated the other. The Government reserves the right to consider quotations or modifications thereof received after the date indicated should such action be in the interest of the Government. This is a request for information and quotations furnished are not offers. When quoting, complete blocks 11, 12, 22, 25, 25, 1f you are unable to quote, please advise. This request does not commit the Government to pay any cost incurred in preparation or the submission of this quotation or to procure or contract for supplies or services.

_ GENERAL PROVISIONS

- 1. INSPECTION AND ACCEPTANCE—Inspection and acceptance will be at destination, unless otherwise provided. Until delivery and acceptance, and after any rejections, risk of loss will be on the Contractor unless loss results from negligence of the United States Government. Notwithstanding the requirements for any Government inspection and test contained in specifications applicable to this contract, except where specialized inspections or tests are specified for performance solely by the Government, the Contractor shall perform or have performed the inspections and tests required to substantiate that the supplies and services provided under the contract conform to the drawings, specifications and contract requirements listed herein, including if applicable the technical requirements for the manufacturers' part numbers specified herein.
- 2. VARIATION IN QUANTITY—No variation in the quantity of any item called for by this contract will be accepted unless such variation has been caused by conditions of loading, shipping, or packing, or allowances in manufacturing processes, and then only to the extent, if any, specified elsewhere in this contract.
- 3. PAYMENTS—Invoices shall be submitted in quadrupilicate fone copy thail be marked "Original") unless otherwise specified, and shall contain the following information: Contract or Order number, Item number, contract description of supplies or services, sizes, quantities, unit prices and extended totals. Bill of lading number and weight of shipment will be shown for shipments on Government Bills of Lading. Unless otherwise specified, payment will be made on partial deliveries accepted by the Government when the amount due on such deliveries so warrants.
- 4. DISCOUNTS—In connection with any discount offered, time will be computed from date of delivery of the supplies to carrier when acceptance is at the point of origin, or from date of delivery at destination or port of embarkation when delivery and acceptance are at either of these points, or from the date the correct invoice or voucher is received in the office specified by the Government, if the latter is later than date of delivery. Payment is deemed to be made for the purpose of earning the discount on the date of mailing of the Government check.
- 8. OISPUTES—(2) Except as otherwise provided in this contract, any dispute concerning a question of fact arising under this contract which is not disposed of by agreement shall be decided by the Contracting Officer, who shall mail or otherwise furnish a copy thereof to the Contractor. This decision shall be final and conclusive unless, within 30 days from the date of receipt of such copy, the Contractor mails or otherwise furnishes to the Contracting Officer a written appeal addressed to the Secretary. The decision of the Secretary or his duly authorized representative for the determination of such appeals shall be final and conclusive unless determined by a court of competent jurisdiction to have been fraudulent, or capricious, or arbitrary, or so grossly erroneous as necessarily to imply bad faith, or not supported by substantial evidence. The Contractor shall be afforded an opportunity to be heard and to offer evidence in support of his appeal. Pending final decision of a dispute hereunder, the Contractor shall proceed diligently with the performance of the contract and in accordance with the Contracting Officer's decision. (b) This "Disputes" clause does not preclude consideration of law questions in connection with decisions provided for in (a) above, provided, that nothing in this contract shall be construed as making final the decision of any administrative official, representative, or board on a question of law.
- FOREIGN SUPPLIES—This contract is subject to the Buy American Act (41 U.S.C. 10a-d)
 as implemented by Executive Order 10582 of December 17, 1954, and any restrictions in appropriation acts on the procurement of foreign supplies.
- CONVICT LABOR—The Contractor agrees not to employ for work under this contract any person undergoing sentence of imprisonment at hard labor.
- 8. OFFICIALS NOT TO BENEFIT—No member of or Delegate to Congress or resident commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this contract, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom, but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this contract if made with a corporation for its general benefit.
- 9. CONVENANT AGAINST CONTINGENT FEES—The Contractor warrants that no person or selling agency has been employed or retained to solicit or secure this contract upon an agreement or understanding for a commission, percentage, brokerage, or contingent fee, excepting bona fide employees or bona fide established commercial or selling agencies maintained by the Contractor for the purpose of securing business. For breach or violation of this warranty the Government shall have the right to annul this contract without liability or in its discretion to deduct from the contract price or consideration or otherwise recover, the full amount of such commission, percentage, brokerage or contingent fee.
- 10. GRATUITIES—(a) The Government may, by written notice to the Contractor, terminate the right of the Contractor to proceed under this contract if it is found after notice and hearing, by the Secretary or his duly authorized representative, that gratuities (in the form of entertainment, gifts or otherwise) were offered or given by the Contractor, or any agent or representative of the Contractor, to any officer or employee of the Government with a view toward securing a contract or securing favorable treatment with respect to the awarding or amending, or the making of any determinations with respect to the performing of such contract, provided, that the existence of the facts upon which the Secretary or his duly authorized representative make such findings shall be in issue and may be reviewed in any competent court. (b) In the event this contract is terminated as provided in paragraph (a) hereof the Government shall be entitled (i) to pursue the same remedies against the Contractor as it could pursue in the event of a breach of the contract by the Contractor and (ii) as a penalty in addition to any other damages to which it may be entitled by law to exemplary damages in an amount (as determined by the Secretary, or his duly authorized representative) which shall be not less than three nor more than ten times the costs incurred by the Contractor in providing any such gratuities to any such officer or employee. (c) The rights and remedies of the Government provided in this clause shall not be exclusive and are in addition to any other rights and remedies provided by law or under this contract.
- 11. RENEGOTIATION—This contract, and any subcontract hereunder, is subject to the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 1831 et act.) and shall be deemed to contain all the provisions required by Section 104 thereof, and is subject to any subsequent act of Congress providing for the renegotiation of contracts.
- 12. CONDITION FOR ASSIGNMENT—This Purchase Order may not be assigned pursuant to the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940, as amended (31 U.S.C. 203, 41 U.S.C. 15), unless or until the supplier has been requested and has accepted this order by executing the Acceptance hereon.
- 13. COMMERCIAL WARRANTY—The Contractor agrees that the supplies or services furnished under this contract shall be covered by the most favorable commercial warranties the Contractor gives to any customer for such supplies or services and that the rights and remedies provided herein are in addition to and do not limit any rights afforded to the Government by any other clause of this contract.

- 14. PRIORITIES. ALLOCATIONS AND ALLOTMENTS DEFENSE MATERIALS SYSTEM—
 When the amount of the order or more the Contractor shall follow the provisions of DMS.
 Reg. 1 and all other applicable diations and orders of the Business and Defense Services Administration in obtaining controlled materials and other products and materials needed to fill this order.
- 15, FAST PAYMENT PROCEDURE-

(a) General. This is a fast payment order. Invoices will be paid on the basis of the Contractor's delivery to a post office, common earrier, or, in shipment by other means, to the point of first receipt by the Government.

(c) Responsibility for Supplies. Title to the supplies shall vest in the Government upon delivery to a post office or common carrier for shipment to the specified destination. If shipment is by means other than post office or common carrier, title to the supplies shall vest in the Government upon delivery to the point of first receipt by the Government. Notwith-standing any other provision of the purchase order, the Contractor shall assume all responsibility and risk of loss for supplies (i) not received at destination; (ii) damaged in transit, or (iii) not conforming to purchase requirements. The Contractor shall either replace, repair, or correct such supplies promptly at his expense, provided instructions to do so are furnished by the Contracting Officer within ninety (90) days from the date title to the supplies vests in the Government.

(c) Preparation of Involce.

(1) Upon delivery of supplies to a post office, common carrier, or in shipments by other means, the point of first receipt by the Government, the Contractor shall prepare an invoice in accordance with Clause 3 of the General Provisions of Furchase Order, except that invoices under a blanket purchase agreement shall be prepared in accordance with the provisions of the agreement. In shipments by either post office or common carrier, the Contractor shall either (A) cite on this invoice the date of shipment, name and address of carrier, bill of lading number or other shipment document number, or (B) attach copies of such documents to his invoice as evidence of shipment. In addition the invoice shall be prominently marked "Fast Pay," In case of delivery by other than post office or common carrier, a receipted copy of the Contractor's delivery document shall be attached to the invoice as evidence of delivery.

(2) If the purchase price excludes the cost of transportation, the Contractor shall enter the prepaid shipping cost on the invoice as a separate item. The cost of parcel post insurance will not be paid by the Government. If transportation charges are separately stated on the invoice, the Contractor agrees to retain related paid freight bills or other transportation billings paid separately for a period of three years and to furnish such bills to the Government when requested for audit purposes.

for audit purposes.

(3) In the event this order requires the preparation of a Material Inspection and Receiving Report (DD Form 250), the contractor has the option of either preparing the DD Form 250 or including the following information on the invoice, in addition to that required in (e)(1) above: (A) a statement in prominent letters "NO DD 250 PREPARED", (B) shipment number; (C) mode of shipment; and (D) at line item level, (i) National Stock Number and/or Manufacturer's part number, (ii) unit of measure, (iii) Ship-To-Point, (iv) Mark-For-Point, if in contract, and (v) MILSTRIP decument number; if in contract.

and (v) MILSTRIP document number if in contract.

(d) Certification of Invoice. The Contractor agrees that the submission of an invoice to the Government for payment is a certification that the supplies for which the Government is being billed have been shipped or delivered in accordance with shipping instructions issued by the ordering officer, in the quantities shown on the invoice, and that such supplies are in the quantity and of the quality designated by the cited purchase order.

OUTER SHIPPING CONTAINERS SHALL BE MARKED "FAST PAY"

16. (This clause applies if this contract is for services and is not exempted by applicable regulations of the Department of Labor.)

SERVICE CONTRACT ACT OF 1866—Except to the extent that an exemption, variation, or tolerance would apply pursuant to 29 CFR 4.6 if this were a contract in excess of \$2,500, the Contractor and any subcontractor hereunder shall pay all of his employees engaged in performing work on the contract not less than the minimum wage specified under section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (\$1.60 per-hour). However, in cases where section 6(e) (2) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is applicable, the rates specified therein will apply. All regulations and interpretations of the Service Contract Act of 1965 expressed in 29 CFR Part 4 are hereby incorporated by reference in this contract.

ADDITIONAL GENERAL PROVISIONS

- 17. CHANGES—The Contracting Officer may at any time, by a written order, and without notice to the sureties, make changes, within the general scope of this contract, in (i) drawings, designs, or specifications, where the supplies to be furnished are to be specially manufactured for the Government in accordance therewith; (ii) method of shipment or packing; and (iii) place of delivery. If any such change causes an increase or decrease in the cost of, or the time required for performance of this contract, whether changed or not changed by any such order, an equitable adjustment shall be made by written modification of this contract. Any claim by the Contractor for adjustment under this clause must be asserted within 30 days from the date of receipt by the Contractor of the notification of change provided that the Contracting Officer, if he decides that the facts justify such action, may receive and act upon any such claim if asserted prior to final payment, under this centract. Failure to agree to any adjustment shall be a dispute concerning a question of fact within the meaning of the clause of this contract entitled "Disputes." However, nothing in this clause shall excuse the Contractor from proceeding with the contract as changed.
- 18. TERMINATION FOR DEFAULT—The Contracting Officer, by written notice, may terminate this contract, in whole or in part, for failure of the Contractor to perform any of the provisions hereof, in such event, the Contractor shall be liable for damages, including the excess cost of reprocuring similar supplies or services; provided that, if (i) it is determined ran y reason that the Centractor was not in default or (ii) the Contractor's failure to perform is without his and his subcontractor's control, fault or negligence, the termination shall be deemed to be a termination for convenience under paragraph 19. As used in this provision the term "subcontractor" and "subcontractors" means subcontractors at any tier.
- tendractor and succontractors means succontractors at any uer.

 18. TERMINATION FOR CONVENIENCE—The Contracting Officer, by written notice, may terminate this contract, in whole or in part, when it is in the best interest of the Government. If this contract is for supplies and is so terminated, the Contractor shall be compensated in accordance with Section VIII of the Armed Services Procurement Regulation, in effect on this contract's date. To the extent that this contract is for services and is so terminated, the Government shall be liable only for payment in accordance with the payment provisions of this contract for services rendered prior to the effective date of termination.
- 20. ASSIGNMENT OF CLAIMS—Claims for monies due or to become due under this contract shall be assigned only pursuant to the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940, as amended (31 U.S.C. 203, 41 U.S.C. 15). However, payments to an assignee of monies under this contract shall not, to the extent provided in said Act, as amended, be subject to reduction or set-off. (See Clause 12.)

ACCEPTANCE

The Contractor hereby accepts the offer represented by the numbered purchase order as it may previously have been or is now modified, subject to all of the terms and conditions set forth, and agrees to perform the same.

NAME OF CONTRACTOR

SIGNATURE

TYPED NAME AND TITLE

DATE SIGNED

July 28, 1978 General Robert C. Gaskill Deputy Commandant Department of the Army U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013 Dear General Gaskill: Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of July 24. I am looking forward to meeting you during my visit to the Army War College. My present plan is to arrive sometimeeduring the evening of August 31, in time for dinner, and to leave again at some point after the class session. Colonel Blackledge has been in touch with me and is working out the details. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/sac



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

N REPLY REFER TO:

Office of the Deputy Commandant

24 JUL 1978

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I am delighted that you can accept our invitation to address the Army War College Class of 1979 on "The Media in US Society," scheduled for 8:30 a.m. on Friday, 1 September 1978.

I look forward to a lively exchange if Mr. Neil Sheehan is able to participate, but know from your previous appearances that you give an excellent across-the-board coverage of the subject as well as frank answers to student questions.

Colonel David W. Blackledge, who is handling the administrative arrangements for your visit, will continue to keep in touch with you and also will let you know at the earliest possible opportunity whether Mr. Sheehan will be able to accept the invitation.

We look forward to welcoming you to the Army War College again.

Sincerely,

ROBERT C. GASKILL Brigadier General, USA

Deputy Commandant

Mr. Max M. Kampelman Suite 1000 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037 July 31, 1978

342-3520

Col David W. Blackledge Director, National Security Studies U. S. Army War College Carlise Barracks, Pa. 17013

Dear Col. Blackledge:

Let me now give you my travel plans:

I will leave Washington on August 31st via Allegheny flight 2795 at 5:20 p.m., which arrives in Harrisburg at 6:05.

I expect to leave Harrisburgh the next day, September 1, at 1:53 p.m.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Max M. Kampelman

July 14, 1978 Colonel David W. Blackledge U.S. ARmy Director, National Security Studies U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks Pennsylvania 17013 Dear Col. Blackledge: Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of July 12. I am looking forward to meeting you and becoming better acquainted with you. It is my present plan to arrive at the barracks Thursday evening, August 31, so that I am ready to meet with the students on the following morning. The idea of a panel is perfectly satisfactory to me on the assumption that Mr. Sheehan is available. If he should not be available, I am perfectly prepared to provide a lecture and be more even handed about my approach. My biographical sketch is attached. All my best to you. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK/sac Enclosure



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

IN REPLY REFER TO:

AWCAB1

12 July 1978

Mr. Max M. Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

The US Army War College would be pleased and honored to have you once again participate in a panel discussion on "The Media in US Society" to be presented to the Class of 1979 on the morning of 1 September 1978.

The inclosed student guidance gives the proposed scope of the presentation. As a new member of the faculty, I have decided to change it from a lecture to a panel, which gives the students the benefit of contrasting views by recognized experts in the field. I have asked Mr. Neil Sheehan to be the other member of the panel and hope that progress on his current manuscript will permit him to accept.

As I mentioned to your very capable secretary, I hope that you can come to Carlisle Barracks the night before and stay in the guest house. The students convene in the auditorium at 8:30 a.m. I envision about a 20-minute presentation by each of you, followed by a moderated discussion between you for another 20 minutes. Following a short coffee break, the students would have the opportunity to ask questions for about 40 minutes. We have the additional option of continuing the question and answer period until the break for lunch or of having you and Mr. Sheehan meet with representatives from the student seminar groups while the majority of the students return to their seminar rooms for extended discussions of the morning's topic. In either case, the morning would be completed with a luncheon where you could chat informally with a few students and faculty members.

I will await your reply with anticipation. May I suggest that I call you in a week to discuss this more fully and answer any questions that you may have? If you would prefer to call me, my telephone number is 717 - 245-3820 or 3207.

Sincerely,

Incl

DAVID W. BLACKLEDGE

Colonel, US Army

Director, National Security Studies

1. Lecture.

- a. Title. The Media in US Society (WL-08).
- b. Introduction.
- (1) In today's complex society, it is difficult for the mass media of a free nation to coexist peacefully with other societal institutions. From the 18th century hand-press to the onset of the 25-inch "living color" picture tube, the arbiters of the Fourth Estate have critically observed and cheerfully critiqued the mores of American government, society, and military. In print and electronic journalism, the 20th century has been the era of the muckraker, the tabloid journalist, and adversary reporter. Exploits and excesses were both inevitable as the media matured into a colossus capable of simultaneously informing—or misinforming—an audience of tens of millions.
- (2) In the 1970's, the media's apologias on behalf of its classic Constitutional guarantees have been answered by public demands for increased journalistic responsibility and self-restraint. Compromise may be possible on particulars, but the timeless argument is certain to endure over whether the journalist influences the national and world environments, or merely reports them.
- c. Objective. To understand the role of the media as a national institution.
 - d. Scope. This lecture will address:
 - (1) The functions of a free press in the United States.
- (2) The interrelationships between the media and other elements of US society.
- (3) The arguments pro and con on the media's unrestricted right to access and release of all-source information.
 - (4) The status of the American media in the decade ahead.
 - e. Additional factors for consideration.
- (1) In the last ten years, has the media been a neutral, positive, or negative factor in US national life?
- (2) Is increased regulation of the media desirable? By government? Through self-enforcement?

- (3) Do the commercial aspects of corporate print, radio, and television journalism reinforce or conflict with the public interest?
- (4) What should the US media print, broadcast, or televise? What should they refrain from disseminating?
- (5) Who should support public broadcasting and television? Commercial concerns? Federal, state, and local governments? The public alone?
- (6) How can the public be heard most effectively in its response to editorial views expressed by the media?

2. Required readings.

a. Royster, Vermont. "A Free Press: The Struggle Goes On."

Washington Post, 1 July 1974, p. 18.

(See Section J, Selected Readings Volume)

(A respected emeritus among America's columnists, editors, and journalism educators poses the classic dilemma of absolute press freedom versus exercise of the other Constitutional freedoms.)

b. Geyelin, Philip. "The Role of the Press in an Open Society."

Lecture given at the Naval War College. Naval War College

Review, Vol. 27, March-April 1975, pp. 3-7.

(See Section J, Selected Readings Volume)

(The Editorial Page Editor of The Washington Post analyzes a "chicken or egg" question, whether the press influences or simply reports events, and provides a thoughtful view of the relationship between press and government.)

c. Francois, William E. "The Fate of the National News Council."

America, Vol. 134, 8 May 1976, pp. 402-404.

(See Section J, Selected Readings Volume)

(Mr. Francois is a professor of journalism at Drake University. His article recaps the brief history of the nation's first independent media-monitoring agency and poses a disturbing question with respect to the media's responsibility to inform the public of its existence and activities.)

3. Recommended additional readings. The following are representative of the hundreds of books and extended studies on this topic which have been published in the sixties and seventies. The list includes works which range from establishment orthodoxy to unabashed partisanship, and cover both print and electronic journalism.

- a. Brown, Lee. The Reluctant Reformation: On Criticizing the Press in America. New York: McKay, 1974. (PN4888 E8B7)
- b. Cater, Douglass. Communications and Society: Toward a Public Philosophy. Palo Alto: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1973. (P92 U5C3)
- c. Lefever, Ernest W. TV and National Defense: An Analysis of CBS News, 1972-1973. Boston, Va.: Institute for American Strategy Press, 1974. (PN4784 T4L44)
- d. Merrill, John C. The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy
 of Journalistic Autonomy. New York: Hastings, 1974.
 (PN4731 M44)
- e. Rivers, William L. The Adversaries: Politics and the Press.
 Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. (PN4738 R581)
- f. Rivers, William L., and Nyhan, Michael J., eds. Aspen

 Notebook on Government and the Media. New York: Praeger,

 1973. (HN90 M3A8)
- g. Sigal, Leon V. Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973. (PN4738 S5)

June 21, 1979

202/342-3520

Col. David W. Blackledge U. S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pa. 17013

Dear Col. Blackledge:

I am sorry I was out of town when you telephoned. It is my understanding you will be back on July 3rd and we should talk thereafter.

When I received your message by phone yesterday, I instructed our receptionist to tell you that I would like to repeat my visit to the Army War College and saw no reason why September 24th would not be a feasible date. Upon looking at my calendar, however, I see that it may very well conflict with a trip I have now scheduled for South Africa. It is my hope that by the time you return, I will know for certain about the South African trip. We can then make the necessary accommodations.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

20

April 30, 1980 202/342-3520 Col. David W. Blackledge U. S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks Carlisle, Pennsylvania 17013 Dear Col. Blackledge: Once again I am required to decline your gracious invitation to do what I am anxious to do, namely, meet with you and your colleagues at the Army War College. It is fairly clear, however, that I will be undertaking a special parttime diplomatic assignment which will require me to be traveling to Europe at some point in August and for practically all of September, part of October and most of December and January. Under the circumsfances I simply cannot commit myself to a special date this fall. I would be delighted to visit during the winter or spring if the occasion should arise. Thank you again for thinking of me. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman

March 20, 1980 (202) 342-3520 DeWitt C. Smith, Jr. Major General, USA Commandant Department of the Army US Army War, College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania Dear General: It was a great pleasure to receive your letter of March 14 inviting me to participate in your National Security Seminar during the first week in June. It's been some time since you and I have visited and since I last participated in any sessions at Carlisle Barracks. Your letter brought with it fond memories and eager expectations. It is therefore with regret that I must write to decline your invitation. My schedule is such in general that it's simply impossible for me to pull a week out of my other responsibilities in early June in order to attend the sessions. My platter is full. In addition to my normal professional and extra-curricular responsibilities, I accepted in December the Chairmanship of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and a few weeks ago agreed to accept a part-time diplomatic assignment that will require me to travel overseas periodically between now and the end of the year. May I, therefore, have a raincheck from you for some future occasion?

DeWitt C. Smith, Jr. Page Two March 20, 1980 I particularly want to thank you for your postscript to the letter and for your greetings. I reciprocate with the warmest best wishes of my own. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK:pjp



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

RECEIVED

MAR 17 1980

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Office of the Commandant

14 MAR 1980

Mr. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

On behalf of the US Army War College, I hope you will accept our cordial invitation to participate in the 26th Annual National Security Seminar to be held at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, from the evening of June 2 through the morning of June 6, 1980. The seminar provides our students, who will occupy positions of exceptional public responsibility in the years just ahead, an opportunity to exchange views on a wide range of issues related to the security and well-being of the country with a diverse and broadly representative group of American citizens.

The enclosed Prospectus describes the purposes and organization of the seminar, outlines the anticipated program, and provides some information on our College, its students, and faculty. Briefly, the seminar will provide us a mutual opportunity to consider enduring and current domestic and international issues in relationship to our national welfare and security, the key issues and concerns confronting our total defense establishment, and the United States Army itself.

The Army War College is dedicated to preparing its students for the serious responsibilities which will be theirs in the future. Included in this preparation is an effort to increase their understanding and awareness of the society they serve, and the forces, issues, and trends in American society which influence the role of the military. We consider it of the highest importance that our students have the opportunity for free and candid dialogue on these issues, and others related to the world at large, with concerned citizens representing nearly every segment of American opinion and society. Your participation in this seminar would be an important contribution to this communication between the military and the American public.

For your convenience in responding, we have enclosed an addressed, postagepaid envelope. It will assist us in planning if you would return the completed card and biographical information at your earliest convenience. We will consider your returning the biographical sketch form as consent to

Office of the Commandant

maintain your name on the National Security Seminar Guest List file. The data required by the Privacy Act of 1974 are on the reverse side of the form.

You would be a guest of the College during your visit to historic Carlisle Barracks and, unless you request otherwise, we will make all arrangements for your accommodations if you decide to attend. Regrettably, College funds are not available to cover your transportation costs, except that local transportation will be provided for all seminar activities. Each seminar guest will have a volunteer student escort to facilitate his or her participation. Further information may be obtained by writing, or by telephoning the National Security Seminar Director, Colonel Anthony Carroll, at (717) 245-3032.

Again, I earnestly hope that you will be able to join us in June to participate in this seminar. If you can do so, you will make a much appreciated contribution to the education of those who will lead our armed forces in the days just ahead. Additionally, if past experience is any guide, we believe you will leave the College reassured as to the quality and dedication of our students, and with an enhanced understanding of some of the important issues of our time.

Sincerely,

10000

DeWITT C. SMITH, JR. Major General, USA

Commandant

We'd like to su you often, only believe, of man car parsiably before the

4 Encl

1. Prospectus

2. Postage-paid envelope

3. Guest Response Card

4. Biographical Sketch Information Form

March 23, 1981

Major General Jack N. Merritt, USA Commandant, U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

Dear General Merritt:

Your letter of March 13 was forwarded to me here in Madrid. You will see from the enclosed press release that I was appointed by the President to serve as the head of the American Delegation to the Follow-Up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I was asked to continue with that assignment by President Reagan.

You may be aware that I am fully familiar with the work of the U.S. Army War College, having lectured at the College on a number of occasions. I am pleased at this opportunity to initiate the process of becoming acquainted with you. I had the privilege of getting to know General Smith when he served as Commandant.

I believe the work you are doing is excellent, and I would like to continue my cooperation with it and with your objectives. In looking at your invitation, however, to participate in your 27th Annual National Security Seminar, I am afraid that it would be unwise for me to accept at this time for this year. I have been out of my law office practically all of the time since early September. We had not anticipated that these meetings in Madrid would last as long as they Indeed, as of this moment, it is still not clear whether we will be concluding by Easter or whether we will be called upon to return here after a brief Easter recess. I suppose there is, therefore, an outside possibility that I would not be in the U.S. by early June. Equally important, however, I have a great hesitation about being away from the office for three to four

days, on top of the time I have been away to date. It would be simpler if I were able to be in Carlisle for an evening, or possibly for most of a day and an evening, but I am afraid I cannot agree to be away for a longer period than that, even with the likely assumption that our meeting would be over by then. I do hope you understand and that you will give me a raincheck. In any event, I am enclosing a biographic sketch in accordance with your request.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

Chairman



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

RECEIVED

1 3 MAR 1981



Office of the Commandant

Mr. Max M. Kampelman Attorney at Law Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, DC 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I would like to invite you to participate in our 27th Annual National Security Seminar at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, from the evening of June 1 through the morning of June 5, 1981.

The enclosed Prospectus describes the purposes and organization of the seminar, outlines the anticipated program, and provides some information on our College, its students, and faculty. Briefly, the seminar is designed to bring together a broad cross section of America's leading citizens with the future leaders of our defense establishment to consider and discuss current domestic and international issues in relation to our national security.

The Army War College is dedicated to preparing its students for the serious responsibilities they will have in the next few years. Included in this preparation is an effort to increase their understanding and awareness of the society they serve, and the forces, issues, and trends which influence the role of the military. We believe that our National Security Seminar provides the opportunity for this understanding and awareness. Your participation in this seminar would be an important contribution to this communication between the military and the American public.

We have enclosed an addressed, postage-paid envelope. Please return the completed card and biographical information at your earliest convenience. We will consider your returning the biographical sketch form as consent to maintain your name on the National Security Seminar Guest List file. The data required by the Privacy Act of 1974 are on the reverse side of the form.

You will be a guest of the College during your visit to historic Carlisle Barracks and we will make all arrangements for your accommodations, unless you request otherwise. Regrettably, College funds are not available to cover your transportation costs, except that local transportation will be provided for all seminar activities. You will have a volunteer student escort during your stay with us. Further information may be obtained by writing, or by telephoning the

Office of the Commandant

1 3 MAR 1981

National Security Seminar Director, Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Clark, at (717) 245-3032.

Again, I earnestly hope that you will be able to join us in June to participate in this seminar.

Sincerely,

4 Encl

1. Prospectus

2. Postage-paid envelope

3. Guest Response Card

4. Biographical Sketch Information Form Major General, USA

Commandant

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH FORM (See example on reverse side) TITLE: Please use the appropriate title normally used before your name, such as Honorable, Professor, The Reverend, Colonel, Doctor Mr., Mrs., or Ms. PRESENT POSITION OR OCCUPATION: Please use a complete but concise description, such as Editor, The Evening News; Professor of History, State College; President, First National Bank; Business Agent, Union Local No. 999; Judge, County Court; Medical student; Pastor, St. Andrews Church; State Senator; High school teacher of mathematics; Independent farm owner. SCHOOLS: List colleges, universities, trade schools, and military service schools attended. You may also list years attended and any degrees attained. CAREER HIGHLIGHTS: Please list in chronological order those aspects and events of your working or personal experience which you wish to record for our information. OTHER: Please list in a brief manner any other activities which you think would be of interest to the other Seminar participants. Examples might be work with special interest groups, volunteer agencies, membership in associations, unusual foreign travel, research or study in special fields, major conference participation, lectures given, inventions, community affairs involvement, membership on councils, boards, and committees. AWARDS, DECORATIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS: Please list honors and special recognition you have received. Examples may include citations, listing in "Who's Who," awards for service or outstanding achievements, recognition by peer groups, associations, and agencies, military decorations, fellowships, honorary positions and degrees. PUBLISHED WORKS: Please list specific titles and dates published or, if you wish, include a general statement such as "Have contributed various articles to professional journals on business management topics." PERSONAL INTERESTS: Please list any activities, hobbies, or avocations which interest you. PLEASE NOTE: Providing this information is voluntary. It will be handled confidentially, but it is most helpful to the College in assigning guests of varied backgrounds to the 16 Seminar sub-groups. It assists in creating the proper group "chemistry." The example on the reverse side is only a suggested format. If you have a previously prepared resume or biographical sketch it may be submitted in lieu of this form.

US ARMY WAR COLLEGE NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH INFORMATION FORM

(Data Required by Privacy Act of 1974 is on Reverse)

TITLE

Mr.

NAME

Robert U. Garr

MAILING ADDRESS

705 Beechwood Drive, Linwood, Pennsylvania, 10001

PRESENT POSITION OR OCCUPATION

President, Linwood Industries, Inc.



DATE OF BIRTH

PLACE OF BIRTH

October 8, 1930

Yatesboro, Pennsylvania

CONTINUATION

(Attach additional sheets as necessary)

(SEE INSTRUCTIONS AND SAMPLE FOR INFORMATION ON 1. SCHOOLS 2. CAREER HIGHLIGHTS
3. OTHER 4. AWARDS, DECORATIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS 5. PUBLISHED WORKS 6. PERSONAL INTERESTS)

SCHOOLS: Wexland College, 1970, B.S., Business Administration

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS:

1948-1950 Salesman, Reliable Furniture Company, Lakelyn, PA

1950-1952 US Army enlisted service, Fort Ord, CA

1952-1954 US Army field artillery sergeant, 45th Infantry Division, Korea

1954-1958 Student, Wexland College, studies in business

1958-1962 Assistant Manager, The Marlin Company, Kansas City, MO

1962-1970 General Manager, Rightline Manufacturing Company, Pittsburgh, PA

1970-Present President, Linwood Industries, Inc., Linwood, PA

OTHER: Active in various community and church activities. County chairman, 1978 March of Dimes Campaign. Member, Chamber of Commerce, 1974-77. Co-chairman, Governor's Committee on the Elderly, 1979-present. Director, Goodwill Industries.

AWARDS, DECORATIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS: Governor's Public Service Award, 1979.

Volunteer Service Award, Sheriff's Boys Club. Chamber of Commerce Man of the Year Award. Military service awards include the Bronze Star, Korean Service Medal, United Nations Service Medal.

PUBLISHED WORKS: Have published a number of management articles in business journals.

PERSONAL INTERESTS: Flying (private license), golf, antique automobiles, reading (American history and biographies).

US ARMY WAR COLLEGE NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH INFORMATION FORM (Data Required by Privacy Act of 1974 is on Reverse)					
TITLE		NAME			
MAILING ADDRESS	• • • • •	ALC:	1	A CONTRACT	
PRESENT POSITION OF	ROCCUPATION	A. T		Lendy a	
DATE OF BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH		30.70	
CONTINUATION (Attach additional sheets as necessary)	(SEE INSTRUCTIONS A 3. OTHER 4. AWAR				TERESTS)

DATA REQUIRED BY THE PRIVACY ACT OF 1974 (U.S.C. 552a)

- 1. AUTHORITY: Executive Order 10450 and 5 USC 301.
- 2. PRINCIPAL PURPOSE: To provide personal information to the US Army War College.

3. ROUTINE USES:

- a. The Director, NSS (National Security Seminar) prepares a biographical sketch booklet which lists each guest participating in the Seminar. The booklets are distributed to guests, students and staff and faculty participating in the seminar.
- b. The information is stored in the National Security Seminar Master Guest List file in the US Army War College Automatic Data Processing System. Reference is made to the file when selecting guests to be invited to the annual National Security Seminars.
- 4. MANDATORY OR VOLUNTARY DISCLOSURE AND EFFECT ON INDIVIDUAL NOT PROVIDING INFORMATION:
 - a. The information and disclosure is voluntary.
- b. Not providing biographical information may preclude a proper listing in the National Security Seminar guest list booklet.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT

THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY NO RECEIPT DESIRED

CARLISLE BARRACKS MORALE SUP. FUND 37001

INVOICE		DESCRIPTION	TOTAL	DEDUCTIONS		NET AMOUNT
DATE	NO.		AMOUNT	DISCOUNT	FREIGHT	AMOUNT
		Jeest 163 -	10/1/8			
		FIPAL				

CARLISLE, PA.

9/10 - lv. D. C. via U.S. Air fl.751 9:29 pm ar. Harrisburg 10:15

Col. Blackledge will meet you 717/245-3022

9/11 lv. Harrisburgh U.S.Air 726 4:30 5:15

(you will be driven back to D. C. after lunch)

#51-

Thursday, 10 Sep		
g & Policy Formulation Mr A. Kanti		
tes 1, 2 & 3)		
ar Group Discussion	SGD	
in Sti	ing & Policy Formulation Mr A. Kan Notes 1, 2 & 3) stion & Answer Period Notes 1, 2 & 3)	

0830 - 0930	Media & Special	NP-01
	Interest Group Influences on National Security (Notes 1, 2 & 3)	Hon M.M. Kampelman, Senator B. Bayh
0950 - 1030	Question & Answer (Notes 1, 2 & 3)	Period
1040 - 1200	Seminar Group Dis (Notes 1 & 4)	scussion SGD

15 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	Tuesday, 8 Sep	
<i>Time</i> 0830 - 0930	An Overview of the Defense Decisionmaking System (Notes 1, 2 & 3)	CS/L-03 Hon D.S.C. Chu, Mr D. Sitrin
0950 - 1030	Question & Answer Period (Notes 1, 2 & 3)	0.19 -0.20
1040 - 1200	Seminar Group Discussion (Notes 1 & 4)	SGD
1330 - 1630	Domestic Issue #3	NDI-03

(Notes 1 & 5)

	Monday, 7 Sep	19-11-11-1
НО	LIDAY	

NOTES:

- Uniform—optional: Civilian coat and tie or appropriate military uniform.
- 2. Bliss Hall (Configuration A, Memo, AWCSA, 29 Jul 81).
- . Wives invited.
- Seminar Rooms, Root Hall (Configuration A, Memo, AWCSA, 29 Jul 81).
- Attendance and specific location for each topic will be indicated in a DNISS memorandum issued separately. See Appendix I to The Common Overview, Part I course directive, 11 Aug 81.
- 6. Sem Gp 1-6 will meet in Bliss Hall.

7-10 will meet in Command Conference Room A105A, Root Hall.

11-15 will meet in Wil Washcoe Auditorium, Root Hall.



NO. 6

7 - 11 SEP 81

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWS PROGRAM

US ARMY WAR COLLEGE Carlisle Barracks, Pa. 17013



US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA

Schedule of Events for the Visit of

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman Chairman, US Delegation to the Madrid Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Thursday, 10 September 1981

2215	Arrival by US Air #751. Met by COL Blackle and escorted to Washington Hall Guest Hou Friday, 11 September 1981	
0730	Breakfast with COL Blackledge and escorted to Bliss Hall.	Vandenberg Room, Officers' Club
0830	Lecture: "Media & Special Interest Group Influences on National Security" Presented by: Ambassador M. M. Kampelman Senator B. Bayh	Bliss Hall
0930	Break	
0950	Question and Answer Period	Bliss Hall
1040	Visit with Seminar Groups (Accompanied by COL Blackledge)	Seminar Rooms, Root Hall
1200	Luncheon with BG D. C. Brown, Jr. Attending:	Halsey Room, Officers' Club
	Amb M. M. Kampelman LTC P. Kitching	s, Jr.
	Sen B. E. Bayh CDR R. J. McCar	thy
	MG K. J. Hodson, USA Ret LTC R. B. Cole	
	COL D. W. Blackledge LTC J. T. McWai	n
	LTC J. A. Berry III COL Z. E. Finke	lstein
1300	Departure by USAWC Sedan.	Officers' Club

Escort Officer: COL D. W. Blackledge

Name	Guest House	Telephone
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman	Suite 208-09	245-4217

Notes for Lewure by Max M. Kampelman, National War College, Carlisle, Pa., 9/10/81

THE MEDIA

"It's not exactly the precise figures that will be important, it's whether or not the media and the politicians agree that this man won and this man lost. Jimmy Carter is said to be the front-runner; Birch Bayh is said to be Number Two. But how 'front' is 'front-runner'? Does Carter have to win by 10 or must he win by only 1 to e a front-runner? During the night it will be the collected wisdom, or misjudgment, of the media and the politicians that's going to determine who actually comes off well out here."

Roger Mudd, January 19, 1976, CBS Evening News

As it turned out, Carter got 28% of the Iowa vote. The next day Mudd named him the "clear winner" asserting that "no amount of bad-mouthing by the others can lessen the importance of Jimmy Carter's finish."

In New Hampshire Jimmy Carter won with 30% of the vote this year. Walter Cronkite: "First ballots in Campaign '76 have given Jimmy Carter a commanding head start in the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination." --"Carter's victory was substantial," said Roger Mudd.

One week later, Scoop Jackson won the Massachusetts primary with 23% of the vote. Cronkite: "Massachusetts . . . has put Senator Henry Jackson alongside Jimmy Carter in front of the Democratic pack. . . . Scrambled the race."

Why should 30% for Carter in a five-man race be a "substantial victory" that gives him a commanding head start, while 23% for Jackson in an eight-man race in a state seven times as big is only "a strong finish" that "scrambles the race"? What is there about Carter's 23,000 votes that merits a lot of respectful talk about his momentum, whereas Jackson's 163,000 votes elicit little more than surprise?

Professor Michael Robinson of Catholic University said that between November 24, 1975 and February 27, 1976, more than 53% of the network's Presidential campaign stories dealt with New Hampshire. By contrast, the eleven states holding caucuses or conventions in the pre-New Hampshire period received less than 10% of the network's stories, though they accounted for a total of 587 delegates as against New Hampshire's 38. Delegate for delegate, that is, New Hampshire receive more than 80 times as much coverage as these early non-primary states.

The reason is clear. Covering that state makes first rate television; it's colorful.

We can wonder how Frank Church felt when he won several primaries in a row toward the end of the campaign without being made a front-runner.

Paul H. Weaver, in the New York Times Magazine for August 29, 1976, wrote: "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the reporters didn't much like Jackson." Television dismissed his victories as special cases. In Massachusetts, ABC noted that he won with support from the elderly, working people, working class and middle aged. "It's not quite the grand coalition that Jackson claims it is."—— In New York Roger Mudd said that his winning coalition was "peculiar to New York" and Leslie Stahl declared that his victory didn't give him momentum and would do little more than propel him on to the next primary in Pennsylvania.

On the eve of the North Carolina primary, Ronald Reagan was described by NBC's Tom Pettit as "a loser." The reporter suggested that Reagan drop out and that it was only a question of time. The next day Reagan carried North Carolina.



COMMANDANT, US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

10 September 1981

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

It is a pleasure to welcome you back to Carlisle Barracks. We are delighted that you could find time in your busy schedule to lecture our class of 1982 on "Media & Special Interest Group Influences on National Security."

If there is anything we can do, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Faithfully,

JACK N. MERRITT Major General, USA Commandant

. n. m_

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman Room 208-09 Washington Hall Guest House



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

RECEIVED

SEP 3 0 1981

1 8 SEP 1981



Office of the Commandant

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman CSCE Box 24 American Embassy APO New York 09285

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I truly regret not being at Carlisle Barracks to meet you and hear your outstanding presentation. The faculty and students have been most laudatory not only of your discussions of the media but also of your insight on the progress of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We are indebted to you for once again sharing your experiences with us and we look forward to having you return again to Carlisle Barracks before too long.

Sincerely,

JACK N. MERRITT Major General, USA

Commandant



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

14 September 1981

REPLY TO

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman CSCE Box 24 American Embassey APO New York 09285

OCT 5 1981

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Thank you for once again providing a masterful critique of the media and recommendations for curbing abuses while retaining a "free press." I am glad you gave Peter Braestrup's The Big Story a plug as it was surprising how many in this professional audience had not read it. The insights you provided on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were of particular interest and much appreciated both by our Strategic Studies Institute representatives and the luncheon participants. We are indeed fortunate to have such a dynamic and eloquent chairman representing the United States at Madrid.

While recognizing that you prefer to let your excellent article on the media suffice for a reference while you move on to other fields, there just is no substitute remotely capable of providing your presentation and responding to questions on media abuse of its privileged position. So I hope we can prevail on you to return to Carlisle Barracks in the future for this course as well as international negotiations and other subjects of interest to you.

Sincerely,

DAVID W. BLACKLEDGE

Colonel, US Army

Director, US National Security Studies

dec'd 7/13/81



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

7 July 1981

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman American Embassy (CSCE) APO New York 09285

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Just a note to let you know that Birch Bayh has accepted the invitation to share the platform with you on September 11. I am really excited about the dynamics of having the two of you both stimulating the students' thoughts on this subject.

While I share your concern over meshing the separate issues of media influences and special interest group influences, I really do believe the audience will recognize that we cannot muzzle either one without jeopardizing the democratic foundation of our country. Conversely, licentious influences can wreak profound damage to our national will and damage our national security. The dilemma in both issues is to preserve individual freedom while promoting the common good.

Thank you for the copies of the most interesting speeches. They give me the flavor of the conference. You are certainly a fine spokesman for the United States at what must be a most discouraging international conference. Your office told me today that they now don't expect you back until August. For both your sake and ours, I surely hope it doesn't run into September.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

DAVID W. BLACKLEDGE

Colonel, US Army

Director, US National

V. Blackling

Security Studies

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

May 12, 1981

Colonel David W. Blackledge, USA U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

Dear Colonel Blackledge:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 6. I am getting a bit tired of the subject of the media, but it is important, and I also welcome an opportunity to visit the U.S. Army War College. When I wrote the article, I did it to put on paper everything I knew about the subject of the press. I then intended to move on to other subjects. I have done the latter, but it's hard to get away from the press. I therefore look forward to being with you on September 11.

I fully understand your desire to bring in defeated members of Congress, and I see that you are calling your panel "Media and Special Interest Group Influences on National Security Issues." I will obviously go along with whatever your judgment tells you is the best way to proceed, but I do have a feeling that these are two separate issues that don't belong with one another unless one uses great strength to stretch and make a fit. Incidentally, in that connection, you may want to explore a recent study by the distinguished sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset of Harvard and now at Stanford, who is convinced that as a result of his data the so-called "Moral Majority" was not more evident in this past election than it has been in the past.

In the event you decide to invite former members of the Senate, I of course would be delighted and honored to be with them--people like Birch Bayh and Frank Church would be particularly interesting, as

would, of course, John Culver.

All my best,

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

Chairman



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

ATTENTION OF

6 May 1981

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman CSCE Box 24 American Embassy APO New York 09285

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I just talked to your very efficient secretary, Irene, and learned that you may not be back from Madrid for several more months. I hope that is an indication of progress rather than intransigence. In any case, I am glad that you didn't resign your chairmanship and have continued to serve in this important non-partisan position.

Even though the students had your article on "The Power of the Press," last fall's panel on the media sorely missed your presence. I am writing now in hopes that you will be able to participate this fall, Friday morning, 11 September. I am combining the media with other special interest group influences and hope to make a panel with you and one of the senators who recently left office (program sheet inclosed).

The ones I have in mind are Senator Birch Bayh, whose defeat in Indiana can be partially credited to Moral Majority influence; Henry Bellmon who elected not to continue the fight against special interests from Oklahoma, or James Abourezk who has been both controversial through the interests he represents and critical of pressures on congressmen. Other possibilities would include the other four senators defeated by the Moral Majority (Church, Culver, Eagleton, or McGovern).

Needless to say, I won't contact any of these gentlemen until I hear from you. You may have other suggestions and I know you could cover the entire subject yourself; however, it should prove worthwhile to get the perspective of a politician who has both used and suffered from special interest groups.

I look forward to hearing from you and hope you will be able to accept, even if only tentatively in anticipation of successfully returning from Madrid this summer. Good luck on the conference.

Sincerely,

Davil Blackledy DAVID W. BLACKLEDGE

Colonel, US Army

Director, US National

Security Studies

Incl as

11 September 1981 (A.M.) 1. Panel. Title. Media and Special Interest Group Influences on National Security Issues b. Introduction. (1) Groups have been described as the raw material of politics. Since group interests are the animating forces in the political process, an understanding of American politics requires a knowledge of how these interests advance their group objectives, affect the determination of public policy, and yet are restrained from overwhelming the democratic process. From James Madison's first cautions over the

- "mischiefs of faction" to President Eisenhower's farewell warning against the power of the "military-industrial complex," there has been widespread concern that special interest groups might subvert the constitutional system.
- (2) The press is not only an institution of American society, recognized by the First Amendment to the Constitution, but also a special interest group which plays an increasingly powerful role in the self-governing process of our free society. From the 18th century handpress to the 25-inch "living color" picture tube, the arbiters of the Fourth Estate have observed and critiqued the mores of American government, society, and military establishment. Exploits and excesses were both inevitable as the media matured into a colossus capable of simultaneously informing -- or misinforming -- an audience of tens of millions. Not only reporters and editors, but other special interest groups, government officials, and politicians have sought to create news, knowing the power of the mass media to influence events.
- The First Amendment not only protects the media but implicitly the right to lobby: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances." Today there are over 1800 registered political action committees (PAC) representing such diverse interests as business, industries, labor, foreign sources, veterans, women, education, farm commodities, senior citizens, and environmentalists. While a few media organizations have joined the trend to PACs. most still fear it may tarnish the industry's reputation for impartiality. A relatively new phenomenon is the rise of public advocacy groups which claim to represent all consumers or the common good. The emergence of sophisticated special interest groups, capable of raising large sums of money and exerting concentrated political pressure, reflects the declining influence of political parties as agents for articulating and representing individual, group, and regional interests.
- (4) Graduates of senior service colleges must understand the role of the media as a national institution and its relationship to the military in a free society. The graduates will, inevitably, find themselves interacting with interest groups attempting to learn information as well as to influence defense contracts, base closures, stationing lists, and myriad decisions affecting national security. It is incumbent upon them to understand and recognize these interest groups as a legitimate part of the democratic process.
- c. Objective. To understand the interaction between the media, other special interest groups, and the military in a free society.

d. Scope. This panel will address: (1) The traditional functions of the media in the United States and their changing capacity for molding public opinion. (2) The interrelationships between the media and other elements of US society. (3) The conflict between secrecy required by national security, the public's right to know, and the media's role in defining national security policy issues. (4) The growth in number and influence of political action committees and other means of special interest political influence. (5) The future of interest groups in a free society. e. Additional factors for consideration (1) Are interest groups good or bad forces in American politics and society? (2) In the last ten years, have the media been a neutral, positive, or negative factor in US national life? (3) Is increased regulation of the media desirable? By government? Through self-enforcement? (4) Do the commercial aspects of corporate print, radio, and television journalism reinforce or conflict with the public interest? (5) Can "public interest" groups, counterbalanced by "special interest" groups, protect the common interests of society? (6) How much can lobbying be regulated without violating constitutional rights? (7) Should the military respond to apparently unfair or distorted coverage by the media? If so, how? Required readings. a. Kampelman, Max M. "The Power of the Press." Public Affairs Review. 1980, pp. 64-71. b. Geyelin, Philip. "The Role of the Press in an Open Society." Lecture given at the Naval War College. Naval War College Review, Vol. 27, March-April 1975, pp. 3-7. c. Royster, Vermont. "On the Freedom and Responsibility of the Press." Policy Review, Summer 1979, pp. 1-7.

d. Congressional Quarterly Service. <u>Guide to Current American Government</u>. Washington: Spring 1981. Section on Lobbies, pp. 87-113.

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 1972-1973. Boston, VA: Institute for American Strategy Press, 1974.
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- b. Norman, Lloyd. "The Love-Hate Affair Between the Pentagon and the Press." Army, February 1980, pp. 14-20.
- c. Ornstein, Norman and Elder, Shirley. <u>Interest Groups Lobbying and Policymaking</u>. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1978.

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- d. The Federalist Papers. Numbers 10 and 51. New York: The Modern Library, 1941. (JK154 1941)
- e. Berry, Jeffrey. Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups, 1977. (JK1118 .B4)

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & KAMPELMAN A PARTNERSHIP WHICH INCLUDES PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS SUITE 1000 600 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W. FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037 SHRIVER & JACOBSON (202) 342-3500 CABLE "STERIC WASHINGTON" ONE NEW YORK PLAZA 3 KING'S ARMS YARD TELEX 892406 NEW YORK, N. Y. 10004 LONDON, ECZR 7AD, ENGLAND (01) 600-1541 (212) 820-8000 TELEX: 867606 March 17, 1982 WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER IS OUR REFERENCE Major General Jack N. Merritt U.S. Army War College Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013 Dear General Merritt: I've just returned from Madrid to find your invitation of March 8 that I attend the June 1 - June 4 National Security Seminar at Carlisle Barracks. The idea of participating in such a seminar would be of great interest to me. But, I'm afraid that my schedule now is such that I'm unable to spend that time away from Washington. You are aware that I've been in Madrid as the Chairman of the American Delegation to the Madrid CSCE meeting during most of the past 18 months. Indeed, this is my first week back in Washington. My remaining agenda, however, still calls for me to make a few trips overseas. have some consultations in Washington during the next few months and the need to fulfill other responsibilities. now conflict with my being able to be at your seminar. I'm grateful to you for thinking of me. I do hope you will give me an opportunity to participate on another occasion with the Army War College's activities and plans. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK:nm



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

RECEIVED MAR 11 1982

REPLY TO

Office of the Commandant

8 MAR 1982

Mr. Max M. Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

It gives me great pleasure to invite you to participate in our 28th Annual National Security Seminar at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, from the evening of June 1 through the morning of June 4, 1982.

The enclosed Prospectus describes the purposes and organization of the seminar, outlines the anticipated program, and provides some information on our College, its students, and faculty. Briefly, the seminar is designed to bring together a broad cross section of America's leading citizens with the future leaders of our defense establishment to consider and discuss current domestic and international issues in relation to our national security.

The Army War College is dedicated to preparing its students for the serious responsibilities they will have in the next few years. Included in this preparation is an effort to increase their understanding and awareness of the society they serve, and the forces, issues, and trends which influence the role of the military. We believe that our National Security Seminar provides the opportunity for this understanding and awareness. Your participation in this seminar would be an important contribution to this communication between the military and the American public.

You will be a guest of the College during your visit to historic Carlisle Barracks and we will make all arrangements for your accommodations, unless you request otherwise. Regrettably, College funds are not available to cover your transportation costs, except that local transportation will be provided for all seminar activities. You will have a volunteer student escort during your stay with us. Further information may be obtained by writing, or by telephoning the National Security Seminar Director, Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Clark, at (717) 245-3032.

Office of the Commandant

We have enclosed a response card and a biographical sketch form for you to fill out and return at your earliest convenience. We will consider your returning the biographical sketch form as consent to maintain your name on the National Security Seminar Guest List file. The data required by the Privacy Act of 1974 are on the reverse side of the form.

Again, I earnestly hope that you will be able to join us in June to participate in this seminar.

Sincerely,

4 Encl

1. Prospectus

2. Postage-paid envelope

3. Guest Response Card

4. Biographical Sketch Information Form JACK N. MERRITT

Major General, USA

Commandant

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WHAT ABOUT TRANSPORTATION?

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY US ARMY WAR COLLEGE CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

BECEINED

AUG 3 8 1981

REPLY TO ATTENTION OF

Office of the Commandant

24 JUL 1981

n.M

Honorable Max M. Kampelman American Embassy (CSCE) APO New York 09285

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It was a pleasure to learn that you have accepted our invitation to take part in a panel on "Media and Special Interest Group Influences on National Security" which will be presented to the Army War College Class of 1982 on the morning of 11 September. I certainly hope that your duties at the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe won't preclude your coming. Your wisdom was sorely missed by last year's class.

The staff, faculty, and I look forward to welcoming you back to the Army War College.

Sincerely yours,

JACK N. MERRITT Major General, USA

Commandant