

To the Congress of the United States

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THE FOURTEENTH REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information

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To the Congress of the United States

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information was created by the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act (Public Law 402) enacted by the 80th Congress on January 27, 1948.

This Fourteenth Report to Congress covers the work of the Commission for the calendar year 1958.

During the past year two members of the Commission, Dr. Mark A. May, Chairman, and Mr. Philip D. Reed, visited the U.S.S.R. on separate occasions. Their reports of these visits may be found in the appendix.

In addition, Dr. May visited the U.S. Information Service (USIS) Paris, and Mr. Reed inspected USIS posts in Stockholm, Bonn, Frankfurt, Bern and Paris. Mr. Sigurd S. Larmon visited USIS posts in Mexico City and London. Mr. Erwin D. Canham visited USIS posts in Bonn, Hamburg, Munich, Berlin and Frankfurt.

The Commission convened four times in 1958. Three meetings were held in New York City and one 2-day meeting in Washington, D.C., including a luncheon meeting with members of the House Appropriations and Foreign Affairs Subcommittees, and a luncheon meeting with members of the Senate Appropriations and Foreign Relations Subcommittees. The exchange of views which took place between the Commission and members of Congress concerning the foreign information program proved most beneficial to the Commission.

In response to suggestions offered by members of Congress, the Commission has considered the possibility of conducting more systematic evaluations of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), including the difficult problem of determining to what extent the impact can be appraised.

Various proposals for evaluating USIA were submitted to the Commission during the past year.

The Commission is planning to test in the coming year a new technique for making its own evaluations of USIA in selected countries.

During 1958, the Agency's two Advisory Committees, the Broadcast Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee on Cultural Information made certain recommendations and suggestions for the improvement of radio broadcasting, television and the expanded cultural information programs of USIA. These recommendations may be found in the Appendix of this report.

The present members of the Broadcast Advisory Committee are:

- | | |
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Preface

In its Thirteenth Report to the Congress, this Commission addressed itself to the importance of a United States information program geared to both short term needs and long term objectives.

Primary concern was given to the structure and operations of a U.S. Information Agency that would be capable of carrying out both parts of such a program. The strengths and weakness of the Agency were examined and specific recommendations for improvement were set forth.

Under the new Director, Mr. George V. Allen, the Commission feels that progress has been achieved. His experienced leadership has helped to increase the standing and stature of the Agency. As Director, he has gained the confidence and respect of those with whom he works both in the Agency and in other Departments of the Government.

The Commission realizes, however, that all of the weaknesses detailed in its last report have not been corrected. Much improvement is still needed in personnel. There are many able and dedicated people in the USIA, but there is not enough strength in depth at the many levels of Agency activity. Other improvements should be made in training, in overseas operations and in physical facilities.

In Appendix 3, the Commission reviews the recommendations made in its report of January 1958, and the actions taken by the USIA with respect to them.

In this Fourteenth Report to the Congress, the Commission has addressed itself to a different but equally important task: to review and redefine the objectives and the proper functions of a United States Information Agency.

This report will consider first the reasons why such a review is necessary. It will then discuss the proper role of the USIA, the functions appropriate to that role, and the objectives that, in the Commission's opinion, the USIA can reasonably be expected to achieve in the years ahead.

It is the hope of the Commission that if agreement can be reached on what the United States Information Agency can be expected to do, evaluation of its present performance and future plans can be more easily and more accurately determined.

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This is a good time for the United States to take stock of its overseas information objectives.

The past ten years have been a period of continuous crisis and tension. Today, despite the existence of contentious areas and inflammable issues, there appears to be in other areas a slight but definite easing of that tension. Restrictions in communications and travel between the Soviet Union and the Free Nations of the world, including the United States, are less severe than formerly.

For example, during the past year more Americans have been in and out of Russia than ever before. Two members of this Commission visited the U.S.S.R. in 1958, and all of the Commissioners have talked with many travelers to that country. Members of U.S. delegations have visited Soviet enterprises, farms and government institutions.

There is also evidence that the continuously strident tone of Soviet propaganda has become at times somewhat subdued. Vituperation, threats and denunciation of the United States are still heard, but they are most often reserved for issues and crises which the Soviets consider of strategic value. Much of their propaganda today reflects more confidence and self-assurance.

It speaks of progress in Soviet scientific and economic realms. It advocates socialist superiority with somewhat less attention to vituperative attacks on the United States, its people and its ways of life.

Although Soviet intentions and strategies must ever be weighed carefully, there is hope that a mutual lessening of invective and diatribe can be achieved. Such a step could lead to a calmer international atmosphere and a reduction of international tensions.

The gradually increasing communications between the United States and the U.S.S.R. is one of two major reasons for reexamining the role of USIA. The other reason is that for many years criticisms of USIA have come in considerable part from misunderstandings of its role and unrealistic expectations of what it should achieve.

A Case of Misunderstanding

Probably the most frequent, certainly the most bitter criticism of USIA is simply this: "It does not do the job that it is expected to do."

The cause of that criticism is a basic misunderstanding of just what USIA is expected to do and what it is possible for USIA to do. Consider just a few of the more common "expectations".

- USIA is expected to "win the cold war and the battle for men's minds" and to do it in short order.
- USIA is expected to achieve quick success in combating, containing, and exposing international communism.
- USIA is expected to "win friends and influence people" all over the world all at once.
- USIA is expected to explain U.S. foreign policy and make it immediately palatable everywhere.
- USIA is expected to project an accurate picture of the United States, its way of life and its culture that will be instantly grasped by people of other countries.

More could be listed, but these are enough to illustrate an important point—*too much is expected of USIA*—and too soon.

These are legitimate goals for an information program. No Agency can hope to achieve them single-handed, nor is it realistic to expect that they can be achieved at once. Yet, when all of these expectations are not realized, the result is likely to be loss of confidence in USIA, and increasing doubt about the value of any U.S. information program.

But the Commission believes that these expectations which are so unreal should not produce doubts about the wisdom, indeed the necessity of a U.S. information program. Rather people should be encouraged to understand how unreal their expectations are, and to replace the unrealistic with practicable, attainable goals for USIA.

How Can the Misunderstanding Be Removed

One primary cause of the misunderstanding is the lack of realization that USIA is only one of several forces actively shaping international public opinion about the United States.

The image of the United States transmitted to people abroad is made up of many factors. And the factors are not always in agreement.

Actions and statements from other government departments and agencies—as well as from individuals and private organizations sometimes support and reinforce USIA's efforts. But sometimes, they are contradictory, and cast a cloud of doubt on the authenticity of those efforts. Such contradictions impose definite limitations on USIA's effectiveness.

In addition, USIA has been expected to attain some objectives that are obviously beyond the capabilities of any one agency, such as "winning the cold war." That is a task that is easier to ask for than to achieve.

To help remove these misunderstandings about what USIA can, and cannot, be expected to achieve, it might be well to consider first the proper functions of a United States Information Agency. Then to examine the limitations that face USIA in performing these functions. Finally, to establish reasonable objectives for USIA in each area of function.

It is to this that the Commission now would like to address itself.

A Discussion of the Functions, Limitations, and Objectives of the U.S. Information Agency

I. *USIA as Counselor on International Public Opinion.*

The Function: On matters relating to public opinion abroad USIA should serve as an advisor to any executive branch of our Government whose policies may influence our foreign relations. This

counsel, both in Washington and overseas, would cover the actual and the probable public reaction in other countries to U.S. policies, statements or activities.

The Limitations: USIA too often is expected to perform after policies have been determined rather than to advise during the formulation of policies. This tends to limit the effectiveness of USIA performance. Suggestions as to timing, the wording of statements, or other factors affecting public reaction could result in more favorable reception among other peoples and other governments.

Another limitation is that there is some lack of acceptance both in Washington and abroad of the importance of the public relations aspects of foreign policy. Often advice in this area is not even sought by the relevant departments or agencies. This leads to inconsistencies in presentation and explanation which in turn creates confusion in the minds of our foreign audience.

It is encouraging to note that the new Director, a veteran career foreign service officer, is a member of the National Security Council, the Operations Coordinating Board, and attends the regular meetings of the Secretary of State. Overseas, also, USIS is being given some opportunity to call attention to the public relations aspects of problems.

But there is still a great difference between having an opportunity to present ideas, and achieving acceptance of the ideas presented.

The Objectives: The Commission suggests that reasonable and obtainable objectives for USIA as a counselor on international public opinion should be as follows:

1. Both in Washington and overseas the type of thinking and advice on public opinion that USIA can provide should be more seriously weighed and considered.
2. USIA should enjoy greater participation in policy making, so that public reaction may be considered before rather than after policies are established.
3. USIA should have opportunities to make positive suggestions for developing policies that would create favorable public

reaction toward the United States among people of other countries. It should also make suggestions as to the official wording of policy statements in order to help improve their reception abroad.

Having set forth these objectives, the Commission states with equal conviction its realization that the advice and counsel of USIA need not—and indeed should not—always be followed. Public opinion should not be the master of foreign policy. What is important is that the advice be sought and given.

II. *USIA as Expositor of U.S. Foreign Policy.*

The Function: USIA should be expected to explain and interpret our foreign policies to the peoples of other countries. It should be their function to make sure these policies are understood. To tell *why* they are our policies, to show *what they mean* to world peace and to other peoples.

Limitations: Probably the biggest limitation in this area is the policies themselves and the difficulties in explaining them. A foreign policy that is right for the United States may by its very nature be unpopular abroad. Some policies just will not be accepted or liked in some countries no matter how well they are explained or how carefully they are interpreted.

And USIA cannot distort a policy in order to win a favorable public reaction. Misunderstanding of these limitations has led to disappointment with USIA effectiveness. The plain fact is that USIA cannot perform miracles in the short run and cannot make some policies palatable, even in the long run.

Another limitation on USIA effectiveness lies with the conflicting opinions on policies that are expressed in the United States and then reported abroad. Communist control makes sure that everyone who talks about communist policies parrots the party line. In the United States, free speech and a free press insure a hearing for all shades of opinion. When these opinions come from newsworthy sources they are reported abroad. Often the result is to strengthen and support USIA's explanations. Some-

times, when the opinions expressed are contradictory, the result is confusion abroad about just what the U.S. policy is and what it means.

Another part of this limitation on USIA ability to communicate overseas is found in the different reports on U.S. policies that are distributed by foreign news sources. Both the correspondents from other countries in the United States and the press in other countries tend to explain and interpret according to their own points of view about our policies. Their reports reach the same people USIA is trying to reach—and again the result is often confusion.

Finally, there is the limitation of conflicting communist propaganda. Unrestricted by any regard for facts or truth, the massive communist propaganda effort can warp and distort our policies. The sheer volume of this force cannot help but affect the impact and acceptance of the U.S. point of view. But this makes it all the more necessary and urgent that adequate explanation of our policies be effectively and continuously made.

The Objectives: In light of these limitations can any realistic objectives be assigned to USIA? The Commission believes they can be and, indeed, that they urgently must be. But it believes that there must also be a better understanding of the problems inherent in even the most perfect information program.

Only if these problems and limitations are understood will people cease to expect the USIA to work miracles overnight.

Only then will they accept what, because of the nature of the world we are living in, must be a prolonged and continuous undertaking. And only with such acceptance will come the realization that successes are sometimes more subtle than obvious and to us here at home not always identifiable as successes.

Seen and judged in this perspective a prime objective certainly should be to continue to explain and interpret U.S. foreign policy abroad. This has always been a prime activity of the Agency. Because the task is difficult does not make it less essential. And USIA should make every effort to improve its performance in this area to the greatest extent possible.

A second objective should be to continue existing efforts to widen an already general acceptance abroad of the USIA as the reliable and truthful voice of the United States in the exposition of our foreign policies.

It is the belief of the Commission that these objectives are both sensible and of vital importance to the future of the U.S. information program.

III. *USIA as an Overseas Information Service.*

The Function: To serve as a source of accurate, nonsensational news, not in competition with private news services but to those areas and people who otherwise would not receive factual reports of world events or who are served with distorted and misleading information.

This function includes both news reports which are credited to USIS and reports which are provided to local media for their own information and use.

The Limitations: Many of the limitations are the same as those listed under the exposition of foreign policy, hence they will only be listed here. They include:

1. Conflicting opinions in the United States which are reported abroad.
2. Differing reports from the United States gathered here by the foreign press and written for home consumption abroad.
3. The distortions and slanted reports of communist propaganda.

In addition, there is a further and natural limitation in the different and sometimes contradictory emphasis given news stories by private news sources on the one hand and by USIA on the other. Private services, as good reporters rightly should, tend to headline the dramatic aspects of the news. USIA, acting more editorially than reportorially, and often more soberly than dramatically, should attempt to be objective about the news, explaining events and putting them in relation to a broader picture of the United States. The result is often two quite different—even

at times irreconcilable—approaches to the same event, that produces two images in the minds of people overseas.

The Objective: The Commission believes that USIA should continue to report on news events, but that its first objective must continue to be the avoidance of activities that are competitive with or damaging to private news services. USIA also must continue to avoid any deviation from the truth for this can only bring discredit upon itself and arouse suspicion as to its veracity.

Within that limitation, its objectives should be to continue to disseminate balanced, factual news reports. This function should be given special importance in the following areas:

1. To people within the communist countries and near their borders where the ever present flood of communist broadcasts and slanted stories are by volume the primary source of news.
2. To people in those countries where freedom of the press is either lacking completely or so restricted that only government approved news is allowed to reach the people.
3. To people in areas or countries where private news sources either cannot afford or for other reasons are not able to serve, or where there is special interest in and demand for the type of news reports USIA provides.

Finally, and most importantly, the objectives of USIA should be to gain the reputation around the world for being a reliable, honest, non-slanted, authentic reporter of the news. The achievement of this reputation is the best insurance against belief in communist propaganda and their view of world events.

IV. *USIA As Portrayer of the United States to Those Abroad.*

The Function: To represent to people overseas the life and culture of the people of the United States in order to correct misconceptions, and to combat the false or distorted pictures of the United States painted by the communists.

Part of this function is closely related to and even an integral part of the functions previously discussed. The public relations aspects of our foreign policies, and current news from the United

States obviously affect the way other people picture us. But by far the biggest part of this function is really a separate program. It is the long range program of USIA.

The Limitations: Here probably the biggest limitation is simply time. Peoples' beliefs cannot be altered overnight. To change and correct their opinions about us is not a task that can quickly be accomplished.

Other limitations that face USIA include many presently held false ideas which are considered to be true. There is the steady impact of communist efforts to breed distrust and misunderstanding about us. And finally, there is the difficulty of trying to define to those abroad anything as complex, as many sided, as our ways of thinking, acting and living on a vast continent marked by wide variations in climate, industry and customs.

The Objective: Before attempting to define specific objectives for USIA and its long range program, the Commission would like to review with the Congress certain aspects of this activity.

In its last report to Congress the Commission emphasized the importance of this long range program. One of the great needs facing us today is that of building in the minds of more people a firm foundation of fact about the U.S.A.

It has been said that "people are seldom down on anything they are up on". Fewer people in the world would be "down on" the United States if they were "up on" our record of granting freedom to Puerto Rico and the Philippines, our record of support for the United Nations, our friendly policy toward small nations, and the basic aims of our government in working for world peace.

And it is even more important for them to understand the friendly disposition of our people, our works and recreations and the whole structure of our lives.

More than ten years' experience in communicating with foreign people has demonstrated their interest in all phases of American life. It has also demonstrated that interest is greatest in non-political issues and events. There is a sincere desire to be informed about our arts, literature and music. There is still greater interest

in our science, our education, our economy and the social and political organization of our society about which there is an abysmal ignorance and misunderstanding abroad.

People abroad also are curious about family life in the United States, about our communities and the part that the uniquely American private organization and volunteer efforts play in those communities. In answer to this curiosity and interest, the USIA has the opportunity and the challenge of giving them the information they are seeking.

To meet this challenge well, there are three basic principles that must be observed if long range success is to be achieved.

1. It must be made clear that our only goal is to inform others about ourselves. It is not to try to remake others in our image or to persuade them to swap their way of life for ours.
2. The information we provide must be oriented to the audience. It must be told in their language and idiom, and it must be explained in terms that will have meaning to them. The presentation but not the facts, must therefore, vary from area to area.
3. No one program will work around the world. Programs must be adjusted and emphasis shifted to meet the needs and interests of our audiences in different countries. The story of the United States must be told in relation to their background, their history and their problems. It is plain that trying to talk about U.S. culture to the countries of Western Europe is far easier and better understood if emphasis is placed on America's cultural heritage from Western Europe.

Observance of these principles will go far toward helping to explain and translate an accurate picture of America so that it can be understood abroad.

But this long range program is not and cannot be a one-way street. It is just as important to correct American misconceptions of people in other countries as it is to correct their misconceptions of us.

The Commission has stated in past reports to Congress and wishes to emphasize again, the importance of creating mutual

understanding through cultivating and encouraging a two-way exchange of information and ideas and people. Science, industry, agriculture, education and many other areas of interest and activity should participate in this mutual exchange between the United States and other countries.

While the United States Information Agency does not have the primary responsibility for such interchanges, it should stand ready to help in any way it can through cooperation with the appropriate government agency or private organization.

Another powerful means of developing mutual understanding among the peoples of the world is individual travel and tourism. And 1960 has been proclaimed by the President as "Visit the United States of America Year." (A copy of the proclamation may be found on page 61.)

Here too, USIA can play an important and helpful role through cooperation with public and private agencies. The result could be an important step forward in the development of international understanding and the promotion of world peace.

This, then, is how the Commission views the long range program of USIA. And now it is possible to assign more specific objectives.

1. To increase the number of people in the world who have a sound and factual foundation of knowledge about the U.S.A.
2. To establish through such widespread understanding a corps of people who will themselves resist, and who will influence others to resist the misrepresentations about the United States which are circulated by communist propaganda and other sources of misinformation.
3. To encourage two-way communications exchanges between the United States and other countries.

Finally, if these objectives are to be realized, we must also acknowledge and accept the truly long term nature of this program.

The goal is not miracles today or even tomorrow. It is steady progress through the years ahead in improving international understanding between our country and the other countries of the world—not only of the free world—but of the communist world.

Conclusion

To summarize: The Commission believes that a major cause of criticism surrounding the United States Information Agency and the overseas information program is that too much is expected of it too soon.

A review of the proper functions of the Agency indicates that reasonable objectives can be established for operations in four major areas:

1. As a counselor on international public opinion.
2. As an expositor of U.S. foreign policy.
3. As a specialized and noncompetitive overseas information service.
4. As a portrayer of the United States to peoples abroad.

In all of these areas, the Commission agrees that there are short term needs, which USIA should be prepared to meet. *But, it wishes to re-emphasize that the major objectives are long term in nature.* Once this concept is clearly understood and accepted, then—and only then—can the efforts of USIA be properly evaluated.

The Agency's efforts—its ability to progress towards its assigned goals—depend greatly on its position in our government and its relationships with the Congress.

Therefore, the Commission wishes to restate those principles for the United States Information Agency which it set forth in its Thirteenth Report to Congress. The Commissioners believe that adherence to these principles will enable the Agency to fulfill its functions with maximum economy, efficiency and effectiveness. These principles are:

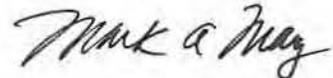
1. That USIA should be considered an essential long term Agency of the government. That its budget, its plans and programs, although necessarily responsive to sudden emergencies, should be based essentially on this long term view.
2. That USIA should continue to be an independent arm of the government. That it should be non-partisan in nature, responsive to policies established by Congress and appreciative of its responsibilities to keep the Congress informed.
3. And finally, that to establish this character for USIA, to make possible long term planning, and to provide the man power

with the high competence and talents required to carry out sound programs, the personnel of USIA should be assured of career status and adequate representational funds. The Agency will continue to find difficulty in attracting and holding the quality of men it needs, so long as career stability is not provided by law and so long as adequate monetary allowances for representation are not provided by annual appropriations.

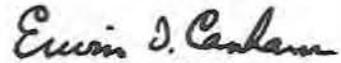
The Commission in this report to the Congress has presented its independent outside view of the role of USIA in furthering our national interest. It has attempted to specify realistic objectives, and to give consideration to the limitations within which the Agency must operate.

This report has taken a critical look at the broader areas and principles of Agency operation. A detailed appraisal of some of the Agency's specific problems and achievements will be found in Appendices 1 and 2. Also included, in Appendix 3, is a report of the Agency's actions on the recommendations in the Commission's Thirteenth Report.

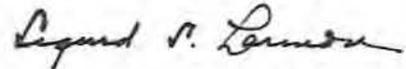
Respectfully submitted,



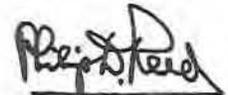
MARK A. MAY,
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LEWIS W. DOUGLAS

APPENDIX 1

APPRAISAL OF USIA'S PERFORMANCE—CURRENT PROBLEMS

1. *Lack of Media Coordination within USIA in Washington*

In its 11th Report to Congress, dated April 11, 1956, this Commission recommended to the Director of the Agency that an Assistant Director for Media be appointed:

"We believe that the effective development of the media requires this type of representation, and that it will be possible to find for such a position a man who can make an overall creative contribution to the Agency's program.

"With this type of man as the principal media representative, it would then be practical and sufficient to have as Chiefs of Radio, Press, Motion Pictures, and Information Centers, skilled technicians and administrators. Without this creative Assistant Director, the effectiveness of the media will never rise above a fraction of its potential."

The Agency has been slow in acting on this recommendation, which is becoming increasingly important as the Agency matures. The reasons for its increased importance are:

(a) The need for more joint media plans and programs. There is evidence that programs and ideas developed in one medium are often unknown to other media. More must be done not only to coordinate the efforts of the media but to insure that their plans and programs are synchronized with the plans and programs of the Area Directors.

(b) The need to continuously improve the quality of the Agency's output. If the

Agency had a "head of Creative Services", a top creative man for the purpose of reviewing the quality of its output, the result would be higher quality output.

(c) The need to encourage and release the ideas of the Agency's creative talent. The presence of a top creative services man would help in meeting the need.

The Agency has recently recognized the importance of this recommendation. On January 16, 1959, the Director announced that—

"The Deputy Director will devote increased attention to planning and coordination of the so-called fast media operations. Since fast media operations form the major portion of the work of the Broadcasting Service, Motion Picture Service, Press and Publications Service, and the Television Service, the Directors of these services will look primarily to the Deputy Director for coordination and assistance in the development and execution of their programs.

"The Deputy Director (Policy and Plans) in addition to his present duties, will give increased time and attention to the development of the programs and the operations of the Information Center Service and the Office of Private Cooperation. The Directors of ICS and IOC will look to the Deputy Director (Policy and Plans) for coordination and assistance in the development and execution of their programs, which are primarily cultural and long-range in nature."

The Commission believes that this is a step in the right direction. It is withholding judgment on this arrangement

until more time has elapsed for its execution.

2. *The Need for Regrouping the Washington Staff*

In the Commission's Thirteenth Report to Congress, it pointed out the need for greater concentration of effort in the field. There is evidence that this recommendation can also be applied to Washington in order to reduce the top-heaviness of part of the Washington staff.

Perhaps the time has come when the Agency should review its internal organization in order to achieve a more cohesive grouping of units which have similar functions and at the same time reduce the recent tendency to establish new ones. For as new units are established and grow in magnitude, additional administrative overhead and assistance will increase proportionately.

Three examples are presented for Agency consideration: (a) Would it be possible, for example, to establish an office of technical facilities to operate as a service of common concern to press, radio and motion pictures? (The Commission has been advised that over 50% of the budget for the press and publications program is devoted to the maintenance of technical communications facilities. This creates the erroneous impression that this large sum of money is devoted exclusively to the preparation of Agency publications.) (b) Is it possible, for example, to combine all activities which are of an audio-visual nature, such as motion pictures, television, photography, exhibits, etc.? (c) Is it possible to pull together either organizationally or administratively the many geographic area experts that are distributed throughout the Agency in order to coordinate and exploit more effectively the combined talents that are available?

3. *The Role of USIA in Policy*

For the past six years, the Agency has been experimenting with methods whereby the role of the Director in policy matters can be adequately supported by a policy staff. During this period the Agency has had a staff entitled the Office of Policy and Plans. This office has gradually been altered in order to place less emphasis on policy and more on long range plans.

In the main body of the Commission's current report, attention was called to the fact that one of the Agency's four roles is to offer its advice on the public relations aspect of foreign policy matters. The present Director devotes a considerable amount of his time to this role. It is the opinion of the Commission that to perform this role successfully and effectively on the highest policy echelons, the Director must receive support in depth from a substantively knowledgeable staff.

The Agency's office of Plans (formerly Office of Policy and Plans) has undergone many metamorphoses, responding to different demands that have been made upon it, to changing circumstances and to different directors. This office from time to time has attempted (1) to direct the Agency's overall effort from policy and program standpoints; (2) to provide the geographic areas and the media with "information policy" guidance; (3) to project long range plans for the Agency; (4) to offer public relations suggestions to the National Security Council (NSC) Planning Board, Operations Coordinating Board (OCB) working groups, and appropriate units of the Department of State; (5) to act as a channel for the purpose of receiving foreign policy guidance.

The Agency is now entering a period of change from a "Policy and Plans Staff"

whose primary responsibility has been the reception and implementation of foreign policy directives, to a new situation in which it must develop a capability—both in quality and experience—with which to support the Director.

The changing character of this office and its functions is a current matter which the Commission is unable to judge at this time. The Commission feels however that the organization and composition of the present Office of Plans need substantial strengthening if it is to provide the Director with proper support in his important policy role.

4. *Has the Pendulum Swung Too Far in the Direction of Field Autonomy?*

During the past few years considerable progress has been made in delegating to the Public Affairs Officer (PAO) in the field, authority for the development of his program. Many worthwhile achievements have resulted and this principle should continue to prevail.

However, although the primary purpose of headquarters is to service the needs of field personnel, it cannot escape the responsibility of providing overall creative plans and guidance in order to give all USIS operations around the world a sense of cohesion, without destroying the different nuances of presentation that are necessary for different audiences.

5. *Fewer Programs*

There are still too many programs in Washington and overseas. The means of obtaining maximum impact have not yet been developed although in a formal announcement to the field the Agency has asked for an implementation of the Commission's recommendations with respect to

the need for a greater concentration of effort by reducing and sharpening objectives and programs.

The Commission commends and calls attention to the country plan submitted by the PAO of Yugoslavia as an example of tight planning. This Public Affairs Officer has projected on an annual basis 12 different campaigns, each of which is scheduled to take effect on a separate month. During that month all facilities and media available to the mission will be combined to plug that particular campaign. This does not mean that the subject treated in a particular month will not be treated again. It also does not eliminate the miscellaneous short range requests that must be satisfied in order to discharge the mission's information obligations satisfactorily.

The Agency may wish to consider the feasibility of projecting its own 12-month campaign to tie in with the plans of its missions overseas. It is conceivable that the missions abroad could agree on the treatment of identical subjects over a 12-month period, and eliminate all marginal ones. Then the full force of the headquarters staff could be devoted to producing material for all. Thus greater economy and efficiency of operation would ensue and the total impact around the world might become more noticeable. For example, if all missions around the world were to dedicate the month of February to a particular topic, such as The Lincoln Sesquicentennial, The U.S. Economy, U.S. Tourism, American Education, etc., the impact of the information program might become more discernible.

6. *"Local" Employees (Foreign Nationals in USIS)*

Approximately two-thirds of the USIA employees (7,000 of the Agency's 11,000)

are so-called "locals", foreign nationals who work for USIS abroad and who are responsible in many instances for the execution of important large scale operations.

These foreign nationals serve as vital links between USIS and the foreign community. They help provide the continuity between one PAO and another. Moreover, they are perhaps the best informed group concerning a great many local problems, including the psychology of the people. As a group therefore they constitute a problem of considerable magnitude which includes their treatment, their status, their career and training, and their role, for many do not feel that they are members of the USIS team.

The Commission has felt for a long time that greater recognition should be given to them. If this were done they would increase their usefulness not so much in job performance and office effectiveness but from the standpoint of what they say and do out of hours. It is true that some of them are fairly well informed about the United States but most of them are not. Although the Agency has sent many of them to the United States for additional training and experience in the States, for which it should be commended, the "foreign national" employee problem will continue to require the most careful re-examination and thought. The Agency must try to develop foreign nationals into full-fledged members of the team who feel like team members, and whose full potential and specialized knowledge and insight are fully tapped.

7. *The Agency's Evaluation Studies*

The Commission has had an opportunity to review the Agency's experimental attempts to evaluate its program during the past year, and has presented the Director with its criticisms. Four Agency evalua-

tion reports have provided it with useful information on the basis of which instructions for improvement have been sent to the field. The Commission has been informed that although the Evaluation Staff has been abolished, the evaluation *function* has been assigned to the Inspection Staff. The Agency is encouraged to go ahead with the job of perfecting both its evaluation and inspection techniques.

The Commission is presently considering the possibility of conducting more independent appraisals wherever feasible. It is also studying the general question of the extent to which an information program can be evaluated. It is especially concerned with the question of whether or not it is possible to appraise and evaluate the impact that the programs have made on foreign peoples. For it is the influence of the programs on other peoples—not ourselves—that is the crux of the matter.

8. *"Generalists" vs. "Specialists"*

Should USIA adopt the Department of State's policy of developing "generalists" who can be sent anywhere? At present this appears to be the trend in USIA. There is considerable movement of personnel which leads to high transfer costs. As important as the financial matter, however, is the basic policy that is involved. To what extent should USIA encourage the area specialist to remain in a country for 10, 15 or 20 years? Some of the most outstanding officers have been men and women who have worked in a given country 4, 8 or 10 years (Mrs. Graham in Burma, Mr. Scherbacher in Korea, and Mr. Fotouhi in Japan. Their departures from Burma, Korea and Japan were accompanied by the most warm and grateful kinds of public manifestations. They became "honorary citizens" of the host countries to which they had been assigned.

Their influence was considerable.) USIA runs the risk of failing to exploit completely its initial investment and of wasting hundreds of man-years as men and women are shifted much too often from country to country and area to area.

9. *Language Proficiency*

Related to the question of area specialists is language proficiency with which the Agency continues to struggle. There is a reluctance on the part of area directors to part with the services of key personnel for the purpose of improving language. This reluctance must be overcome and the operating officials must be convinced that the results of intensive language training will more than compensate for the time that the individual officer is away from his post. For the Commission has observed time and time again that it is the officer abroad with high language proficiency and intimate knowledge of the area and its people, who is invariably the most effective one.

The Commission has been informed that the Agency has tended to adopt the State Department's emphasis of training officers in the so-called "world languages" (French, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian) in an effort to conform to departmental practice.

Although the Department's needs and those of USIA both lie in the area of language and area specialization, it should be recognized that USIA must place greater emphasis on the languages that are less well known than the "world languages"—languages that are spoken and read by countless millions in Asia, Africa and the Near East. Unless USIA area directors insist more strenuously that their overseas personnel acquire the more difficult and exotic languages, the full potency of their efforts

will remain unrealized in these critical geographic areas.

10. *Area Knowledge*

Although the Agency's training program has made progress in the past two years, it is evident that many officers going to the field lack sufficient knowledge of the area (including the psychology of its people) to which they have been assigned. It is therefore recommended that an officer not be assigned to an overseas post until and unless he shows proficiency in knowledge and language of the area. There should be undeviating adherence to this principle with adequate sanctions and extra inducements given for achievement. This is most urgently needed among the Cultural Affairs Officers because they, especially, should know thoroughly the literature, philosophy, art, science, history and the great intellectual achievements of the country to which they are assigned.

11. *Book Translation*

Although the Agency has made commendable progress in translating important American books, nevertheless the need remains to step up sharply the translation program. The goal the Commission seeks for USIS libraries abroad in this area is an approximate balance of 50% of the books in that library written in the native language. It is recommended that a substantial increase in the translation program take place in order to increase the percentage of books in USIS libraries that are in the language of the host country.

12. *Better Presentation of Examples of Agency Achievements*

In response to questions by Appropriations Committee members, the Agency an-

swers are almost invariably of a statistical nature and must perforce relate to dollars and cents inquiries. As a result, much of the substance of what the Agency accomplishes is unfortunately lost. Congress must be told that USIS around the world does reach foreign peoples, and that scores of reporters, radio and television men, teachers, labor leaders, politicians, businessmen, farmers, students, artists, musicians, intellectuals, etc., are met on a daily basis. Through USIS officers' personal contacts, the American story is presented to influential foreigners throughout the world. More evidence should be gathered to demonstrate it and more effective efforts must be made to relate concrete results to dollar expenditures.

13. *Budget Presentation*

The Agency is encouraged to show, as separate items, dollars and cents economies that it may make over the period of a fiscal year. For example, many employees put in overtime for which they are not compensated; many officers spend funds out of pocket for representation purposes; other miscellaneous savings occur but these savings are seldom isolated and separately totaled. The Commission suggests that such economies should be included in the Agency's presentation to Congress, and should become a regular budgetary presentation practice.

APPENDIX 2

APPRAISAL OF USIA'S PERFORMANCE—SOME ACHIEVEMENTS IN 1958

USIS operations abroad have been designed to achieve the following objectives:

1. To provide basic information about the United States—the life and culture of the American people.
2. To explain American foreign policy.
3. To expose the nature of international communism and its threat to free nations.

We have listed below examples of the activities undertaken by the USIA which have attempted to achieve these objectives in different parts of the world during 1958:

1. *The United States and Its People*

A. *Education*

(1) Among pamphlets which USIA publishes is one entitled "U.S.A.—Its Geography and Growth." The Ministry of Education in *Greece* has approved placing 250,000 copies in Greek schools for study

purposes. The *Icelandic* Government also accepted the text for its public school system. Heretofore this booklet has been used by schools in *Great Britain*, the *Netherlands*, *India* and *Guatemala*.

(2) The absence in *Italy* of university courses in American studies was remedied by a series of accomplishments in 1958:

Nine courses in American literature and one in American history are being offered for credit in Italian universities;

The Ministry of Education is planning to establish four permanent chairs in the field of American literature, history, economy and government;

An Italian publisher is issuing a 16-volume series of outstanding works on American history. Numerous other volumes on American literature and government are appearing in Italian translation;

The newly developing group of scholars in American literature is publishing an annual, *STUDI AMERICANI*;

In April 1958, an Italian Association for American Studies was formed in Rome.

(3) Of the approximately 350 commercial theaters in *Pakistan*, USIS has contacts with nearly half of them for a regular daily showing of USIS educational and documentary films on a non-commercial basis.

(4) In *Japan*, *AMERIKANA*, the USIS monthly journal for intellectuals and cultural leaders, draws from 500 to 700 letters a month, a third coming from professors and teachers. Articles are translations from 50 leading U.S. journals selected in cooperation with USIS by an editorial board of well known Japanese intellectuals. *AMERIKANA* is widely quoted in leading magazines and is a sought after item in second-hand stores. All recipients of the magazine must pay postage. More than 100 new subscribers sign up monthly.

(5) The initial issue, 10,000 copies of USIS Rangoon's bimonthly cultural publication, *DAWN*, sold out two days after release. The magazine, published in the Burmese language and on sale at 25 Pyas (7 cents), is directed at intellectuals and contains approximately equal portions of locally and Agency originated material. The second issue, increased to 30,000 copies, disappeared from the newsstands in five days—despite the fact that during the final two days retailers were asking, and getting, twice the published price of the magazine. Commercial distributors in *Burma* estimate that the demand may well be in excess of 60,000 copies per issue.

(6) In *Colombia*, the Bi-national Center stimulated the establishment of an Ameri-

can Room and Library at the University of Antioquia for the promotion of knowledge of the history, literature, culture and institutions of the United States.

B. Science

(1) Over 4,500 individual exhibits illustrating the American contribution to the International Geophysical Year (IGY) have been distributed to every principal USIS post throughout the world and have already been shown to audiences estimated at upwards of 5,000,000 people.

(2) In *Chile*, the film "The Explorer in Space", provided the latest information on American rocketry. The Vice Rector of Santa Maria University, speaking to an overflow showing of this film, said many questions were asked comparing the Sputniks to the Explorer.

The answers often had to be "Well, we cannot answer that question with respect to the Sputniks, since the Russians have not released any information on it, but the Americans have released information and so far as the Explorer is concerned the answer is thus and so."

(3) Through the use of films and exhibits, USIS *Rome* helped restore confidence in America's scientific and technological prowess immediately after the Sputnik launchings had led to skepticism and confusion on the part of the Italian people over U.S. strength and progress.

(4) USIS participation in the "first exhibit on the peaceful uses of the atom" which was shown from May 10 to June 10, 1958, prompted the National Chief of the *Spanish* National Gas, Water and Electricity Syndicate, which sponsored the event, to say "it must be admitted that the major credit for this triumph goes to the Embassy of the United States and its Information Services."

C. Arts

(1) In *Brazil*, the USIS exhibit of contemporary American etchings and engravings helped correct misunderstandings of United States culture. Brazilians expressed surprise at the "clean, mature, and stimulating character of the contemporary art that was represented". This was in contrast to former impressions which had characterized American art, as "childish primitivism, sentimentality or a lack of originality."

(2) To counter the *Portuguese* elites' stereotyped views of the United States as a culturally immature and materialistic civilization, a view often found among many Europeans, USIS last year was successful in placing a steady flow of articles about U.S. art, literature and scholarship on the literary pages of Portuguese newspapers and in the cultural journals where this type of material was formerly conspicuously absent.

(3) During the past year the projection of pictures on American culture, and the development of TODAY, the *African* newsreel, demonstrated pictures of vastly improved quality. Examples of quality achievement include such films as *Museum of Art*, *The Greatest Treasure* (Library of Congress), *Symphony Across the Land*, *Washington Mosque*, *Pilgrimage of Liberty*, *Korean Art Masterpieces*, *Thai Buddhist Customs*, and *A Dancer's World*.

(4) USIS Madrid reports that the locally written book TWENTIETH CENTURY NORTH AMERICAN ART, produced under the post's translations program, has won the Pi y Suñer Prize for the year's best work on an American theme. The magazine INDICE DE ARTES Y LETRES mentions the book as one of the most meritorious volumes written recently in *Spain* about the subject of art.

D. Race

(1) In *British Guiana*, USIS corrected misconceptions about American racial problems by holding seminars and showing films. The President of the British Guiana Press Association, after one program, said "we have seen here tonight, in the film about Althea Gibson, how warm-hearted the American people can be in welcoming a champion regardless of color or creed. When we see people like Miss Gibson and how she is esteemed by her fellow Americans, we know that 'Little Rock' is not typical of America."

(2) Thanks to a USIS sponsored press conference in Dusseldorf, *Germany*, for an American Negro professor, six of the leading newspapers in the influential area of North Rhine-West Phaelia, reported the racial situation in the United States with balance and in historical perspective.

E. The English Language

(1) In 165 Information Centers, Bilingual Centers, and Language Institutes throughout the non-Communist world, more than 130,000 people are studying English and in so doing are learning to speak our language figuratively as well as literally. Each year, tens of thousands of new "customers" are being created for the English language output of the rest of the information program—libraries, the motion pictures, the lectures, the Voice of America—which in turn will further increase their understanding and appreciation of things American.

For the most part these students are the present or potential leaders of their countries—the business and professional people, the teachers and scholars, political leaders, labor leaders, civil servants, and statesmen.

Each year the centers also sponsor English-teaching seminars for teachers of the

English language in the local schools. Last year more than 80 such seminars were held throughout the world where an estimated 4,500 teachers attended. In addition to instruction in language-teaching techniques, they received basic orientation in American life and culture. The number of students reached indirectly through these seminars is estimated to be close to one million.

Even in the Communist world American influence can be extended through the medium of the English language. In the summer of 1958, the Agency participated in the Oliva Foreign Language Seminar in Poland.

(2) In *Mexico*, the English language program on television has one of the top TV popularity ratings in Mexico City.

(3) The Minister of Education in *Paraguay* recommended that a beginning English text, prepared by the Bi-national Center, be placed in the basic curriculum of all public and private schools in Paraguay.

(4) Despite the recent political difficulties in *Venezuela*, 25 newspapermen representing the leading newspapers of Venezuela and all shades of political opinion, attended the Bi-national Center's class in English reading, thereby helping to improve U.S.-Venezuela relations even under adverse circumstances.

(5) In *Yugoslavia*, during 1957-58, although 750 adult students were enrolled at USIS Zagreb for the purpose of studying English, 1,500 applicants were turned away because of teacher and space limitations.

(6) Although the government of *Iraq* prohibited normal USIS operations following the coup d'etat in mid-July, the USIS sponsored English language school was permitted to reopen.

(7) In *Turkey*, the Director of External Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Education, commenting after an especially well received Bi-national English language seminar held in Istanbul, said: "The Americans are without doubt making the most important contribution to the teaching of foreign languages in Turkey today. Their textbooks and methods are far more advanced than those used by other groups of foreign teachers. The Ministry of Education readily recognizes the excellent work done at the Turkish-American Association and students everywhere flock to their courses in preference to those in other foreign languages."

(8) The Government of *Tunisia* has joined USIS and USOM in financing the USIS-founded English teaching program (The Bourguiba School of Language). Approximately 800 government officials receive instruction in English from this School, which is under USIS direction.

F. U.S.A.—General

(1) Six USIS produced motion picture documentaries were given country-wide distribution in *Yugoslavia*.

(2) Seven books translated and published under the USIS translations program became best sellers in *Yugoslavia* and were sold out in record time.

(3) USIS encouraged Dr. J. A. C. Fagginer Auer, a *Netherlander* who spent many years as a professor at Harvard, to write a book on the United States. His book entitled "America: As It Lives, Works, and Thinks," was also publicized by USIS. A review of his book by a Dutch NATO journalist said in part "his conclusion is that a mentality, a manner of approach by which a nation has become so strong that it has been able to maintain its national existence for nearly two centuries,

despite many difficulties, must contain factors which have universal value."

(4) In 1958 USIS English language books in *Pakistan* were read by an estimated one million readers. This is exclusive of 100,000 copies of American books in Bengali and Urdu (via the USIS book translation program) which were bought on the open market. The post's efforts in the entire book field are stimulating teachers, students and professional people to procure and use more American books thereby strengthening the commercial demand for American books in Pakistan.

(5) In *Korea*, more than 40 communities have organized and are supporting their own "cultural centers" for the circulation of USIS books, magazines and films.

(6) A Family-of-Man photograph was used by the winning President of *Chile* in his election campaign. The Family-of-Man slogan was adopted by the largest home building firm in Chile. These are only two examples which illustrate that this exhibit has had the greatest impact on public opinion in Chile of any cultural event in recent years.

2. U.S. Foreign Policy

(1) The entire proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session were broadcast by the Voice of America (VOA) following Ambassador Lodge's challenge to the Soviet Union to let its people hear the actual proceedings in the Assembly without interference. This was the first time the UN sessions had been carried in full on a world-wide scale.

All other VOA broadcasting was cancelled while the meetings were in session and all facilities were recast into five networks to carry the official simultaneous translations from the UN floor in the five official languages of the UN. English was

broadcast world-wide. Russian and French were beamed to Europe and the Near East; Chinese to the Far East; Spanish to Latin America. All five Assembly programs carried news broadcasts during recesses.

(2) In *Brazil*, the U.S. Ambassador, after visiting the Bi-national Centers in Natal, Teresina and Parnaiba, said "All the centers are clamoring for more support. This, in my judgment, need not be very great in terms of dollars. The potential good will value of the centers impresses me as being great. In fact, I question whether more good will is attained at less cost by any of our official activities in this country."

(3) In an unsolicited editorial, Don Teodoro Picado, the former President of *Costa Rica*, praised USIS and stated that it is necessary that the world be provided with factual information and explanations of U.S. foreign policies and objectives while not competing with the private news agencies of the United States. He went on to say that "the security of the free world cannot depend exclusively on bayonets".

(4) In *Peru*, USIS produced four films in an effort to publicize U.S. technical assistance and to win support for it. The Foreign Secretary of the Confederation of Peruvian Workers, after seeing the films, said, "An excellent demonstration of Peruvian-North American cooperation showing how much the United States has Peruvian interests in mind."

(5) Twenty-five percent of the people of *Iceland*, 40,000, saw the Family-of-Man exhibit. This was the largest attendance for such an event in the history of the nation.

(6) Two *Danish* cities have offered to pay all of the costs of bringing the Family-of-Man exhibit to their cities.

(7) During the recent DeGaulle political crisis, the Secretary General to the

President of *France* expressed his appreciation and commendation for the restraint which was displayed by USIS.

(8) In *Iran* and in *Greece*, USIS-Athens and Tehran encouraged top flight Greek and Iranian journalists to go to Beirut for first-hand reporting immediately after U.S. forces landed in Lebanon. USIS also encouraged other press representatives from *India*, *Pakistan* and the *Sudan* to visit *Lebanon* in order to gain a first-hand view of events there. They interviewed the American Ambassador, toured U.S. military installations, and were urged to interview Lebanese personalities from both political camps. They later testified as to the reasonableness of the U.S. position. In most cases, the results were factual, and positive presentations of U.S. actions and policies in the Near East have balanced the often critical tone of editorials.

(9) In *Lebanon*, USIS was the focal point for up-to-date authoritative information concerning U.S. policy. Writing in behalf of the foreign correspondents corps in Beirut, William Lawrence of the *New York Times*, singled out the daily press meetings as models of concise, clear-cut briefings which were invaluable to the corps' need to keep abreast of political developments in Lebanon.

(10) In *Libya*, USIS has supported efforts made to improve the U.S. Air Force's community relations by showing USIS-made color documentaries and publicizing joint Libyan-American activities.

(11) Extensively publicizing the trip of *Morocco's* King to the United States, His Majesty Mohammed V, USIS contributed to furthering the good relations between Moroccans and Americans.

(12) USIS officers in *Thailand* lecture to 26 senior governmental officials, includ-

ing the secretary to the Prime Minister, on aspects of public relations as related to public administration at the Thai University In-Service Training Program. Written copies of lectures in English were used simultaneously and a lively discussion period followed. Thai officials want lectures to be a regular part of future training programs.

3. *Communism*

(1) In *Guatemala*, the Agency's efforts to present the Hungarian story through exhibits, films and expositions received the following reactions. The Assistant to the Mayor of Jalapa said: "After seeing what happened in Hungary we would be idiots to let the communists get back in Guatemala."

The Governor of Retalhuleu felt that "It is noteworthy that what most pleased the public that visited the fair were your exhibits "Triumph in Defeat" and "Modern Pioneers". Of these, that which left the greatest impression was the first because the "harsh, cruel realism which fills each picture registers the tragedy of Hungary that so moved the world."

(2) In *Honduras*, a labor leader, reading from a USIS pamphlet, was able to persuade his friend that communism is a real threat to their labor union and that they both should fight against communism.

(3) In the town of Puebla, *Mexico*, where the anti-communist dramatic radio serial has a large audience, occasional postponements due to circumstances beyond the station's control, led to such a huge volume of telephone calls that it was impossible to handle them.

(4) In one Latin American country, the individual who was responsible for the formation of an anti-communist organization said that he was inspired to do so by read-

ing David Mitrany's book "Marx Against the Peasant". The translation and publication of this book was sponsored by the U.S. Information Service.

4. All three objectives

(1) In *Japan*, one labor union instead of having the usual red flag demonstrations on May Day of 1958, held an all day series of showings of USIS films. Over 1000 members attended each of the three showings of the program. The films included "Escape to Freedom" (Hungarian uprising) and "The Explorer in Space".

(2) The Public Affairs Officer at USIS Singapore reported the following evidence of program utility: "During a trip to *North Borneo*, I found VOA broadcasts being put to a particular use by at least one small Chinese paper in Sandakan. I sat beside the editor as he carefully tuned in his radio to the 5:00 p.m. (local time) Mandarin news broadcast of VOA. When he got it, he set up a tape recorder to record the entire broadcast. The tape was then rerun

as often as seemed necessary for his writers to get the details down on paper. Result: The next day's front page was practically a transcript of the VOA broadcast."

(3) The city of Djogjakarta, located in Central Java, is often referred to as the center of Javanese culture. The success of the Jefferson Library in Djogjakarta is one of the most striking operational features of the past year. Since opening, the Jefferson Library quickly overtook and out-distanced all other USIS libraries in *Indonesia* in regular attendance and rate of new membership. The current total of over 8500 registered borrowers indicates high school and university students.

(4) Locally produced radio programs and package programs from VOA are aired over 21 radio stations and eight rediffusion units in the *Philippines* at no cost to USIS. The total time allotted these programs averages more than 70 hours each week, and would be worth more than \$500,000 each year assessed at representative commercial rates (\$35 per 15 minute program).

APPENDIX 3

MEMORANDUM TO THE U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION

From: The Director, U.S. Information Agency, October 13, 1958

Subject: Report on Agency Actions Recommended in the
January 1958 Advisory Commission Report

In its January 1958 report to Congress, the Advisory Commission identified six specific weaknesses and made six recommendations for immediate action. I have discussed these points with the senior officers of the Agency and have gathered to-

gether a considerable amount of detail about the Agency's actions to remedy weaknesses.

In general, I think it can be said that the Agency has moved rapidly and effectively to correct most of the areas of

weakness pointed out by the Advisory Commission.

The Commission's comments, beginning on page 22, identified the following areas of weakness:

"1. *Weaknesses in personnel:* Despite progress referred to in staffing, the Agency should step up its efforts to improve personnel. In some areas the caliber of personnel is not satisfactory. Those whose performance is inadequate should be replaced.

The Commission feels that certain areas are understaffed while others may well be overstaffed. Greater critical attention should be given to the Agency's personnel policies and practices, as well as to the quality and quantity of the personnel itself.

For example, improvement can certainly be made in reassignment policies to avoid wasted time by personnel who have completed a tour of duty and must wait for assignment to their next post."

Agency action:

The Agency has made a determined effort during the year to weed out unsatisfactory employees, to tighten up the standards for entrance into the Agency's foreign service, to improve reassignment policies, and to establish sound long-range personnel policies.

In August 1958, the Personnel Division was reorganized and a new position of Assistant Director of Personnel for Planning was established. The Agency has developed a new rating guide for the use of foreign service interview panels which has greatly expanded the number of items on which an employee is evaluated and which gives a much more detailed picture of the employee's capabilities.

Beginning October 15, the Agency will give each foreign service candidate and his

wife a psychiatric-psychological evaluation to determine the probability of their adjustment to work overseas. The Agency has given the Director of Personnel and the Deputy Director of Personnel the specific responsibility of encouraging marginal employees to seek employment elsewhere. Of the 440 employees who left the Agency in 1958, 116 can be counted among this group.

In regard to the Commission's comment that certain areas are understaffed while certain others are overstaffed, there has been a gradual but noticeable increase in staff assigned to Africa and Latin America with a continuing decrease in staff for West Europe.

"2. *Weakness in training:* One of the weakest spots in the Agency's personnel system is its language training. There are simply not enough people in USIS who are adequately equipped to do the job in the field.

The Commission has been informed that the Agency is seriously working on this matter. Nevertheless, it must be reported at present as an admitted important weakness. The Commission strongly re-states its belief in the necessity for a long-range training program for Agency personnel."

Agency action:

The Agency has taken several steps to remedy weakness in language training. On July 24, the Director sent a letter to each country PAO in which he stated that it is essential for field officers to possess the appropriate degree of language proficiency required by their positions and that improvement in language proficiency should have a high priority. The Agency has invited new applications for language training from qualified employees. The Agency supported the State Department's proposed amendment to the Foreign Serv-

ice Act which would have provided special monetary or other incentives to encourage foreign service personnel to acquire or retain proficiency in foreign languages. The Bureau of the Budget, however, deleted this section from the legislative proposal that was sent to Congress. A high percentage of the junior officer trainees entering Agency work are proficient in foreign languages, and the Agency intends to make skill in foreign languages an important factor in the selection of candidates for its foreign service career service which will be established administratively.

"3. *Weaknesses in overseas operations:* The Commission is concerned that in too many posts USIS efforts are spread too thin. In addition to the major projects there is a tendency to participate in other activities not directly related to basic programs. Concentration of effort on a smaller number of projects, and elimination of the more marginal, less essential activities, would be more economical and more effective.

In this same area, criticism can also be made of the selection of media used by USIS. The Commission has observed that frequently all media are utilized when concentration on one or two media would be more productive and more economical.

It would be well if each country reviewed its operations to determine if it is really necessary to use all media in every post. For example, in areas where the literacy rate is low, concentrating on motion pictures and lessening of publication efforts could provide both greater impact and greater economy."

Agency action:

Considerable progress has been made this year by the field posts and by the Agency in general in concentrating on high-

priority, long-range projects. Much of this improvement is due to the new country plan instructions and format sent to the field in May, which specifically require that posts analyze their operations in terms of projects and that they eliminate nonessential media activities. In Europe, for example, almost all of the new country plans show evidence of a conscious effort to correct the weaknesses cited by the Advisory Commission. A report from the Office of the Assistant Director for Europe states:

"An increasing proportion of our efforts, especially in the smaller posts, is directed towards information centers and contacts with educational and cultural leaders. Press, radio, and film work is highly selective in nature, largely cultural in content, and frequently undertaken in connection with lectures, roundtable discussions, and concerts."

The report says that throughout Western Europe the direct documentary film distribution program has practically disappeared. Latin America, the Far East, and the Middle East and Africa report similar concentration of resources. In the Far East, for example, most USIS posts have reduced their programs to four or five basic long-term country objectives with three or four projects aimed at attaining each objective. Each project is based on a particular target group with efforts concentrated in those media which are most practicable in reaching the target group.

"4. *Weakness in television:* Another weakness is the Agency's inability to use effectively a powerful new medium that is gradually spreading around the world, namely, TV.

For the past three years the Broadcast Advisory Committee has studied this problem and has come up with recommenda-

tions to the Agency. Programs and a plan of action have been recommended by them but the Agency has been unable to develop an imaginative and constructive TV program. This is an area in which long-range planning is essential, in view of the fact that scientists foresee in the not too distant future still more far-reaching developments in world-wide TV communications."

Agency action:

A comprehensive Agency study of television resulted in:

a. A decision to set up television as a separate media service with its head reporting to the Agency Director;

b. The selection of Mr. Romney Wheeler, who has been director of European operations for NBC, to be the new Television Director.

Mr. Wheeler's deputy will be a senior foreign service officer, and it is anticipated that ample funds will be made available to the new television service for long-range planning and development.

"5. *Weaknesses in facilities:* Certain physical facilities, especially radio, need rehabilitation, repair or replacement. A first rate foreign information program demands first rate equipment or funds will be wasted through lowered efficiency of operation. The Broadcast Advisory Committee has examined this problem and has recommended a long-range plan of rehabilitation in the light of current problems and possible future emergencies.

In addition there are important parts of the world where United States facilities are just too weak to provide adequate competition to communist propaganda efforts. The Agency's request for new more powerful transmitters needed to strengthen

United States broadcasts to critical areas in the Commission's judgment is justified."

Agency action:

The Commission's comments on weakness in Agency facilities were confirmed by the international broadcasting position of the United States during the recent Middle East crisis. Largely as a result of that crisis, Congress approved a \$10 million supplemental appropriation for beginning the construction of a consolidated East Coast facilities plant which will allow the United States to be heard better around the world. The regular 1959 appropriation provided for the construction costs of Project Delta, which will be a 500 KW medium wave installation for coverage of the Middle East area. Further of note in the radio field during the past year was the installation of two additional 100 KW transmitters in San Fernando in the Philippines. Installation of the third 100 KW transmitter at the Okinawa Relay Base will be completed around December 1958. Numerous other major repair and replacement projects have been completed or are in progress. The Agency believes that, merely to maintain the U.S. position in the worldwide broadcasting competition, it will be necessary for the U.S. Government to spend a very considerable sum of money annually on radio construction, repair, and replacement.

"6. *Weaknesses in evaluation:* Efforts at evaluation of the Agency's work are still deficient. However the Agency has started a new program on an experimental basis.

Four-man 'evaluation-teams' have been sent to two countries. Their job is to find facts through surveys, personal interviews, and such other research techniques as are applicable and available in each country. They will provide an appraisal of United States efforts.

The Commission is withholding judgment on this program until results from the first two teams can be seen and judged. . . .

Agency action:

The Agency has taken two important and related steps in its evaluation efforts:

a. The creation of an inspection staff similar to the Foreign Service Inspection Corps of the State Department and working in the closest possible liaison therewith; and

b. Discontinuance of the experimental evaluation staff after a trial program showed that use of Agency personnel on brief detail was not practical and that it was impossible to separate appraisal of personnel and efficiency of operation and administration from appraisal of program effectiveness.

The new Inspection Staff reports directly to the Director of the Agency. It is composed of senior Agency officers and is equipped to employ polling organizations and other public opinion techniques, in addition to personal surveys, interviews, and other research methods. The Director of the Agency has indicated to the Chairman of the Advisory Commission his belief that the Commission itself should further undertake evaluation activities whenever possible.

Suggestions for Immediate Action

"1. Review and redefine objectives

As indicated earlier, the Commission believes the establishment of both long-term and short-term objectives is of primary importance.

Long-term objectives should be reviewed by the Agency with the advice and assistance of Congress and the Department of State.

Short-term objectives necessarily vary in different parts of the world. To be realistic they must be tasks that an information program can be expected to accomplish in each country.

The Department of State, United States Ambassadors, Public Affairs Officers, the Office of Policy and Plans and Assistant Area Directors can contribute importantly to the formulation of short-term objectives."

Agency action:

Review and definition of objectives are of course a continuing process both in Washington and overseas. The basic objectives of the Agency have been established by the President and the National Security Council. Congress has defined its views on many occasions. The advice and assistance of the State Department are constant and take place on all levels. The present emphasis of USIA as established by the Director is on feasible long-range objectives.

We seek to create an image of the United States overseas which will bring about an appreciation of the goals of our nation. As mentioned previously, an important review of country objectives and operations has taken place during the year as a result of new Agency instructions on the preparation of country plans. In all areas, posts are reducing the number of objectives and projects in order to avoid diffusion of effort on marginal activities.

"2. Appraise major themes and programs

The Agency should review current programs to determine which should be continued, which dropped, and where new or expanded programs are needed.

In this area the Commission has three recommendations.

A. Such current themes as People's Capitalism, The Family of Man, Free Elections, Atoms for Peace, and United States culture have proved effective. They should be continued and extended to areas where they have not as yet achieved full impact."

Agency action:

The Agency is placing particular emphasis on the depth and scope of U.S. culture. Such current themes as People's Capitalism and Atoms for Peace continue to be utilized with considerable success. The Agency is making a special effort to bring about a better appreciation abroad of the character and achievements of American science.

"B. The program for the teaching of English should be given special attention both as an immediate project and as a part of the long-range activity.

The Commission believes world-wide interest in the English language is one of our greatest assets. Demands for the teaching of 'American English' far exceed the supply. The Agency should give this top priority as an independent activity and in cooperation with other countries through Binational Centers.

In addition to the work of the Department of State which has primary responsibility, the Agency, when feasible, should encourage and support American schools which have been established abroad."

Agency action:

In its programming for the current year, the Agency has given high priority to the teaching of English both as a separate activity and as part of the Agency's over-all long-range programs. The Agency is giving increased support to the binational center concept overseas and continues to en-

courage and support American schools abroad. The Voice of America in its world-wide programming accords high priority to its world-wide English programs. For example, in January, 1959, the Voice of America will begin the broadcast of a university of the air which will feature the best in American scholarly achievement.

"C. In light of recent events, the Commission recommends to the Agency that special consideration be given to the possibility inherent in two new themes:

First, an increased emphasis on news of science, research, and technical achievement by the United States and the free world. Particular weight should be given to the way the free world has used science to improve health, welfare and living standards of all people.

In addition, the Soviets have borrowed heavily from the free world's ideas of competition, rewards for excellence, and the spirit of free inquiry in developing their physical sciences. They could now be challenged publicly as to why they had not carried the same free world ideas into the social sciences—human relations, economies, government—where they would be of benefit to the Soviet peoples."

Agency action:

As part of increased emphasis on news of science, research, and technical achievement, the Agency has employed a senior policy adviser on science who is giving guidance to the media services in the production of specialized materials on American scientific accomplishments. The Agency is studying the Commission's recommendation that the Soviets be challenged directly and publicly to explain their neglect of free ideas in the social sciences.

"3. Step up personnel improvement

The Agency should start planning now

to meet the personnel needs required for a long-range program. This will call for careful selection, planning, and activity in many areas of personnel recruitment and relations. The Commission wishes to call attention to four specific suggestions:

A. The necessity for a career service in attracting and holding high caliber people. This has been discussed earlier in this report."

Agency action:

Congress did not act on the Agency's proposed career legislation during the last session. The Agency will do everything possible to obtain career legislation during the coming session of Congress. The Director plans to submit for congressional consideration a revised version of the bill introduced by Congressman Wayne Hays in June 1957 (HR 8081).

The Director has also approved the establishment of a career arm of the foreign service reserve corps by appropriate administrative rules and regulations. This will give the Agency a career officer system as nearly like the Foreign Service Officer corps as can reasonably be achieved without legislation.

"B. Higher priority of foreign language training. While the Agency has recognized the importance of this, the Commission has observed that other considerations are often given priority over language training."

Agency action:

As stated in the previous discussion under areas of weakness, the Agency is giving a higher priority to foreign language training, particularly in the languages of the Far East, Near East, and Africa. At the present time, fifty-seven foreign service employees are taking foreign language training in twenty-five lan-

guages. Of these fifty-seven employees, seven officers are studying Chinese; seven, Japanese; five, Arabic; two, Korean; two, Vietnamese; one, Hausa; and one, Swahili. Language training is also being arranged for the world languages (French, Spanish, German) in a further effort to improve the language proficiency of USIA officers.

"C. Improvement and speed-up in re-assignment of people returning from the field. Currently, many personnel returning to the United States are either misassigned or remain unassigned for far too long a time. This can be corrected by better, longer range planning of personnel assignments."

Agency action:

The Agency has established a policy of not issuing orders to overseas officers for return to the United States, unless absolutely necessary, until the next assignment has been determined. The number of such unassigned officers in Washington was reduced from twenty in January 1958 to five in September 1958, a seventy-five percent decrease. A career planning program for foreign service employees has been set up as a regular function of the Personnel Division.

"D. Greater attention to Cultural Affairs Officers (CAO's). The Commission recognizes the importance of the status and duties of the CAO. The Agency's Advisory Committee on Cultural Information, composed of outstanding leaders in American cultural activities, has been most helpful in the cultural programs.

This Committee, and the Commission, agree that Cultural Affairs Officers can and should be key men in the long-range program of the Agency. The Agency should pay greater attention to them, their qualifications, and their careers than it has in the past."

Agency action:

The Agency has established a cultural planning office under the Deputy Director for Policy and Plans, and the four area officers have designated cultural coordinating officers. To emphasize the cultural program in the field, the Agency announced on June 20 that it will attempt to provide a balance between officers experienced in the cultural field and officers experienced in the information field when making assignments to the two top positions in each USIS mission. This policy has been followed recently in the assignment of Public Affairs Officers to Pakistan, Thailand, and the Deputy Public Affairs Officer in India.

"4. Plan for increased East-West exchanges

The Agency should make advance preparation to take advantage of any further lifting of the Iron Curtain. It should be ready for new opportunities for East-West contacts and exchanges of information.

In addition, it should be noted that the U.S.S.R. is opening new areas to tourist travel. The United States Congress has relaxed some of the McCarran Act restrictions. In this atmosphere of encouragement to international travel, the Commission recommends that the Agency, together with the Department of State and other Government agencies and private groups, develop and promote a positive program encouraging tourism to the United States."

Agency action:

The Agency played an active part in the negotiations between the United States and the USSR for the signing of an East-West exchange agreement and has a primary responsibility for the imple-

mentation of parts of the agreement, which was signed January 27, 1958. Among the responsibilities devolving on USIA as a result of this agreement is the showing of a U.S. exhibition in Moscow in July 1959. This will be the first major exhibit under U.S. Government auspices in the Soviet Union. It will be devoted to demonstrating U.S. progress in science, technology, and culture. Since the signing of the exchange agreement, which contains a provision calling for both sides to take steps to improve the distribution of the magazines, *America Illustrated* and *USSR*, there has been in fact a marked improvement. Returns of issue number 13, October 1957, of *America* were 12,108. Since then there has been a decline of returns. The returns of issue number 20 just reported amount to only 1,990 copies. Under an agreement with the Polish Government signed on May 30, 1958, the USIA-produced Polish language magazine, *Ameryka*, is to be distributed in Poland beginning in January 1959. The Agency is represented on the inter-departmental working committee organized in December 1957 by Mr. Clarence B. Randall to study barriers to and means of promoting international travel. The Agency serves as chairman of the subcommittee on plans for the utilization of State, Commerce, and USIA facilities in the promotion of international travel. At the Agency's request, the Office of International Travel, U.S. Department of Commerce, has sent a complete set of twelve publications on information sources on international travel to each USIS library.

"5. Improve cooperation with private enterprise

The Commission has observed that the Agency has excellent cooperative relation-

ships with the publishing industry, the movie industry and the broadcasting industry.

Special tribute should be given to the Broadcast Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee on Cultural Information. The members, distinguished representatives of American industry, professions and academic life have given generously of their time and have been most helpful.

Relations with some of the wire services have been less than satisfactory. The Agency should do all it can to improve these relations and to establish the principle of 'cooperation—not competition.'

In addition, the Agency should continue and expand its efforts to be of service to the People-to-People movement and to other private groups and organizations, both at home and abroad, which are actively seeking to improve our international relations."

Agency action:

The Agency continues its efforts to be of service to the People-to-People movement. A recent study has shown that every dollar put into grants to People-to-People committees (\$153,000 in 1958) is resulting in at least over five dollars' worth of private activities.

The Agency has made every effort at all levels to maintain its relations with commercial wire services on a satisfactory footing. It knows of no current serious problems anywhere in the world.

The Agency takes the initiative in cooperating with the wire services. During the Nixon trip to Latin America, for example, the USIA Press Service made its own picture coverage available to the commercial U.S. agencies and instructed its field posts to delay USIS prints to any Latin American newspaper until the commercial agencies

serviced their clients. The Agency has received several commendations during the past year from U.S. newspapermen working overseas for the exceptional contributions made to their work by USIS officers in the field.

"Budgetary action

The Commission has neither the responsibility nor the wish to advise on the size of the USIA budget.

The Commission, however, has discussed with top officers of the Agency the budget of fiscal year 1959.

The members agree with the Agency's recommendation for action on the budget to:

1. Provide increases needed to cover higher costs due to inflationary trends abroad.

2. Provide funds to re-institute some of the programs given up to meet 1958 budget requirements, which a year's experience has shown were important to the overall United States program.

3. Provide increases to cover the cost of new or expanded programs called for by the present world situation.

4. Provide for adequate representation funds.

In addition, the Commission believes that the USIA budget should contain provisions for a contingency fund. Such a fund would be for use by the Director for emergencies and for unexpected events which may occur in the rapidly changing international scene. The fund could not be used for ordinary expenses. It would be left unused if circumstances justifying its use did not occur.

The Commission also suggests that budgetary considerations should be an important facet of the development of its long-term character by USIA.

Such long-term planning will help avoid

the budgetary ups and downs that have occurred in the past.”

Agency action:

The Agency in its long range planning envisions only a slightly expanded budget level. It is thus making a conscious effort to avoid the ups and downs that have occurred in the past. It has been difficult to convince the Bureau of the Budget and Congress that the yearly budget must reflect inflationary trends. This is because it is very difficult to predict on a country-by-country basis the extent of inflation which will occur. New programs to be initiated in fiscal year 1959 include the opening and operation of five new posts and two reading rooms in Africa, one new reading room in the Near East, one new post in the Far East, eight new university student centers and one reading room in Latin America, the addition of Circarama to the Agency's program, and the addition of engineering

and supporting staff for the East Coast radio broadcasting facilities project. Restoration of programs cut in fiscal year 1958 has been on a selective basis—for example, the restoration of the motion picture equipment replacement program to a normal level and the reopening of one post and one reading room in the Far East. The emergency in the Middle East necessitated an increase in operations coverage by the VOA and the Press and Publications Service and brought about additional expenses in the Near East. The Agency requested \$135,000 for fiscal year 1959 representation but received only \$90,000. It will renew its request for \$135,000 for fiscal year 1960. The Director has set aside for his use a contingency fund. This has, to date in fiscal year 1959, been heavily drawn upon because of emergency situations in the Middle and Far East.

EUGENE S. STAPLES
Special Assistant to the Director

APPENDIX 4

NOTES ON MY TRIP TO THE USSR AS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES ELECTRIC POWER GROUP, AUGUST 14–30, 1958

By PHILIP D. REED

The visitation of the Electric Power Group to the USSR was made pursuant to the Cultural and Technical Exchange Agreement entered into in 1957 between the United States and the USSR governments. The group consisted of the following in addition to myself:

Walker L. Cisler, President, The Detroit Edison Company (Group leader)

Harvey E. Bumgardner, The Detroit Edison Company (Chairman, Edison Elec-

tric Institute Committee on Technical Exchange for Overseas Visitors)

James F. Davenport, Executive Vice President, Southern California Edison Company

Don S. Kennedy, President, Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company

Elmer L. Lindseth, President, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company

Gwilym A. Price, Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Electric Corporation

R. G. Rincliffe, President, Philadelphia Electric Company

Joseph L. Singleton, Executive Vice President, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company

Edwin Vennard, Vice President and Managing Director, Edison Electric Institute.

We paid our own expenses but were received, chaperoned, assisted and frequently entertained by the senior personnel of the Ministry of Electric Power Stations, including the head of the Ministry Mr. A. S. Pavlenko.

Purpose of the Trip

The purpose of the visitation was to learn all we could about the electric power systems of Russia and the manufacturing enterprises which build their power generating and transmitting equipment. Our group was made up principally of men concerned with management, but many technical questions were asked and answered. Russia will send a return group to this country some time next year.

Places Visited

Our itinerary was limited to European Russia, although we asked to see both the Ural and Siberian systems. The reasons given for not including these areas in our itinerary was lack of time and, as to Siberia, that power development in that region has not proceeded far enough to be of real interest. As it was, we travelled more than 5,000 miles by automobile, railroad and chartered airplane.

Without going into details, our itinerary included:

(1) Visits to thermal power stations in Moscow, Cherepetz (225 km. from Moscow), and Lugansk, which is in the Ukraine about 1,000 km. from Moscow.

(2) Visits to hydro power stations at Kieubyshev, on the Volga river, 1,100 km. from Moscow; Stalingrad, also on the Volga river, this station being under construction; and Dneiperstroy.

(3) Visit to the 5,000 kw atomic power station at Obnisk, approximately 100 km. from Moscow. The first station to produce commercial power. Its reactor is a conventional one but using graphite as the moderator, enriched uranium as the fuel and pressurized water as the coolant.

(4) Visits to manufacturing plants at Leningrad, where turbines and generators for both steam and hydro stations are built; and at Zaporozhye, in the Ukraine, where large transformers are made.

(5) Visits to substations and switching centers as follows:

Noginsk substation, 60 km. from Moscow, which is receiving 400-kv power from the Kieubyshev hydro station. This voltage is shortly to be increased to 500-kv.

Stalino switching center, approximately 1,000 km. from Moscow, which controls the Stalino region and is tied into but is not the principal center of the Don Basin power system.

Experimental substation and development laboratory in Moscow, receiving 200-kv D.C. power from a generating plant 110 km. distant. This power is converted to A.C. and fed into the Moscow grid.

(6) Visits to the following research and development institutes:

At Obnisk, a fast neutron, plutonium-fueled breeder reactor. Experimental work to date has been on small units. A 50,000-kw experimental breeder power reactor is reported as next step.

Moscow. The All Union Thermal Research Institute, whose main purpose is to increase the efficiency and reliability of existing thermal powerplants.

Dubna, approximately 130 km. from Moscow. The International Institute of Nuclear Research. We saw here what was described as a synchro cyclotron, which has been in place and used for experimental work for a number of years; also what was described as a synchro positron, which is similar to the one completed not long ago at the Radiation Laboratory of the University of California at Berkeley. The Russian equipment is, however, larger and develops ten billion electron volts as compared with the six-plus billion electron volts generated by the Berkeley equipment.

(7) Other technical meetings engaged in by the group included:

A discussion with the State Planning Commission presided over by Mr. Ozerov, head of the Electricity Department of the Commission.

Two meetings, one at the beginning and one at the end of our visit, with Mr. Pavlenko, of the Ministry of Power Stations, which has ultimate responsibility for the supply of electric energy (and in many communities, hot water) to the nation.

(8) Other activities included:

Visits to the Kremlin, the famous Moscow subway, the well-known GUM department store, the Opera (at Stalingrad), a puppet show (Moscow), a circus (Stalino), and the birth-and-burial place of the famous Russian author Leo Tolstoy. We also attended a reception at the United States Embassy, and I had luncheon alone with American Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson.

We also visited the permanent Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in Moscow, which is an exceedingly impressive display constituting more than eighty large buildings.

Finally, Minister Pavlenko gave a luncheon for our group the day after our arrival

and a gala dinner the night before our departure.

Our time was short, seventeen days including the days of our arrival and departure. The Russians were most cooperative about staying on the job. We worked right through both weekends and accomplished about all that was possible in the limited time. The trip had originally been scheduled to last four weeks, but difficulties at the State Department—Foreign Office level—held up first our departure and later our entrance visas.

Questions Answered

So much for a very quick outline of the places we visited and the kind of establishments we saw. In each case there was ample opportunity to visit with and question the Director, Chief Engineer and staff members of the organization visited. They seemed pleased to receive us and answer questions fully and without hesitation. Translation, of course, made communication difficult and slow at times, but we were satisfied that the operating people were under no restraint in responding to our questions.

Russian Capacity and Competence in Electric Power Production

Now let me make a few over-all observations about the USSR's position in electric energy production. Needless to say, they consider it basic to the strength and future growth of their economy.

The total installed capacity in the USSR today is approximately 48 million kilowatts, of which 80 per cent is thermal and 20 per cent hydro. Their program calls for the installation of 62 million additional kw by the end of 1965, which would bring their total capacity to 110 million kw. It seems doubtful that they will reach this goal, but

it would not be unreasonable to expect that they may have 100 million kw of generating capacity by that time. To do this, new or enlarged manufacturing facilities for some or all equipment items will undoubtedly be required. Emphasis will be on thermal rather than hydro power, as indicated by Mr. Khrushchev in his recent address dedicating the Kieubyshev hydro station.

The Russians are competent in the electric power field. The men we met at the top and at the supporting levels in the power stations, the manufacturing plants and the various research and development institutes, clearly knew what they were about and gave every evidence of being on top of their jobs. Their housekeeping may not be as good as ours; they may not build their equipment to quite as tight specifications or achieve quite as high efficiency, but by and large they invest their money in results rather than appearance, in "make-do" rather than perfection. Their talk, I suspect, is a bit on the grandiose side. Big numbers are important to them, and they were at pains to tell us of the much larger units, of the higher temperatures, pressures and voltages that are in the offing for equipment to be produced in the next one, two or three years.

600 MPH Commercial Jets

But though they undoubtedly exaggerate, the Russians are not to be unduly discounted. One needs only to see their Sputniks I, II and III (as we did at the Industrial Exhibition in Moscow), their TU 104 swept-wing two-jet-engine commercial transport (which I flew from Moscow to Amsterdam at an average speed of more than 600 miles per hour), or their 10-billion electron-volt synchro positron (which we saw at their Institute of Nuclear Research), to realize that they have great

scientific, technical and manufacturing competence.

With them, as with all of us, it is a question of relative values, of where and for what their efforts and resources shall be directed.

Russian Gains Percentagewise, Not in Total Capacity

As I have said, their total electric power resources are less than 50 million kw today. This compares with 150 million kw for the United States. I know of no better measure of the economic potential of a country, either for war or peace, than its capacity to produce electric energy. The United States will install within the next three years 53 million kw of new capacity, which is now firmly ordered from the manufacturers. This is more than Russia's total capacity today. How much more we in the United States will install by 1965 we do not know, but it is fair to assume that the long-time historical trend of doubling our capacity every eight to ten years will be maintained. Thus if the Russians double their capacity by 1965 (7½ years), they will be gaining on us slightly percentagewise but falling substantially behind in absolute amount.

Most of Russia's Electric Energy Goes to Heavy Industry and Military Production

But this is not the whole story. The Russians are unquestionably utilizing a far higher fraction of their electric energy supply for heavy industry and military production than we are. Adequate figures are not available, but we were informed that only 16 per cent of Russia's power output goes to domestic consumers and agriculture combined. Here in the United States the figure for domestic consumption alone

is about one-third of our total production. And the Russian government is in a position for years to come to hold down the consumer goods percentage of its total output and concentrate more heavily than we do on the development of basic industries, housing, military production, and products to be used for external economic infiltration.

But taking all of these points into account, I do not see any possibility of Russia overtaking the United States in aggregate economic power within the next century. Unless we literally fall apart, our lead is so massive that to match our over-all capacity to produce just does not appear realistic. This is not, however, to say that Russia does not represent a most dangerous threat to our security and way of life. She does not have to match our total power potential in order to conquer us either by force or by indirect aggression. As I said before, by concentrating her efforts and productive capacity on any given area, military or otherwise, Russia could achieve clear superiority in that chosen sector unless we were quick to adjust our own pattern of power utilization in order to equalize or to counter in some other way that threatened superiority. We must be at pains therefore to keep as well informed as possible on Russia's plans and activities.

Not Socialism, but State Capitalism

May I turn for a moment to the Russian economic system. It is in my judgment a perfect example of state capitalism. There is no suggestion of socialism in the classic sense of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This is a tough capitalistic state in which the government is the sole share owner of all enterprise. The government

is the sole source of investment capital. It determines how the country's resources are to be invested and what and how much is to be produced. As the sole employer it fixes all salaries and wages. As the sole producer it determines the prices at which all goods and services shall be sold. And it decides what fraction of the total production in a given period shall be in the form of consumer goods and services and what fraction shall be in the form of public works, housing, power plants, industrial works, military weapons and supplies, or anything else.

Drive for Better Housing

For example, the Russians are now staging a tremendous drive to provide more and better housing. Millions of people, in Moscow and other cities we visited, are shockingly housed and the government decided a couple of years ago that the time had come to do something about it. As a result, I am told, more new housing has been built in the past year than in the preceding forty years. All of it is large rather ugly apartment buildings, four to six stories high, made essentially of brick-faced prefabricated concrete slabs, which are lifted into place by huge cranes that are so numerous in Moscow, Stalingrad and other cities that one can scarcely look in any direction without seeing eight to twelve of them on different building sites. Indeed, these cranes have come to dominate the skyline save for occasional tall buildings such as Moscow University. As living quarters these apartments would not be acceptable here. There is only one bathroom and one kitchen for each two apartments and these rather important facilities must therefore be shared by the occupants of two apartments. How the government

has been able to provide the perfectly huge amount of construction material required for these jobs, all at the same time, is a mystery to me. But there it unquestionably is, and some program must have had to give way in order to make it possible. But with complete control of the economy, the Russian government can mount these massive efforts in a particular sector of the economy; at what cost to the over-all operation I do not know.

Surprising Prices

As I said a moment ago, pricing of all goods and services is, of course, done by the government. It is arbitrary in the sense that competition is non-existent and prices are set and adjusted to reflect the government's desire at any given time to encourage or discourage the movement of particular products. This results in some surprising prices to say the least. For example, taking ten rubles to the dollar as the rate of exchange (and it is much more realistic than the official four rubles to the dollar), here are a few of the prices prevailing in Moscow this summer:

My single room, with bath, at one of Russia's newest and best hotels, The Ukraine, was \$3.00 per day.

A 17" television set cost \$150, and I am told there are more than two million of them in the Moscow region.

Best opera seats, \$1.50.

Four cents per kw-hour is the domestic price of electric energy. (U.S. average is considerably less than 3 cents.)

A very ordinary ready-made woolen business suit cost \$100.

A pair of leather shoes cost \$20.

One chocolate bar which would be priced in the U.S. at 15¢ or 20¢, cost \$1.80.

A haircut cost 19¢.

Caviar, which was \$4.50 per pound until

June 1, was raised to \$9.00 per pound on that date.

A 40-watt lamp (clear bulb) cost 12½¢. A 75-watt lamp (frosted bulb) cost 35¢.

A double-barreled shotgun of local manufacture was priced at \$180.

Apartment rentals are obviously subsidized. Nikolai Galochkin, Chief of one of the important departments of the Ministry of Power Stations, pays \$20 per month for his apartment including electricity and hot water. There are six in his family.

From the rather fragmentary information we obtained it is difficult to estimate the average income of the Russian industrial worker. At a guess, however, I would say it did not exceed one-third the dollar value of the average income of American industrial workers, and it is probably less.

With so large a fraction of Russian payroll going to workers who are engaged in military or industrial production, or in public works, the comparatively limited supply of consumer goods can be made to go around only by pricing it at levels high enough to absorb this excess purchasing power. The price level could, of course, be substantially lowered were a large fraction of Russia's productive effort devoted to consumer goods and services.

Bureaucratic Monstrosity

The administrative task of running the government is, of course, so colossal as almost to defy imagination.

For many years it was handled by a large number of semi-independent ministries, each assigned a specified function (such as housing, agriculture, military supplies, power stations, heavy machinery, consumer goods, education, finance, etc.), which were responsible for their assigned field nationwide, and decisions on most matters were made in Moscow.

Decentralization in Russia

Recently an attempt has been made to decentralize this huge bureaucratic monstrosity. The country has been divided into 105 Regions, each of which has a ruling body or Economic Council made up of officials in the Region. The number of central ministries has been drastically cut and the Regional Councils are presumably made up of men who represent (though perhaps not officially) the remaining functional ministries in Moscow. The idea is that the great bulk of the questions and problems arising in the field will be dealt with by the appropriate Regional Council and that only the broad national questions will be referred to Moscow for determination. In addition to the reduced number of central ministries, into which the functions of the dissolved ministries have been consolidated, a State Planning Commission has been created which has the status of a separate ministry but is presided over by one of Mr. Khrushchev's two First Deputies (the Deputy for Planning) and therefore has great prestige. Many of the former ministers of now discontinued ministries are now in this State Planning Commission. It, like the other ministries, reports to the Council of Ministers over which Mr. Khrushchev presides and, in fact, it acts as the staff of organization for the Council of Ministers.

Budgets for all ministries and for all 105 Regions for the ensuing year are made up in the third quarter of the preceding year. This is going on now for 1959. The requests of all Regions (supported, by function, by the remaining central ministries) are studied, coordinated, cut back and finally put together in the form of a recommendation by the State Planning Com-

mission (like the U.S. Bureau of the Budget) and submitted to the Council of Ministers for consideration.

Whether this new set-up will work better than the old one remains to be seen. We in the United States think the difficulties of administering our own Federal Government are very great, but they are as child's play compared to the unbelievable complexities that confront the Russian top command. At very best, any administrative machinery the Russians can devise must necessarily be slow, ponderous and inefficient.

Russians Understand Role of Incentives

One point, however, must not be ignored. The Soviet government understands very well the importance of incentives, both economic and personal prestige. It provides them at all levels. Individual pay bonuses are awarded on a monthly basis for individual performance against a pre-set target. There are also bonuses for suggestions just as we have them here. In addition there are group and project bonuses for accomplishment of well-defined objectives embracing time, quantity and quality. Pictures of the best workers are prominently displayed at the plant entrance and elsewhere, and are subject to monthly change. At one of the power plants we visited, a banner was hung on the control platform of the turbine-generator set whose operators had made the best record. Free, twenty-eight-day vacations at resorts on the Black Sea and elsewhere are awarded to outstanding workers and their families. Group and project bonuses are also used to provide better employee recreation and club facilities.

As I have said, the Russian government is acutely conscious of the importance of

worker incentives and has developed them far beyond anything I have seen in this country. These incentives, together with rallies and pep meetings, have accustomed the people to hard work and pride in their accomplishments. On the whole, they appeared to be effective.

Because most over-all plant or project bonuses are based on the profitability of the enterprise, managers and workers alike of these state-owned enterprises are very profit conscious. Indeed, most of the government's income is in the form of profits on these enterprises. Direct taxation is a small fraction, personal income tax being graduated to a maximum of 13 per cent.

No Entrepreneurs

Thus Russia's system of state capitalism provides keen competition between individual workers and groups of workers for better pay, promotion and prestige through superior performance. Russia's system differs from our own form of capitalism in one fundamental respect. What is completely lacking in the Russian system is entrepreneurial incentive and opportunity. There being but one entrepreneur, the state, the urge and opportunity for the individual to venture, to invest, to create new enterprises, is entirely lacking. This means, of course, that entrepreneurial competition is also non-existent.

On the rock of this basic deficiency, I predict, the Russian drive for economic pre-eminence will ultimately founder. The dynamic, kaleidoscopic quality of our kind of capitalism—free competitive enterprise—in which literally millions of management teams are everlastingly searching and researching for knowledge and ideas that will permit them to enter the market place with new products, improved old products and better values, just cannot be matched in the long run by a system which

delegates exclusive responsibility and authority for creative, progressive thinking to one management team for each product line. In any event, this is my firm conviction. Only time will tell whether it is right or wrong.

A Rough, Strong People

Now let me say a word about the Russian country and the people. Russia is, of course, enormous. Even European Russia as compared with other European countries is a tremendous expanse of territory which gives the sense of pioneering and of potential growth comparable to America at the turn of the century.

The Russians are a rough, strong people, ambitious, hard working, ruthless, and independent. They haven't the slightest interest in the niceties of living. They don't press their trousers or care whether they match their coat. They rarely shine their shoes, and oftener than not don't wear a necktie. I didn't see a single smartly dressed man or woman the entire time I was in Russia. This has little or nothing to do with their economic status. It is simply that they attach no importance to it.

This same disregard for the niceties shows up in other ways. They'll put up a beautiful hotel building thirty stories high, and exceedingly impressive on the outside. And then they'll run it like a third class boarding house, with small and inadequate towels, no soap, no stoppers in the wash basin or tub; and with the maid forgetting to make up the room a couple of times a week, the service in the dining room impossibly slow, and the elevator service unreliable to say the least. Outside the hotel they had beautifully laid out flower gardens with the flowers in magnificent bloom, but the lawn surrounding these beds was uncut and the grass had grown ten inches high.

Met half way, the people are friendly

and warm. They laugh easily and have a sense of humor much like our own. Until so met, they are dead-pan.

Perhaps it was the language barrier, or possibly the paradox of their apparently frank and friendly behavior on the one hand and their government's long-standing truculent and thoroughly unreliable conduct toward the free world on the other, but one had difficulty accepting the Russians at anything like face value and not being perhaps over-cynical and suspicious.

No Deep or Growing Unrest

Russia's population is slightly more than 200,000,000. Of this number 97 per cent, or all but approximately 6,000,000, are not members of or identified with the Communist Party. In my judgment, these 197,000,000 non-Communist Party Russians are loyal, home-loving people, who don't like some things about their government (just as we don't about ours) but who are both conscious and proud of the progress that has been made both in the international position of their country and in their own individual economic status. I completely failed to detect, and am satisfied there is no deep or growing unrest or resentment against their government or its leaders.

These people deeply desire peace and are satisfied that no one would benefit from a war between Russia and America. I got this from people of all ages, at all levels, and in all parts of the country we visited. It was the one subject that never failed to come up sooner or later.

If left to themselves these people would, in my opinion, devote much more of their resources to more and better roads, schools, housing, recreational facilities and, of course, to more consumer goods.

In my judgment, world domination and world-wide communism with Moscow the

headquarters is not important to this 97%, but I also believe they would follow their leaders (as the Germans followed Hitler) because they would be deluded into believing such domination possible and would have no other alternative.

They are a people with a mission in the sense that America was sixty years or more ago. They are conscious of the fact that there is much to be done at home in the development of their rich natural resources, and of their own clear incentives to work hard and well.

The Communist Party

The Communist Party and its six million members is, of course, the source of the aggressive, expansionist world-domination movement. Party membership enhances the individual's opportunity for promotion and improved economic status. It requires, however, considerable time attending meetings, rallies, etc., exhorting others, and keeping up to date on Party thinking and the Party line. The membership, although the Party's aims are not centered around improving the lot of the common man, is deliberately spread through all levels of Russian society, many workers being included, and it is not an elite in the intellectual or economic sense. The ultimate goal of world-wide communism, with Moscow the fountainhead, is constantly borne in on all members, as is the incompatibility of communism and capitalism. It is hard to escape the conclusion that their bitter hatred of capitalism is really grounded on fear. They are, perhaps subconsciously, afraid that the capitalistic system will prove stronger, more creative than their own, and it must therefore be destroyed.

Possibilities for Peaceful Coexistence

I see no present prospect of working out an acceptable *modus vivendi* which will

permit us to get along peacefully with the Communist world. Only if and when millions of thinking Russians become convinced (1) that Russia cannot conquer the world or any significant part of it by force or by indirect aggression, and (2) that the free world is prepared to live and let live, is there any hope of reducing our defense expenditures for arms and research through a controlled and inspected international demobilization program.

Need for Cross-Visitation Between U.S. and Russia

No one knows when, if ever, this time will come. But I am sure it will be hastened by encouraging the greatest possible cross-visitation between the people of Russia and the people of the free world. This is only now just beginning with the United States under the exchange arrangement worked out last year with the Russian Government. American Ambassador Thompson told me that 5,000 Americans would visit Russia in 1958, a tremendous increase over any previous year. This is all to the good, but I hope it can be greatly enlarged and that we will do all we can to encourage and facilitate, both through government and private agencies, maximum visitation of our country by the Russians. It makes no difference whether or not they are Party members. If, through visitation and the multiplication resulting from the impact of their observations on their countrymen, a large enough number of people can be persuaded that Russia's dream of world domination is a dangerous myth and that her legitimate objectives of self-development and growth are not threatened by capitalist countries, public opinion will sooner or later influence the Russian government to take a course consistent with that view.

Comments of Russian Officials

At a luncheon in Stalino attended by part of our electric power group, and by perhaps twenty Russians, including Mr. Galochkin of the Ministry of Power Stations and Mr. Pubguyla, Regional Director of the Don Basin power system, I made the following statement:

"Electricity is all important to any country. It is the foundation stone of economic development, and we are proud and grateful to be members of the electrical industry of our country. However, electricity can, like all great forces, be used either for good or for evil, for peaceful purposes or for war. We have met and talked with many of your people on this trip, young, middle-aged and old, and they have emphasized again and again their deep desire for peace. Believe me, we, too, in America want peace earnestly, deeply. But you will agree that we seem to be making very little progress in that direction. At the political level, your government and ours seem unable to reach agreement. Perhaps the answer lies in many of your people and ours, non-political people, getting to know each other better. If it were possible to have, not just dozens, but tens of thousands of your people and ours exchange visits and see and hear for themselves, great good might come from it. I drink, therefore, to greater visitation between our countries and to greater understanding."

Mr. Pubguyla responded to my toast by saying that he was in complete accord with what I had said; that the electrical industry was all-important to progress, and that he and his associates were most eager to see that it was used to create and strengthen rather than to destroy; that the people of his country deeply desired peace. And then he closed by saying:

"The governments of *both* our countries are sensitive to the views of the people. I drink to greater visitation and exchange of views between us at the non-political level."

In Leningrad, the chief engineer of the great turbine works we visited said, in effect, at a similar luncheon:

"Electricity is the foundation of any country's strength and prosperity. But it must be used intelligently. If, instead of devoting so much of our energy to Sputniks and inter-continental ballistic missiles, we gave a larger part to the economic well-being of our country, we would all be better off."

Again and again as we passed from town to town, people gathered wherever we stopped. They would crowd around to stare at us, smile and be photographed, sometimes giving us garden flowers. But always there would be expressed the hope and wish for peace. It was far too universal and spontaneous to be staged.

To be sure, the top political people also kept talking about warm friendship and this being just the beginning of much closer understanding, and their desire for peace. Some of it was hard to take, particularly at the ministerial level. But I repeat, the people of Russia do not want war and, if given the right to decide, would not risk war to enlarge the Soviet's sphere of influence.

Russian Attitude on Defense Production

Nikolai Galochkin, Director of the Department of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Power Stations, and by far the most sophisticated of the officials we spent most of our time with, raised the question with me of America's intentions. He said he believed "the majority" of Americans were against war. I told him *every* Amer-

ican was against war, and that the occasional General who recommended action before we were attacked did so wholly because he was sure a Russian attack sooner or later was inevitable.

Galochkin then said that American business must want to continue war production because of the high profits. I, of course, replied that no American businessman today believes that war or war preparation benefits or is in the interest of business. I also told him that profit on government business is only a fraction of what we receive on ordinary commercial business; also that, although 20 per cent of General Electric's business is defense production, 50 per cent of our best scientific and technical people are required to produce it; that we could much more profitably use this talent on peacetime production.

Mr. Galochkin's final point was that America keeps building her military power in order to force Russia to do likewise and thus divert much of her resources away from economic development. This, of course, I said was completely untrue. I reminded him of our offer to give economic assistance to Russia at the time of the Marshall Plan, and said we are quite prepared to see Russia develop her country as fast and as much as she will. Our sole and only reason for continued defense production is because we believe that if we are not strong Russia will strike.

A Question for Khrushchev?

I asked him why his government refuses to agree to mutual atomic weapon disarmament under a United Nations inspection and control system that assures the agreement is being kept by all parties. He said, with a smile, that he had not been consulted on that matter but that he would report what I had said to Mr. Khrushchev.

APPENDIX 5

REPORT TO THE COMMISSION ON MY TRIP TO THE USSR

By MARK A. MAY

Our party was in the USSR during the month of November 1958. It included three psychologists and two Russian specialists who speak the language and who had been there previously for considerable periods of time.

The trip was sponsored by the Institute for International Social Research at Princeton, New Jersey. The purpose was to get more first hand knowledge of Soviet psychology, to become acquainted with leading psychologists, visit their laboratories, and learn more about the role of psychology in education and industry.

Like all other visitors to the Soviet Union we accumulated many impressions of the people, their standards of living, their educational system, and their attitude toward Americans. This is a report on general impressions. Our report on Soviet psychology is being published in the *American Psychologist*.

We spent nearly two weeks in Moscow; five days in Leningrad; one day in Kiev; four days in Tbilisi; and back to Moscow for three and a half days. We met most of the leading psychologists, visited their laboratories, and were invited to the homes of two for dinner. We were invited to lecture to the psychologists and their students both in Moscow and Leningrad.

In addition to our visits to psychological laboratories we visited a school, two Pioneer Palaces, one psychiatric hospital, and an Institute for child development and research. We also did a little of what tourists

usually do, museums, the theatre, churches, and shopping.

We were not an official exchange delegation. We went as tourists. An English speaking Intourist guide was assigned to us. Usually our visits to laboratories ended around mid-afternoon, at which time we were free to do whatever we wanted to do. This was also true on holidays. During this free time we saw some foreign correspondents, and were invited to the U.S. Embassy on two occasions. We had an hour or more on each occasion with Ambassador Thompson, Richard Davis, and others, of the Embassy. The two Russian speaking members of our group had several conversations with Russians. We also saw and talked with some of the American exchange students both in Moscow and Leningrad.

Our impressions, like those of all visitors to the USSR are based on a limited number of observations. Psychologists, of all people, should avoid generalizing from insufficient data. Generalizations about the Soviet Union are apt to be misleading partly because it is composed of so many different cultures, and of people speaking many different languages. What is true of the Russians proper may not, in some respects, be true of the Ukrainians, or the Georgians, Uzbeks, and others. Furthermore in the cities, the population is composed of government officials and employees, scientists, artists, top writers, dramatists, engineers, technicians, journalists,

teachers, skilled and unskilled laborers, clerks, waiters, cab drivers, janitors, etc. Unless a representative cross section of this hierarchy is interviewed, and after some acquaintance, impressions cannot be generalized. Moreover, many Soviets have learned stock answers to questions by foreigners, especially Americans. One must be sure that he is not getting an echo of the "official" answers rather than the honest opinion of the interviewer.

An observer of American Indians was once said to have reported that "all Indians walk in single file, at least the one I saw did." It is easy for a visitor to the USSR to slip into a generalization such as "all churches are crowded on Sundays," forgetting to add, "at least the one I saw was."

Now for some observations of general interest.

1. *The American Exhibit in Moscow During the Summer of 1959*

Although this exhibit was not officially announced until the middle of November, yet individuals whom we asked about it before this time had heard that it was coming. The occasions for informal questions about what they would like to see were conversations with taxi-cab drivers, in-tourist guides, persons met casually in restaurants, and young people who approached us on the streets to ask for exchanges of coins, pencils, and other trinkets. Small boys asked for chewing gum which is not sold in the Soviet Union.

Most of the individuals whom we asked about the exhibit showed a friendly attitude but were curious about why their opinions were sought. Some were very cautious and non-committal.

The results were about as would be expected. A taxi-cab driver said he would

like to see American cars, especially "Lincolns". A student of engineering said he wanted to see American scientific textbooks. A well educated factory worker was interested in seeing American films. A band leader wanted to know more about American jazz. A young woman wanted to see recent American literature, and American art. Boys on the streets told us they would like to see more examples of American technology. Some of the individuals replied: "How people live; show us everything."

Our conclusion from this is that the exhibit should be constructed for the segments of the population that we wish to interest. If it is an exhibit for all Russians, it should be composed of a little bit of everything about America. Gadgets and hardware should not bulk so large as to exclude materials on education, government, and other misunderstood aspects of American life. Whatever may be decided as to its contents, some arrangements should be made to poll the visitors concerning their impressions.

2. *"Amerika," Do They Read It, and What Are Their Opinions of It?*

We gleaned a few scraps of information confirming the belief that this magazine is widely read, well liked, and that the demand for it exceeds the present available supply. For example, the woman who had charge of the newsstand in one of our hotels told us that her allotment was always sold out immediately. One evening in Leningrad we saw a young Russian and his wife at a table near ours in the dining room reading a copy. We asked him where we could get one. He said that he bought his on the black

market because the newsstands reserve their copies for the "big shots."

These incidents further confirm observations by other Americans on the popularity of Amerika. It is hoped that the agreement with Soviet officials for mutual exchange of magazines can be revised to permit a substantial increase in the number of copies distributed.

We obtained a list of the most widely circulated translations of American books. At the top of the list are Jack London's stories, next are the works by Mark Twain. One of the eight Soviet exchange students at the University of California announced that he expects to do research on the life of Jack London.

3. *Cultural Exchanges and Tourism*

The psychologists with whom we talked were of the unanimous opinion that these exchanges are of supreme importance for the promotion of mutual understandings and world peace. They feel very keenly that, thus far, psychology has been neglected in respect to the exchange of persons, and of publications. We talked with them at length about how these exchanges could be increased. They presented us with a large number of their recent books and articles, and requested that we send them more of ours. One result of our visit was to clear up some misconceptions of each others' psychology.

During the year 1958 an estimated 5,000 Americans visited the USSR. It is expected that there will be many more in 1959 partly because of the American Exhibit in Moscow. We found people in the USSR friendly, hospitable, glad to see and talk with Americans, but cautious in the avoidance of political topics. Many evidences of friendliness were observed not only on the part of psychologists, who

overwhelmed us with hospitality, but also in our occasional contacts with others.

In the dining rooms of intourist hotels we were easily identified by the American flag on our table. Occasionally a Soviet citizen would come up, shake hands, and sit down for a chat. He would ask how we liked Russia, what part of the U.S. we were from and what was the purpose of our visit? One man said we were the first Americans he had ever seen. He had heard we are a friendly and approachable people. In another dining room members of our party were invited to join a group of Soviet citizens at their table. One man told us how much he admired our technical achievements.

The orchestras in the dining rooms of hotels played mostly American jazz. We felt it our patriotic duty to applaud each number. Warm smiles were received in return from the members of the orchestras. Occasionally the leader would come to our table during an intermission to ask questions about America, particularly jazz music.

There were many other expressions of interest in America and of friendliness toward Americans. Many persons with whom we talked expressed a keen desire to visit the U.S.A. Another evidence of the keen interest of students is in learning English. In schools where English is taught, it is chosen by more students than any other foreign language.

Here we encounter an interesting paradox. How can these people feel so friendly toward Americans, and express such a strong desire to know us better, and at the same time believe the propaganda that they are fed, almost daily, that we are their potential enemy, plotting to destroy them with nuclear weapons? Other American visitors to the USSR have also been struck by this baffling paradox.

It may be explained, in part, by the fact that the Soviet citizens have been told over and over that they must "reach and exceed the U.S.A." in industrial and agricultural production and in the arts and sciences. Since the technical achievements of the U.S.A. have been held up as a model, it is not surprising that the admiration for these achievements should spread to a curiosity about, and even an admiration for, the people who produced them. Having been told so many times that their production and standard of living should be equal to that of Americans, and better—it is natural that they would aspire to be like the American people, or better.

A second reason why the Soviet people want to know the American people better is that they have been told by fellow citizens who have visited the U.S.A. that Americans are "good people" from whom Soviets have much to learn, and that American people desire peace as sincerely as they do.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the Soviet people have a genuine fear of another devastating war. Many of them have vivid memories of what happened to their country in World War II. In Leningrad we talked to people who had managed to live through the siege of that city by the Germans during which time one-third of the population was either killed or starved to death. One Sunday we visited an ancient Monastery at Zagorsk near Moscow. In the courtyard we met a peasant woman who said, "Daily we pray and cry for peace."

Their memories of their war experiences, plus their knowledge of the destruction power of modern nuclear weapons, make it very difficult for them to believe that any intelligent and good people could possibly be as war mongering as their

propagandists have accused Americans. Only once did we hear it said that the Soviets want to know Americans better because we are their potential enemy.

The attitude of the Soviet people toward the U.S. Government as they understand it, may be quite different from their friendly attitude toward American people. Without knowing us better it is natural that they would assume that the difference which exists between the government and the people in USSR also exists in the U.S.A.

4. *Broadcasting*

The VOA newscasts in the Soviet languages are systematically jammed in the cities. The English language newscasts are not regularly jammed. They are, however, jammed selectively as illustrated by a newscast that we heard in Moscow. When the name of Pasternak was mentioned, the jamming began but stopped after a minute or two. VOA broadcasts of music are not jammed even when a part of a Soviet Language program. Orchestra leaders and musicians told us they listen to these broadcasts of music and record some of them on tape for their own use.

We met a few people who said that they listen to the VOA English broadcasts. Others said they did not listen but said it in such a way, and with facial expressions, that led us to believe they do listen. When asked what they thought of the programs one man said that the news content is interesting, but he often felt offended by such expressions as "puppet governments," "satellites" and sarcasm such as "worker's paradise." The cultural features of the English broadcasts seem to be least objectionable—and for some listeners the most popular. It would appear, therefore, that broadcasts which satisfy curiosities about

America, and are similar in temper and tone to articles in *Amerika*, are most apt to attract listeners.

The attitude of Soviets toward the VOA and other newscasts from "capitalist" countries may be influenced somewhat by the fact that they have learned to make a sizeable "propaganda discount" of all newscasts and newspapers, including their own, that use excessive language of derogation or praise. The less that news from the outside sounds like propaganda—even if it comes from sources that are believed to have propagandistic motives—the more apt they are to listen to it.

5. *Impressions of General Conditions*

The members of our group who had been to Russia before—one as late as the summer of 1956—were impressed by the increase in consumer goods available and judging by the crowds of buyers in the stores—at prices many people can afford to pay. We were struck by the large number of big apartment houses being constructed in Moscow and in other cities. We were told that since the war housing has been a major need which now has been given a higher priority on the list of new developments. Food seems to be more plentiful as indicated by the fact that we did not see the long queues of people outside food shops which in the past were quite common. An article which Soviet people seem to want most is automobiles.

Although the standard of living, measured by such items as housing, cars, variety of foods and clothing, household appliances, etc. is obviously lower than in the U.S., yet we sensed a feeling on the part of most everyone we met that things are

much better than in the past and will get better in the future. These improvements are attributed in large part to a benevolent attitude of the government toward the people. This feeling is reinforced by the fact that the government provides free, or almost free, education, medical care, old age security, paid vacations, and full employment.

Another change appeared to have occurred since the death of Stalin that has affected popular support for the regime. The people seem to be more relaxed both in appearance and conversation. They behave as though they are less fearful of police surveillance or of making a mistake in word or deed. This relaxation of police controls would seem to indicate that the regime has greater confidence in the loyalty of the people.

One striking bit of evidence of this loyalty is the pride which the Soviets manifest in their accomplishments. The Moscovites took great pride in showing us their artistic subway, their skyscraper University, sports stadium, and agriculture fair buildings and grounds. In the Lenin-grad airport is a big map of the routes of Aeroflot over which is printed in large letters: "We fly higher than all, faster than all, further than all." They are also proud of their scientific achievements in all fields. The psychologists took a great deal of their time out from their work to show us their laboratories and explain to us their research. We were struck by the number of times they referred to having developed something new. Some things, but not all, are indeed new.

These accomplishments in which they take great pride are attributed to the growth of the nation under Socialism (which is another word for Communism). A young Engineer made the following re-

mark to one of our Russian speaking colleagues:

"Under Capitalism, Russia was weak, was under the influence of other nations, was economically poor, a third or fourth rate power. Under Socialism, Russia has become a great power and the great majority of the people here attribute their own greater well being and, above all, the increased prestige of Russia in the world to Socialism. Only a few unimportant people oppose Socialism and they do so for special selfish reasons that are not shared by the overwhelming majority in the country."

When asked what price has been exacted from Soviet citizens in loss of freedom, hardships, sufferings, terror and bloodshed, the reply was that all of this "takes second place to the achievement itself."

When we asked about freedom we were told that there are two kinds of freedom—national and individual. National freedom comes first. So long as the struggle for national freedom continues, each individual must accept his place as a cog in a vast machine which is grinding toward the achievement of an overall plan for the good of all. Individual freedom, they say, is always within limits set by society. The only difference between nations is in the width of these limits. Although the limits in the Soviet Union are admittedly narrower than they are in countries of Western Europe and the U.S.A. yet the citizen who understands and accepts them tends to have a feeling that he has more individual freedom than he really has.

This is illustrated by the limits to the field of psychology. Certain areas of Western psychology are excluded. Among them are intelligence and aptitude testing, projective tests of personality, psycho-

analytic theory and practice, attitude questionnaires, public opinion polls, group dynamics and Watsonian behaviorism, and Gestalt psychology. The inadmissibility of psychological tests is defended on scientific grounds, the others are excluded mainly on ideological grounds of keeping Soviet psychology pure from taints of bourgeois capitalism.

After the foregoing exclusions have been made there remain areas of psychology from which Soviet psychologists may freely choose problems for research.

The lines between freedom and restraint in the Soviet Union are not always sharply drawn. While we were there "theses" on the New Reforms in Education were published. We were told that these reforms would not be officially decreed until the entire matter had been openly discussed. The discussions that we heard about were on the methods to be used for achieving the purposes proclaimed in the "theses." The objectives of the reforms were evidently accepted without question.

The fact that even limited discussions of matters of public interest are permitted indicates that political leaders are less fearful than formerly of public opinion. The time has come, as Adlai Stevenson pointed out in one of his newspaper articles, when "the Soviet Union is a stable power system and not on the brink of internal collapse." This stability is still due, in part, to police control, but also to greater satisfactions with and pride in the achievements of the Communist system.

Although popular support for the regime may be far from 100%, yet it has reached a level where the leaders feel that they can now safely "open the windows toward West" at least a little bit. It would be a mistake to assume that all suspicion and distrust of Westerners have disap-

peared. Intourist guides, no doubt, are required to report with whom American visitors talked and what they said. We noticed that, except for a few short trips in an automobile, two or more of their number were present during our conversations with psychologists and educationists.

We left the Soviet Union with the distinct impression that the Russian people, whom we met, want to be friendly with the American people. They want to know us better and have us know and appreciate them better. Whatever the motivation back of this may be, the fact remains that they are ready and willing to talk to us, especially about scientific and cultural matters.

The capacity for communication is man's greatest gift. It is the foundation of society, science, culture, education and civilization. Much human suffering has resulted from failures in communication.

So let us communicate with the Soviets, at all levels of society. While diplomats and government officials are engaged in high level talks and in exchanging written communications, and while each government is talking, or trying to talk to the people of the other country by radio and press, let more scholars and scientists talk to each other on a person-to-person basis. The potentialities for good far outweigh any harm that could result to either side.

The current exchanges of official delegations, tourists, students, and other persons; the exchange of exhibits, of scientific and cultural books and magazines; open a road, that may be the best road, to the goal which men everywhere are seeking, a rapprochement between the East and the West with a relaxation of the arms race between the USSR and the North Atlantic Alliance.

APPENDIX 6

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BROADCAST ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Television

Ten years ago television was of minor importance in the United States. Today Americans spend more hours with television than with any other communications medium.

The same situation has come about in Great Britain and is not far off in Mexico, Japan, Italy and West Germany. Parenthetically we might note that there is viewing behind the Iron Curtain of programs emanating from Austria and West Germany.

In general the Agency has attempted to take some advantage of television in the

areas where it has been well developed. However, in countries where television is in its early stages, it badly needs to establish and protect a franchise in these communications channels.

The question has been raised whether in doing so it would be competing with private industry. The fact is that there is no danger whatever of undesirable competition with private industry until the medium becomes well developed. As the medium develops the Agency will, of course, take every precaution to avoid duplicating services available through private channels.

However, the Agency should not lose sight of the fact that its output is in competition with propaganda films or material offered by other countries, including both our allies and our adversaries.

The Broadcast Advisory Committee has long advocated that the Agency develop long-range plans to seize and hold the initiative in television.

Under its new leadership, the Agency can now attack the difficulties which have brought about the weaknesses cited by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information in its Thirteenth Report, dated January, 1958.

We believe that such action should include:

(1) Evaluation of the importance of television in the Agency's overall activities in order to provide an independent determination of policy.

(2) Sustained support of the television activity in such tempo and to such extent as the above evaluation may justify in the Agency Director's opinion. Such sustained support should allow for long-range planned growth instead of a "feast or famine" existence.

The Committee approves the decision of Director Allen to separate radio and television into two distinct services.

The Committee believes the present organizational structure for television is an interim plan, and that this structure must remain fluid during the formative stages of the new television service.

The Committee has a strong point of view about future television budgets. The present budget for fiscal year 1959 is \$660,000. There was some indication that the proposed budget for fiscal year 1960 might be of the same order.

We recommend consideration of the budget in these general terms: approxi-

mately 1½ million dollars for acquisitions. The Committee points out that acquisitions should include past as well as current timeless program milestones that have made television great, and that may be deemed appropriate as a minimum for foreign use.

The Committee recommends the consideration of \$500,000 for original program material to be devised in this country, and it recommends a half million dollars for local program production in foreign countries.

It recommends approximately \$250,000 for personnel to implement this plan.

It seems to the Committee that to approach this with less financial scope would negate the agreed-on principle of recognizing television as a separate service with a substantial present as well as a substantial future.

The Committee regrets that circumstances beyond the control of the present USIA Administration caused a delay in the development of television within the Agency's structure. It points up the need for a whole new re-evaluation of television as an instrument of the Agency. In our opinion USIA is not in television now.

Radio: East-West Exchange

According to the agreement, with respect to broadcasting, the United States and USSR will arrange for an exchange of broadcasts on certain specified subjects such as science, technology, sports and also for regular exchanges of programs including recorded music of all types and recorded literary and musical material and from time to time an exchange of broadcasts devoted to discussions of such international political problems as may be agreed upon.

The Committee believes it is safe to as-

sume that practically all broadcast exchanges, live or specially recorded for a particular broadcast, will be arranged privately as a matter of individual program planning and promotion.

The Committee has considered but found unsuitable various available alternatives such as the use of Voice of America facilities and personnel or those of an independent private agency such as the Advertising Council. The Committee therefore recommends that a special Broadcast Exchanges Committee be created, mem-

bers of which would be appointed by appropriate authority on a high level, separate and distinct from the Broadcast Advisory Committee of the Agency.

The Broadcast Exchanges Committee should include representatives of the networks, non-network broadcasters, affiliates, educational broadcasters, advertising agencies and sponsors, union and industry associations, such as the Association of National Advertisers, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the National Association of Broadcasters.

APPENDIX 7

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL INFORMATION

American National Exhibition in Moscow

The Committee recommended that:

1. The concept and execution of the exhibition at Sokolniki Park be of uncompromising quality. This means architectural plans should be improved; the art exhibit should show a cross section of American art emphasizing the freedom of the American artist to paint whatever he pleases; and there should be included both abstract and representational art.

2. The plan of the exhibit be around one central theme, so that all subjects are integrated within this theme and do not appear merely as individual displays of our diversified activities. This theme could be "The Freedom of the American People".

3. A comprehensive catalogue be printed to become a permanent record of the exhibition. This is of particular value in view of the fact that the duration of the exhibit is very short.

4. A presentation program of books and slides on America be carried out to capitalize on the stimulus which this exhibition will generate.

5. A lecture program on American art be conducted during the exhibit. It is important to support art exhibitions with lectures.

6. The budget be increased, especially in view of the shortness of time for planning and executing the exhibition, which will inevitably raise the cost beyond normal.

7. The Committee recommends that it be given the opportunity to participate in an advisory capacity in the planning of the Moscow exhibition and suggests that the three members of the Arts Subcommittee be notified of meetings so that it can be arranged for a member of this Committee to attend.

Exhibits Program

The Committee recommended that:

1. Acknowledgment be given to the facts that Exhibits has grown in scope and importance, that it encompasses and coordinates all visual media, that greater recognition be given in the Agency to Exhibits, which constitutes a medium of communication parallel to the Services of the Agency.

2. A pre-field training course in Exhibit techniques be established for field officers; that the Agency send to the field regular packets of current information on cultural developments in the United States and thereby keep the Cultural Affairs Officer up to date on these developments and that periodic field seminars be organized for Cultural Affairs Officers.

3. Several modern recent histories of American art with proper reproductions should receive top priority for translation and the titles for translation should be recommended by the Fine Arts section of the Exhibits Division of the Information Center Service.

Resolution

The Committee passed a resolution wholeheartedly endorsing the proposal currently under consideration in the Department of State for the establishment of an office for the care and preservation of the works of art which are at present owned by the Department of State or may be acquired in the future. It was recommended that the Director transmit the resolution to the appropriate officials in the Department of State.

Books Program

The Committee, by motion, unanimously concurred in the Agency's decision to use *The Ugly American* in the Informational Media Guaranty program.

The Committee recommended that:

1. The Office of Research and Analysis

(IRI) widen the scope of the regular survey questionnaire on the use of Information Center Service (ICS) materials in the field, to include questions to determine where books of a simple pamphlet nature are needed, what subjects, reading levels, and languages are most suitable in the various priority countries.

2. The survey be expanded to cover wider sources of information including U.S. Information Agency field reports, commercial publishers here and abroad, and UNESCO reports.

3. Pilot books be prepared for a pilot study in Pakistan.

The Committee suggests that Cultural Affairs Officers and Information Center Librarians in various parts of the world further the two-way exchanges of publications by:

1. Assisting in making exchange arrangements with colleges and universities in the United States and reporting on important new publications.

2. Advising foreign dealers, especially the "Farmington Plan" dealers working with the Association of Research Libraries, of the kind of books American libraries are interested in.

3. Making sure that United States Institutions and Universities do not miss important books published in the host country.

Florence Convention

The Department of State has concluded that action on the Florence Convention must be postponed for at least one year following ratification of the Universal Copyright Convention by the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom approved the International Copyright Convention in September 1957. In view of the above, the Committee reaffirms their former endorsement of the Florence Convention and recommendation that the

United States Information Agency take steps to urge its ratification by formally requesting the Department of State to reconsider this agreement with a view toward submitting it to the President for submission to the United States Senate for ratification.

Library Program

The Committee recommended that:

1. As rapidly as budget provisions will permit, an American librarian be placed in charge of every large USIA Library overseas.

2. The position of librarian not be combined with that of Cultural Affairs Officer or any other officer, but be considered a full-time assignment, except in branch libraries which have small collections.

3. The position descriptions for USIA library personnel be revised to stress the broad aspects of the services expected of them and to deemphasize the narrowly technical phases.

4. The position classification scheme for USIA personnel be revised to encourage career librarians to remain in the system, with opportunity for promotion to supervisory and other higher level posts rather than as at present, requiring them to leave the library profession in order to become eligible for the more advanced grades.

. . . In further reference to the need for trained librarians, the Committee would like to point out that during the next two years it will be highly desirable to provide trained American librarians in such places as the following to which the Agency does not today assign such a position:

1. A second librarian in Paris, Germany, Italy and Japan.

2. A roving librarian in Scandinavia and the Benelux countries.

3. A librarian in Vienna, Spain, Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Australia, Hong Kong, Israel, Istanbul, Nigeria, The Sudan and Union of South Africa.

. . . It is the recommendation of the Committee that a vigorous recruitment program be undertaken at once to secure trained American librarians competent to fill these positions.

Music Program

The Committee recommended that:

1. A greater and more continuous effort be made by the Agency to elicit and utilize the reports and findings of musical specialists in all areas as a basis for (a) controlling the effectiveness of present activities, (b) obtaining data for the development of new ideas or the more effective achievement of basic objectives, and (c) providing a groundwork of systematic analysis and planning for the functional use of music in the overseas information and cultural programs.

2. More attention be given to the problems and opportunities of musical interchange with countries and peoples outside of Western Europe, particularly Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East.

3. Particular and concentrated attention be given to the analysis of Soviet attitudes and policies with regard to music, as well as of all phases of musical activity in the Soviet Union and its satellites.

4. Musical scores, as well as books on music, be regularly and increasingly included under the Book Presentation Program of the Information Center Service and that musical scores be included in Overseas Information Libraries. Musicians read scores as others read books, hence the same principle of distribution should apply to both scores and books.

English Teaching Program

The Committee felt that . . . in broad outline the English Teaching Program seems soundly conceived and that in its specific areas it is being carried out as expeditiously as funds and manpower will permit, though often enough this is somewhat short of the ideal.

1. It was reassuring to learn of the existence of an interagency agreement establishing complementary spheres of operation for USIA, the International Educational Exchange Service and the International Cooperation Administration with respect to their English teaching activities. Praiseworthy as this is, however, there still seems to be insufficient communication among the various agencies. Unfortunately no single individual has a complete picture of the English Teaching Program of all these agencies in the various areas of the world, and consequently it is impossible to secure the support and manpower and to achieve the operational coordination which would make for heightened effectiveness.

It is strongly recommended that (1) steps be taken either by this Agency or one of the cooperating agencies, or that foundation aid be secured to make an initial survey of the English teaching activities of these three agencies and any others that are carrying on a large-scale program, and (2) that some means of regular exchange of information be developed . . .

2. Recruitment of teaching personnel is a major problem for all three agencies, particularly if some training in linguistics and the ability to apply it sensibly in the classroom is considered a desideratum. At present only two or three universities in the United States are prepared to give such training, and in none of them are there adequate facilities for observation

and directed teaching. If one or more of the Binational centers could, through an arrangement with a university, develop short-term teaching internships as the final stage of an MA in Teaching English as a Second Language, the caliber of persons in the field would be definitely improved.

It is recommended that the possibility of developing such a program be explored.

3. A prime necessity in building up a corps of trained teachers of English as a second language is that the position should offer opportunity not only for a permanent career but for advancement as well. At present a teacher in a Binational Center may look forward to becoming Director of Courses, but if he is to advance beyond that position, he will no longer be connected with the English teaching activities except in an incidental manner. Recently the post of English Teaching Officer has been created. This was excellently conceived, for it would constitute a third stage in a teaching career—a step more advanced than that of Director of Courses. Last year nine such positions were provided for in the budget, but unfortunately seven of them were lost because they could not be filled. In many ways this was a serious setback to the program.

It is recommended that these positions be reestablished and that an active recruiting effort be made to fill them.

4. It is also painfully evident that the Washington office is short-handed. The people in it are able, but they have too much to do. Additional personnel would make possible a greater amount of guidance to grantees in the way of manuals, digests, bibliographies, etc., and also permit some of the staff to give attention to what now looms as a most important

problem: the dissemination of cultural understanding through the English lessons and teaching materials. This is seldom achieved successfully and systematically in foreign-language classes in this country, and to assure a degree of success in our foreign teaching operations will require a good deal of design and experimentation.

It is recommended that the Washington staff of the English Teaching Branch be increased by at least two persons.

5. Among the most important activities of the Binational centers, and one in which there is excellent cooperation with IES, are the Teachers' Seminars. Improving the effectiveness of one teacher in the school system of a foreign country means increased mastery of English for hundreds of pupils over a period of just a few years. A possible suggestion for a seminar in the European area would be to hold it in England, staffed chiefly by American but also some English personnel. It would have the dual advantage of affording an English-speaking environment and demonstrating the unity rather than the diversity of the English language and the culture of the English-speaking people.

It is recommended that exploratory discussions relative to the feasibility of such a project be undertaken.

6. Although many more text materials are now available than there were five years ago, they are by no means all of the first quality. Materials printed in the United States are almost always too expensive to permit wide use in foreign countries. On the other hand, it is often difficult to prepare and publish satisfactory materials in the field.

Certain types of texts can be worked out more satisfactorily in the United States, either by the Agency or through

one of the publishing houses. It is obvious that only through subsidized publication can textbooks be printed in this country and sold abroad at something less than a prohibitive price. Such arrangements are admittedly difficult, but on the other hand subvention is probably preferable to having text materials prepared on contract, as past experience has demonstrated.

It is recommended that the Agency survey the field to determine which texts are most urgently needed, then decide which of these might most advantageously be written and published in the United States, and finally explore the possibility of getting such materials prepared through a subvention.

Overall Cultural Program

The Committee, by motion, unanimously endorsed the implementation of the cultural program as presented; and endorsed the idea that more should be done to send outstanding Americans overseas together with their products, e.g. the artist be sent with an exhibit of his paintings; and that more distinguished American lecturers should be sent overseas for short periods of time.

The Committee notes that the operation of USIA programs is dependent on expert knowledge about the culture of the United States and of other countries of the world possessed by highly trained scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences. The Agency is dependent upon a small store of experts in these fields for the development and the competence of the officers it must recruit for the conduct of its programs. Since the Department of State is dependent upon similar resources, the Committee recommends that USIA and the Department of State appoint a joint Advisory

Committee to report on the status of human resources in the Humanities and Social Sciences in the United States and to submit recommendations for the consideration of the Director of the Agency and the Secretary of State.

The Committee is of the opinion that certain Agency programs require a known

continuity for a period of at least five years in order to assure completion of the particular programs. The Committee urges the Agency to further this view and take steps to advise the Congress, and the President that it would be desirable to have the Agency's budgetary plans for certain programs considered on a five-year basis.

THE WHITE HOUSE

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS travel is an important element in the development of greater international understanding and thus tends to promote international peace; and

WHEREAS visitors from other lands have traditionally found in the United States a friendly welcome from a people whose primary concern is for peaceful accomplishments in their economic, social, and cultural life; and WHEREAS the citizens of this Nation are desirous of sharing with our world neighbors the pleasure and adventure of visiting our country and of viewing its natural beauties, its cities and villages, and its historic shrines; and

WHEREAS special preparations are being made by both private and public agencies to encourage and facilitate travel to and within the United States during the year 1960:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do proclaim the year 1960 as Visit the United States of America Year; and I request the appropriate officials of the Federal Government and of the several States, Territories, possessions, and municipalities of the United States to cooperate in the preparation for, and observance of, that year.

I also urge business, labor, agricultural, educational, and civic groups, as well as the people of the United States generally, to observe 1960 as Visit the United States of America Year with exhibits, ceremonies, and other appropriate activities designed to forward the purpose of promoting international understanding and world peace.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-sixth day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-third.

[SEAL]

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

September 27, 1958