

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	IX
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE PRESIDENT AND THE TREATY	7
The President: Goals and Constraints	8
Accumulated Experiences	14
Presidential Formulation of Policy	18
Preliminary to Success: The American University Speech	19
The Harriman Mission	21
The President and the Treaty	23
Linkage with Domestic Constituencies	25
Linkage with Foreign Constituencies	26
Conclusions	27
III. DECISION-MAKING IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH	29
The Committee of Principals	30
The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	33
The Department of State	35
The Atomic Energy Commission	36
The Department of Defense	40
Conclusions	44
IV. THE MEDIA AND THE TREATY	49
The Communication Role of the Press	50
The Barometer Role of the Press	55
The Decoding Role of the Press	57
Regional Decoding	63
Decoding by Circulation Size	66
Political Decoding	68
Magazines	70
Radio and Television	72
Uses of the Press by Decision-Makers	74
Summary	77

V. GROUP ARTICULATION AND ACTIVITY	78
Primary and Secondary Goals	81
The Activity and Position of the Peace Groups and Their Allies	82
The Religious Groups	88
The Economic Groups	90
Veterans' Organizations	92
Opposition and Patriotic Groups	93
The Experts	97
The Active Groups	103
 VI. PUBLIC OPINION AND THE TEST BAN TREATY	 107
Inputs and Responses	114
Public Opinion and the Test Ban Treaty	119
The Structure of Opinion on Nuclear Testing	121
Age	122
Social Class and Income	123
Political Party Affiliation	125
Education	125
Geographic Distribution	127
Sex	133
Interest and Apathy	139
 VII. THE SENATE: PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS	 139
Initial Senatorial Reaction	141
Executive-Legislative Relations	143
The Committee on Foreign Relations	146
Topics Considered	150
The Role of the Leadership	154
The Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations	156
The Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee	157
 VIII. THE SENATE: THE DEBATE AND VOTE	 161
The Senate and Public Opinion	161
The Senate Debate	163
Three Senatorial Approaches to Arms Control	167
The Administration and the Senate	172
The Senate Vote	176
Conclusions	180
 IX. CONCLUSIONS	 183
Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Burke Revisited	189
Option Management	192
Feedback: The Options of the Opposition	195
Summary and Conclusions	197

TABLE OF CONTENTS

IX

APPENDIX I

**Comparison Between Texts of Treaty Tabled at the Geneva Disarmament
Conference on August 27, 1962, and that Signed at Moscow on August 5, 1963 200**

APPENDIX II

Selected Senate Roll Call Votes 204