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## The Unfinished Agenda

### The Fourteenth Report

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U.S. Advisory Commission on  
International Educational  
and Cultural Affairs

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MARCH 31, 1978



**"The Unfinished Agenda -**

The Fourteenth Report-

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U.S. Advisory Commission on  
International Educational  
and Cultural Affairs"

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

*This Fourteenth Report was sent to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives under cover of the following letter from the Chairman of the Commission, Leonard H. Marks.*

In accordance with the requirements of Section 107 of Public Law 87-256, I submit to the Congress, on behalf of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Commission's fourteenth regular report.

Under normal circumstances our letter of transmittal is confined to this simple statement; however, this report is forwarded under special circumstances which we believe justify further comment. The U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs was abolished by the President's Reorganization Plan No. 2, which established the International Communication Agency (ICA) and the complementary U.S. Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs. The enclosed *Fourteenth Report* is, then, the final report to the Congress of our Commission.

Its purpose is therefore different from that of previous annual reports. Instead of simply summarizing the Commission's activities for the past year, we have elected to present herein an unfinished agenda for those involved in the conduct of our country's public diplomacy.

Several of the report's 36 recommendations, which are summarized at the beginning of our report, are directed specifically to the Congress. For example, No. 8 recommends that the Congress act on the Commission's proposal for a Western Hemisphere Center; No. 11 recommends a congressional appropriation for the United Nations University; No. 23 recommends that the Congress call frequently on the Commission for assistance and act promptly on its recommendations.

But our most significant recommendation to the Congress is the more general recommendation No. 1:

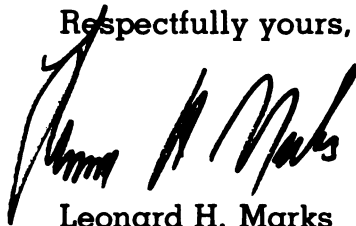
that the Congress and our successor Commission supervise closely the operation of the ICA to assure that educational and cultural exchange programs play a central role in building two-way bridges of understanding between the United States and other peoples of the world. Our Commission has long felt, and so stated in its reports to Congress, that international exchange was an insufficiently appreciated element in the conduct of our foreign affairs; and that this unfortunate fact was reflected in inadequate appropriations for international exchange activities. Now, however, the reorganization of our Government for the conduct of public diplomacy, and the discussions within Congress which led to it, have presented us with an almost unprecedented opportunity to correct the situation. It is our earnest hope that the Congress will use its power and influence to assure that the two-way communication which our exchanges are designed to promote in an increasingly interdependent world becomes a reality, not just a pious platitude.

Although parts of our report are, then, somewhat critical of the Congress's attitude toward international educational and cultural exchange, the Commission is aware of, and grateful for, the support of many individual Senators and Congressmen who have consistently supported the purposes and operations of this Commission and of the larger government community it has attempted to serve. In previous Congresses we note especially the cooperation of the late Senator Hubert Humphrey and of Congressmen Wayne Hays and Thomas E. Morgan. In the present Congress, on the Senate side, Senators Claiborne Pell and Frank Church have met with the Chairman and received the Commission's recommendations on the establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center and on an increased budget for cultural exchange activities. On the House side, Congressman John Slack has regularly invited the Chairman to present his views; Congressman Dante Fascell has met informally with the Chairman to hear the views of the Commission on timely issues; and Congressman Clement Zablocki, in his capacity as

Chairman of the International Relations Committee, has similarly indicated his interest in the work of the Commission in informal meetings with the Chairman. I would be pleased to have you transmit to them this expression of our appreciation for their support.

In conclusion, may I record the great satisfaction my past and present colleagues and I have felt in working with the Congress for 16 years to develop in this country a proper appreciation of the value of international exchanges to our national interests. Serving on the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs has been a privilege. My dedication to the goals of the Commission will not cease with its termination.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Leonard H. Marks', written in a cursive style.

Leonard H. Marks

April 1, 1978

#### THE COMMISSION

Leonard H. Marks, *Chairman*

Eva T. H. Brann

Richard T. Burress

Beryl B. Milburn

Dortch Oldham

William French Smith

William E. Weld, Jr.

*Staff Director*





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# Summary and Recommendations

## Summary

**T**his Fourteenth Report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs is its last, since the Commission was abolished as of April 1, 1978, by President Carter's Reorganization Plan No. 2. The report therefore has three purposes: to outline the Commission's work since submission of its previous annual report (June 30, 1977); to make observations on the work of the Commission throughout its 16-year life; to pass on to its successor suggestions for operation stemming from this Commission's experience. The 36 recommendations prompted by the discussion of these points constitute an "unfinished agenda" for the consideration of Congress and the Executive, and especially for the International Communication Agency (ICA) and the new U.S. Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs, which were established by Reorganization Plan No. 2.

The Commission welcomes the reorganization as "the most significant development since 1953 affecting our exchange programs"; and points out that it becomes operative at a time when there is a new awareness in Government of the value of exchange programs to the long-term interests of the United States. This provides the ICA and the new Advisory Commission an unparalleled opportunity for effective work.

In reporting on its activities in 1977-1978 (chapter II), the Commission notes that it undertook one major

investigation: a study of the coordination of exchange programs conducted by various government agencies. The study led to four specific recommendations.

In chapter III the Commission summarizes, as a part of the "unfinished agenda," six of its proposals of the last 4 years on which no definite action has been taken and makes recommendations on what it believes should now be done about them.

In chapter IV the Commission pays tribute to the work of its predecessors and summarizes the experiences of the Commission from 1963 to 1973 which may have relevance to the work of the new Commission. Among its observations: Members were concerned about the independence of the Commission and sometimes frustrated because its recommendations went unheeded; preserving the integrity of the exchange programs has been a longstanding objective of the Commission; six actions of the Commission which were initiated or contemplated during this period deserve consideration by the new Commission. They are identified among the recommendations below.

In chapter V the Commission concludes its unfinished agenda with a series of 14 recommendations prompted by its own experience. Among its conclusions: Officials of the Executive Branch could utilize more fully the talents represented by Commission members; the Commission should have an independent staff and budget; the relationship between the Commission and the ICA must be one of mutual confidence; creativity and imagination must mark the work of the ICA if it is to succeed.

The 36 specific recommendations resulting from the review of these various phases of the Commission's experience break down into two general categories: subjects which the Commission believes merit investigation by the new Commission; structural and procedural changes which the Commission believes would improve the effectiveness of the new Advisory Commission. They are listed below.

## Recommendations

*On Subjects To Be Investigated* the Commission recommends that:

1. The Congress and the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs supervise closely the operation of the ICA to assure that educational and cultural exchange programs "play a central role in building two-way bridges of understanding" between the United States and other peoples of the world. (Page 7.)

2. The ICA and/or the Advisory Commission devise and promulgate a national policy articulating the various objectives of government exchange programs. (Page 17.)

3. The ICA and the new Advisory Commission consider carefully a study on coordination recently completed by the General Accounting Office. (Page 17.)

4. The Secretary of State instruct our Embassies abroad to coordinate more closely the process of selecting, counseling, recording, and following up on grantees of all exchange programs. (Page 17.)

5. The ICA convene a meeting of representatives of all agencies involved in international exchange/training. (Page 17.)

6. The ICA reinstitute the Informational Media Guaranty Program. (Page 21.)

7. The Congress and the ICA devise a plan for the use of surplus, U.S.-owned foreign currencies to promote international exchange. (Page 22.)

8. The Executive and the Congress take immediate action on this Commission's proposal for the establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center. (Page 24.)

9. All elements of the Government insist upon implementation of the Helsinki agreement. (Page 25.)

10. The following Commission recommendations

for improving U.S. exchanges with the Middle East be carried out by the appropriate elements of the Government: increased emphasis on the teaching of English; establishment of a program of "sabbatical years" in American universities for professors from the Middle East; appropriation of \$60 million from U.S. holdings of Egyptian currency for the support of the American University in Cairo. (Page 26.)

11. The Congress appropriate the \$7.5 million which the President has requested for support of the United Nations University. (Page 29.)

12. The new Advisory Commission continue to produce or sponsor special reports on timely issues in international exchange. (Page 36.)

13. The ICA carry out systematic research on, and evaluation of, its cultural and educational programs. (Page 42.)

14. The Advisory Commission formulate a clear policy on U.S. exchanges with countries (including the People's Republic of China) with whom our relations are limited. (Page 43.)

15. The Commission and the ICA review the Government's English-teaching programs with a view to making them more effective. (Page 44.)

16. The Cultural Presentations program of the United States be expanded. (Page 45.)

17. The Commission address the question of the relationship of private exchange programs to government exchange activities. (Page 50.)

18. The Commission and/or the ICA sponsor a comprehensive study of the education a foreign student receives in the United States. (Page 51.)

19. The Commission recommend a policy on the use of exchanges in sports and the performing arts for political purposes. (Page 52.)

20. The Commission devote at least half its time to the appraisal of on-going programs. (Page 53.)

*On Structures and Procedures* the Commission recommends that:

21. In making appointments to the Commission the President and the Senate emphasize the selection of members who by profession and interest are best qualified to advise on public diplomacy. (Page 55.)

22. Vacancies on the Commission be filled expeditiously, and provisions be made for replacement of members whose record of attendance at meetings indicates that they will not be able to contribute consistently to its work. (Page 55.)

23. The Congress and the Executive Branch call frequently on the Commission for assistance and act promptly on its recommendations. (Page 40.)

24. The new Advisory Commission review periodically action taken on its recommendations by operating elements of the Government. (Page 57.)

25. The Secretary of State meet as occasion demands with the new Advisory Commission. (Page 60.)

26. The Director of ICA ask the Commission soon after it convenes to investigate subjects on which the Agency needs advice, and thereafter regularly solicit the Commission's counsel on matters on which an independent opinion would be valuable. (Page 63.)

27. The Commission meet periodically with representatives of government agencies which conduct significant international exchange/training programs. (Page 61.)

28. The new Commission, though it has no authority over the Board of Foreign Scholarships, be kept informed of its activities. (Page 39.)

29. The Commission be always aware of its responsibility to investigate any pressures or actions which they believe compromise the integrity of exchange programs. (Page 59.)



30. The new Advisory Commission be given its own budget and be authorized to recruit its own staff. (Page 59.)

31. The new Commission continue the publication of a quarterly, like *Exchange*, devoted to stimulating discussion of international exchange. (Page 47.)

32. The reporting requirements of the present Commission not be altered for the new Commission. (Page 56.)

33. Members of the Commission travel more widely at home and abroad than they have done in recent years. (Page 46.)

34. The President appoint promptly a Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the next UNESCO General Conference and vigorously assert U.S. support for the free flow of information. (Page 27.)

35. Commission members attend future General Conferences of UNESCO and other high-level meetings dealing with international cultural affairs. (Page 27.)

36. The Commission, through concrete suggestion of new programs and periodic evaluation of on-going activities, assure that the ICA conduct the country's public diplomacy innovatively, imaginatively, and creatively. (Page 64.)

## I. Introduction

**T**his is the fourteenth regular report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs. It is also its last.

President Carter's Reorganization Plan No. 2 proposed that the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs and the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information be replaced by one body, the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs. The plan was approved by the Congress on December 11, 1977. It became effective on April 1, 1978, as a result of an Executive Order issued by the President. Hence April 1, 1978, marked the terminal date of the life of our Commission.

This situation has inevitably conditioned the form and substance of this final report. The Commission's enabling legislation (P.L. 87-256, the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961) stipulates that the Commission submit to the Congress an annual report of its activities and recommendations. This document fulfills this requirement by outlining its work since July 1, 1977. But the Commission feels that, since this will be the final report of an organization which has had a productive life for almost 16 years, it has additional obligations to:

- Make some observations on the work of the Commission during its long life;
- Pass on to its successor suggestions for its operation which stem from the Commission's long experience.

These two subjects are, therefore, dealt with in the pages that follow.

In one important respect, however, this report follows a well-established precedent. It has become a tradition for the Commission to comment in its annual accounting to the Congress on the general climate for this country's international educational and cultural exchange programs and their place in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy. We do not believe this is the moment to depart from this salutary tradition.

Over the years this Commission has spoken frequently of the "growing interdependence" of the world and has insisted upon the importance of international exchange in the development of the "mutual understanding" so essential to such a world. But its voice is no longer, as we once felt it was, a voice crying in the wilderness. On the contrary, there has been in recent years so much talk about interdependence and mutual understanding, that these words risk becoming pious platitudes, about as likely to stir controversy—or action—as sin and motherhood.

For this reason, the Commission wishes in this final report to reiterate in the strongest possible terms its continuing conviction that now, more than ever before, this country must rely upon international educational and cultural exchange to provide foreign audiences with accurate perceptions of the United States, and to provide American audiences with accurate perceptions of other nations.

In the first years of the 20th century, "splendid isolationism" seemed to most Americans a sound basis for a viable foreign policy. World War II put a sudden and unhappy end to this illusion. In the years immediately following the war, America's unprecedented military and economic power lulled many of us into the smug belief that we could create a pax Americana simply by "telling America's story to the world." That dream, too, was shattered by events. Other countries grew in power and influence and became disinclined to accept our bland assumption that the United States had all the answers. Gone now are the days of the Marshall Plan, when European newspapers readily accepted press handouts from American sources. Gone are the

days of the Truman Doctrine, when a Greek radio or television station felt obliged to air canned programs on the United States. Gone are the days when citizens of developing countries avidly snapped up subsidized translations of American books, flocked into USIS libraries, or crowded into theatres as they once did. As the societies of the world have evolved, it has been made abundantly clear that this now is a genuinely interdependent world; that common problems call for joint solutions; and that the exchange of ideas cuts two ways—not one.

President Carter neatly summarized the altered circumstances of the world and their implications for U.S. foreign policy in his commencement address at Notre Dame University, May 22, 1977:

It is a new world, but America should not fear it. It is a new world, and we should help shape it. It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign policy . . . We cannot make this kind of policy by manipulation. Our policy must be open; it must be candid; it must be one of constructive global involvement . . .

The use of exchanges as a tool of foreign policy cannot be called "new." It has been used by the United States to some extent for 40 years; and indeed previous Presidents have acknowledged its worth. In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Commission on December 18, 1976, (Appendix D, the *Thirteenth Report of the Advisory Commission*), President Ford wrote, "International educational and cultural exchange programs have played an important role in our relations with other countries." President Eisenhower, looking back on his presidency in an article in the *Reader's Digest*, regretted that he had underestimated the value of exchange programs and noted the anomaly that the cost of one bomber exceeded the total appropriation for U.S. exchange programs. President Johnson assured the Chairman of our Commission, Leonard H. Marks, (then Director of USIA) that he shared these views and regretted that the Viet-Nam war prevented him from focusing on the problem.

What is different and significant in President

Carter's statement is the recognition of the importance of exchanges to foreign policy; for giving increased emphasis to international educational and cultural exchange is, we contend, one of the most obvious ways to achieve the open, candid, globally involved policy which the President advocates. The Commission therefore notes with satisfaction what appears to be a new awareness on the part of the Congress, the Administration, and the public that exchanges can help us to keep open channels of communication with other countries, enabling us to talk directly to other peoples, to state our views and listen to theirs, to avoid misunderstandings—in short, to serve our long-term interests.

Last June our *Thirteenth Report* noted that:

We feel encouraged to believe that the importance of "public diplomacy," of which international exchange is an important part, is gaining the recognition it deserves in our foreign policy. We do not believe that this is a partisan development attributable solely to a change in Administrations; and yet it is true that the Administration appears ready to breathe new life into the exchange program . . .

Subsequent events have justified our cautious optimism. The number of foreign students coming to the United States has grown steadily. A consortium of leading associations in U.S. higher education has undertaken to identify positions which colleges and universities all over the world should be taking to meet the needs of an interdependent community of nations. A report of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities endorses "educating students for a highly multicultural and interdependent world as one of the top priorities of U.S. higher education."

Our Government has reflected the attitude of the private sector. The first recommendation of the Commission's previous report was that the Congress appropriate as a minimum for the exchange program the \$70.5 million authorized by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), as opposed to the fiscal year 1977 appropriation of \$59 million. Congress did appropriate the requested amount, thus encouraging the State Department to ask for \$74,750,000 for fiscal year 1979.

The President's personal support of the Friendship Force led to several massive, well-publicized, people-to-people exchanges. The House Subcommittee on International Operations wrote to the President after 10 days of hearings on Reorganization Plan No. 2, "The key to effective use of our public diplomacy resources is an awareness of the utility of these resources and a willingness to use them to further policy objectives."

This statement confirms our belief that Reorganization Plan No. 2 is the most significant development since 1953 affecting our exchange programs. It therefore deserves special attention in this report. Although the plan dealt specifically only with the management of a certain segment of the Government's exchange and information programs, the discussions which preceded and succeeded the President's recommendation on the reorganization focused on the purposes and principles of educational and cultural exchange more public and private attention than the subjects have probably ever before received in this country.

In the introduction to its *Thirteenth Report*, the Commission noted the impetus which its recommendation had given to a thorough study of our Government's handling of its international information, educational and cultural programs, and summarized the actions which its initiatives had precipitated. This section of the report concluded: "It is therefore reasonable to expect that by the end of this year our Government will be better organized to exploit the possibilities of public diplomacy."

That expectation came close to realization. On October 11, 1977, President Carter sent Reorganization Plan No. 2 to the Congress and released it to the public. Almost immediately committees of the House and Senate began hearings on it. The Chairman of the Commission contributed to these in a letter addressed to Senator Ribicoff, Chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. Simultaneously, many private organizations (principally from the academic community) made known their views. The hearings and the interventions of the academic community addressed

basic questions of the role of international exchange in foreign affairs, as well as the structuring of Government to manage them. Paramount among these was one which particularly concerned this Commission: how to obtain genuine coordination of our information and cultural activities while at the same time retaining the integrity of the exchange programs.

As a result of these public and private observations, the President made several amendments to his proposal, and Reorganization Plan No. 2 was approved by the Congress on December 11, 1977. It established a new agency, the International Communication Agency (ICA), which "will have two distinct but related goals: to tell the world about our society and policies; . . . to tell ourselves about the world . . . The aim of this reorganization, therefore, is a more effective dialogue among peoples of the earth."

An analysis of the plan is not pertinent to our interests here, and we have dwelt this long on it only to support our thesis that the time is ripe for the United States to, at long last, assure that international educational and cultural exchange is fully recognized as an essential element in the determination and implementation of U.S. foreign policy—and is utilized accordingly. Thanks largely to Reorganization Plan No. 2, influential members of Congress and the Executive Branch are alert as never before to the possibilities; and an agency has been established which has the potential to conduct exchange programs with maximum effectiveness.

In short, we tend to think that exchange programs between this and other countries of the world have come of age. What we now need to do is to assure that the interchange of scholars and scholarly materials which takes place within our borders is carried out internationally. This would, we firmly believe, lead to a more mature relationship between the United States and other countries; one in which human rights and a greater awareness of the need for individuals to be genuinely free to move and speak as they wish would be generally accepted.

These thoughts lead us to the first, and most significant, recommendation of this report. *We recommend that the Congress and our successor Advisory Commission supervise closely over the next year the operations of the newly established International Communication Agency to make certain that the international educational and cultural programs for which it is responsible do indeed—as Reorganization Plan No. 2 projects—“play a central role in building 2-way bridges of understanding between our people and other peoples of the world.”*





## II. The Commission, 1977–1978

**U**ncertainties surrounding the future of the Commission obviously affected its activities, as well as this report.

For over a year—and indeed even before the new Administration was in place—it was reported that President Carter would move swiftly to implement his announced intention to reorganize elements of the Executive Branch. A logical place for him to begin seemed to be in the area of public diplomacy, for a number of proposals, including the Commission-sponsored study, *International Information, Education and Cultural Relations: Recommendations for the Future*, had already been prepared and awaited his action. The Commission had specifically recommended in its earlier reports that, if a reorganization was effected, both the Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Advisory Commission on Information be abolished and a new 7-member Commission be created for the reorganized activity. Accordingly, our Commission began as early as last February discussing what it could usefully do during the remainder of a life which appeared to be limited.

However, it soon became apparent that the Commission would be retained for some months. As we reported in our *Thirteenth Report*, a survey of existing advisory bodies, with a view to elimination of those which no longer served a useful purpose, was conducted by the Office of Management and Budget during the first months of 1977. On the basis of this study, the President determined that the Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs should be preserved pending his final recommendation on the reorganization of the agencies handling international

information and educational/cultural affairs. By September it was apparent that the expected Reorganization Plan No. 2 would not, given the lead time required for preparation, approval by Congress, and planning for implementation, become operative until April 1, 1978.

The Commission thus foresaw a life expectancy of 7 months. During this time it felt it should not abdicate its mandated responsibilities. It therefore decided to continue activities, but not to embark upon any new projects which it could not complete by April 1, 1978. The effect of this decision on the Commission and its work is summarized in the following paragraphs.

## Commission Membership

Throughout this reporting period the Commission had two unfilled vacancies: those caused by the resignation of Mr. Leo Cherne on March 15, 1976, and of Mr. James Leach on December 30, 1976. While still technically a member throughout the period covered by this report, Mrs. Rita Hauser attended no meetings, feeling it would be inappropriate for her to do so since she had been informed by the President of his intention to name her to another government advisory body. The membership, for all practical purposes, was therefore limited to the six signatories of this report.

## Meetings

The Commission met three times between July 1, 1977, and March 31, 1978. Its schedule of meetings and the principal agenda items were:

- September 26, 1977: A report on the CSCE Preparatory Conference in Belgrade; discussion of the interrelationship of the exchange programs of State, AID, HEW, and USIA (see coordination of international educational and cultural exchange

programs, below); report on the Chairman's visit to UNESCO; reorganization of CU and USIA.

- December 9, 1977: Reports by Leo Albert, President of Prentice-Hall International, on his visits to the People's Republic of China and to the Moscow Book Fair; coordination of international educational and cultural exchange programs; Reorganization Plan No. 2 and its effect on the Commission.
- February 27, 1978: The Commission's final report.

## Activities of Members and Staff

In view of the Commission's self-imposed restrictions stemming from Reorganization Plan No. 2, it determined not to undertake projects involving extensive travel. Nevertheless, the Chairman continued, as circumstances allowed—and without expense to the Government—to present the Commission's views on subjects of concern.

In September, during a private trip to Europe, he met with UNESCO officials in Paris; and in March 1978 he met again with the Director-General and the U.S. Permanent Representative to outline the Commission's position on the free flow of information.

He wrote for the *Sunday Sun* of Baltimore an article entitled "Keeping the Spirit of Helsinki Alive in Belgrade." The *Sun* carried it on October 9, 1977.

From October 18 to 21, he met in Santo Domingo with the Association of American Publishers to discuss world press freedom.

On October 30 he spoke before the World Press Forum in Stamford, Connecticut, on the Human Rights Provisions of the Helsinki Declaration.

On October 31 he addressed to Senator Ribicoff and the Government Affairs Committee the letter referred to in the introduction to this report giving his views on Reorganization Plan No. 2.

On November 22 he proposed in a speech at Palm

Beach, Florida, that the United States create a Middle East Foundation which would utilize surplus U.S.-owned Egyptian currency to promote exchanges between Israel and the Arab nations. Mr. Marks subsequently sent it to President Carter. (See page 20.)

In December he met with Congressman Paul Simon, Congressman Dante Fascell, and USIA Director John Reinhardt to discuss the use of surplus currencies to promote exchanges with India, Egypt, and Pakistan.

The Commission regrets that circumstances forced curtailment of the travel of its members and staff; yet the experience has been instructive. We return to it in our suggestions for our successor Commission in Chapter IV.

## Exchange Magazine

Publication of *International Educational and Cultural Exchange* (more commonly known as *Exchange*) was the one element of the Commission's activities which was unaffected by the uncertainties surrounding "reorganization." Three numbers have been released since our last report.

The Summer 1977 number reflected *Exchange's* recent policy to build some numbers around a "core" theme—this time the role of sports in international exchange. Shortly after its appearance, the recently established Fulbright Alumni Association opened a membership drive, and the president of the association asked the Commission if he might offer a subscription to *Exchange* as an inducement to join. The Commission agreed to send the magazine regularly to the first 1,000 members who requested it. This quota will, we believe, be reached shortly.

The Fall 1977 number implemented our decision to devote an occasional issue entirely to one general topic. It dealt with exchanges between the United States and Latin America, a subject of immediate interest because of the Panama Canal negotiations and the Commission's own recommendation that Congress

begin hearings on the creation of a "Western Hemisphere Center." The experiment drew expressions of approval from many sources.

The Winter 1978 issue marked yet another departure from custom. In its most ambitious effort to date (52 pages), the number examined in 12 articles and features the role of the communications media in the international exchange of ideas. Among the impressive list of contributors to it were: the Commission Chairman, in private life a distinguished communications lawyer; John Richardson, former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs; Jack Valenti, President of the Motion Picture Association of America; Clayton Kirkpatrick, Editor of the *Chicago Tribune*; Robert Baensch, Vice President and Director of the International Department at Harper & Row, Publishers; and John Reinhardt, Director-elect of the new International Communication Agency. The number stimulated many requests for copies and many acknowledgements of the value of such an issue. To meet the demand for copies the Commission authorized the printing of an additional 1,000.

## Coordination of Government Exchange Programs

Of several important subjects which the Commission proposed to study before its agenda was revised by the reorganization, only one was of such dimensions that the Commission felt it could be pursued with the hope of achieving definite results by April 1. This was an examination into the coordination of the exchange programs conducted by various government agencies: Is coordination adequate? If not, is greater coordination feasible—or even desirable?

The files of the Commission yielded a good deal of interesting—and somewhat troubling—information on the subject. For example:

1. There are at least 25 government agencies

operating international exchange or training programs. These range all the way from Department of Defense programs costing over \$200 million a year, to an exchange visitor program of the Library of Congress "whereby a limited number of qualified foreign librarians are able to work at the Library of Congress for a period not to exceed one year."

2. There is not, and there never has been, a central clearinghouse of information on all these programs.

3. Coordination of the various programs has been a concern of the Government for 20 years. Various attempts to effect it have been undertaken: e.g., through an Interagency Council and later through an Undersecretaries Committee; but no effort has been completely or permanently successful. The Commission therefore devoted the major portion of its last two substantive meetings to a wide-ranging discussion of the coordination of international exchange/training programs both at home and abroad. The meetings were held in Washington on September 26 and December 9, 1977, and were attended by an impressive array of invited guests representing the following agencies: the Department of State, the Department of Defense, AID, USIA, HEW (including the Office of Education), the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the General Accounting Office. In addition, two former Ambassadors, John Jova and William Macomber, accepted the Commission's invitation to participate.

The first of the two meetings yielded a fund of facts and opinion on the programs which had the most in common—those of State, USIA, AID, and HEW (including the Office of Education). But few conclusions were drawn from them. For this reason, the Commission felt it would be useful to hold a second meeting on the subject.

The direction of this second meeting was set by an unexpected fact that emerged from the first session: the General Accounting Office (GAO), deeply involved in matters concerning public diplomacy as a result of a

report it had prepared for the Congress on reorganization, had on its own initiative begun an in-depth study of exactly the subject with which the Commission was concerned. Its suggestion to the Commission to convene a second meeting accorded with the Commission's own intentions, and the Commission was pleased to develop an agenda designed to provide answers to seven specific questions concerning coordination to which the GAO sought answers. Following the meeting the director of the study wrote to the Chairman:

The two meetings your Advisory Commission held on interagency coordination of U.S. exchange and training programs contributed some extremely valuable insights and perspectives on a complex subject and have proved uncommonly helpful to me in pursuing our current study.

It is impossible in this report for us to list the questions raised at these meetings or summarize the responses they prompted. A full account can be found in the minutes of the meetings. We believe, however, that the principal points of consensus or disagreement should be outlined here, for they have conditioned our final recommendations on the subject.

1. There was a difference of views on whether greater coordination of programs was desirable, some witnesses suggesting that more coordination would homogenize programs and dilute the specialized character of some; however, it was generally agreed that the question deserved further study along the lines defined by the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, William K. Hitchcock, who suggested:

The legitimate objective of coordination is to take advantage of the possibilities of all programs to promote enhanced 2-way perception, without at the same time distorting the essential purpose of an individual program.

This strikes us as a reasonable objective.

2. As noted above, no central clearinghouse, or data-bank, exists to store information on all government grantees. On the surface, the establishment of



such a data-bank would appear to be a logical minimum to be accomplished in coordination of exchange programs. Yet, a number of participants in our discussions, including members of the Commission, questioned the efficacy of such a move on the grounds that: it would establish another "layer of bureaucracy" in the management of programs; it might run afoul of the new laws on individual privacy; it would be too costly to establish in relation to the benefits it would produce. Others, however, were equally convinced that the proposal had merit.

3. There was unanimous agreement that foreign grantees of all agencies should be given wide exposure to the life, culture, and values of the United States. On the whole this is being well done, but greater cooperation among agencies—both in Washington and at our posts abroad—could result in improved, and possibly more economical, programming.

4. Coordination of the selection, counseling, and followup of grantees of all agencies at our Embassies abroad is generally rather informal and only moderately effective. It could be improved by a greater utilization of all relevant elements of the U.S. Embassies, especially in the field follow-up.

The recommendations which we were prepared to make as a result of these observations were unexpectedly affected by Reorganization Plan No. 2. The President's letter transmitting the plan to the Congress stated:

The Agency [ICA] will coordinate the international information, educational, cultural and exchange programs conducted by the U.S. Government and will be a focal point for private U.S. international exchange programs.

In February officials working on the structure of the new agency included in it an office of "U.S. Exchanges Policy and Coordination" designed to help discharge this Presidential mandate.

We are pleased that a problem which the Commission addressed in some depth has now engaged the

serious attention of the Administration; and we approve the steps taken by the President and the ICA to resolve it. At the same time, we recognize that the ICA is confronting a perennial, and heretofore insoluble, problem, and that its officers have had limited experience in attempting to deal with it. In fact, it is possible that the need for complete coordination is not as great as we had assumed, and that different arrangements would produce better results. We therefore believe that the Commission's investigation may suggest elements of a permanent solution. We recommend that:

1. *The ICA seize the occasion offered it by Reorganization Plan No. 2 to devise and promulgate a national policy articulating the various objectives for all government exchange programs. If the ICA does not promptly prepare such a statement, we recommend that the Advisory Commission do so and press for its adoption.* Determination of such a policy will go a long way toward resolving some of the problems inherent in a situation where 25 government agencies operate 25 independent programs;

2. *The ICA and the Advisory Commission consider carefully the GAO study on coordination when it is concluded.* This study gives special attention to the forms and degree of coordination which are desirable and feasible, and the question of the establishment of a centralized data-bank. Its recommendations may have a profound influence on the ICA's future actions in this field;

3. *As an immediate step, the Secretary of State instruct our Embassies abroad to coordinate more closely the processes of selecting, counseling, recording, and following up on grantees of all exchange programs;*

4. *Pending final disposition of the entire question, the ICA convene a meeting of representatives of all agencies involved in international exchange/training, at which information is exchanged, and possible areas of cooperation are defined.*



### III. Unfinished Business, 1974–1978

**I**n compliance with its mandate to submit to the Congress an annual report and "such other reports as they deem appropriate," the Commission has, during the last 3 years, prepared five printed reports, plus a large number of resolutions, letters, and statements on individual topics relating to aspects of international educational and cultural affairs. Each of these contained suggestions or recommendations for action by the Congress or the Executive Branch on matters which the Commission felt were of sufficient import to warrant special attention. Some of its recommendations were put into effect by the State Department. Others were implemented because an appropriate operational element of the bureaucracy arrived independently at conclusions similar to those of the Commission. But unfortunately a large number of the Commission's recommendations passed unnoticed. We record below those which we believe are most worth pursuing, offering them as part of an "unfinished agenda" for the Congress, the Executive Branch, and our successor Commission.

#### Use of Surplus Foreign Currencies

This report has already alluded briefly to the possible use of surplus American-owned Egyptian pounds to promote international exchange in the Middle East (see page 12). This is just one of three proposals which the Commission has made over the years in this field. We summarize them here.

1. The proposal sent to President Carter by Chairman Marks on December 22, 1977, (page 12). This subject was also touched upon in a report on a visit to the Middle East, which the Chairman made with Commissioner William French Smith. They reported on their return (in *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East*, Executive Communication 1088, printed for the use of the House Committee on International Relations, June 2, 1977) that opportunities for effective use of exchanges in the area were great, and that foreign currencies were available to the United States to promote them. A year later, as Arab-Israeli negotiations were coming to a head, it occurred to the Chairman that these monies could profitably be used to generate improved understanding between Israel and the Arab nations by encouraging an exchange of persons between the two sides of the conflict. He recommended the creation of a Middle East Foundation to promote this objective. The bulk of its funding would come from the \$150 million in surplus Egyptian currencies owned by this country, but participating nations would also contribute. The Commission subsequently endorsed the recommendation.

2. The second proposal is closely related to the first and also had its roots in the Marks/Smith trip to the Middle East. It is that surplus Indian, Egyptian, and possibly Pakistani, currencies be used to expand cultural and educational exchanges between those countries and the United States. The Chairman discussed the idea with Congressman Paul Simon, Congressman Dante Fascell, the Director-designate of the ICA, and members of their respective staffs. They noted particularly the value of such a program in increasing the woefully insufficient knowledge of Americans about countries of growing interest to the United States; and they felt that it would be far better to use the available foreign currencies in this productive way, rather than allowing them to accumulate indefinitely. They expressed the opinion that the program could be set in

motion without the passage of new legislation, and that it could be operated through existing Joint Commissions. Both Congressmen offered to look into the modalities for establishing the exchanges. In late February Congressman Simon strongly supported the proposal in testimony before the House Subcommittee on International Operations. In so doing Mr. Simon acknowledged the Commission's recommendation on the subject. The Commission strongly urges that the Executive Branch cooperate with them fully to assure that the project is realized within the next fiscal year.

3. The third proposal has an even longer history, dating from the Marks/Smith visit to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in August 1975. On their return they advocated, as a U.S. contribution to fulfillment of the Helsinki agreement, the reinstatement of the Informational Media Guaranty (IMG) Program: a program formerly operated by USIA which, in essence, allows Eastern European and other soft currency countries to purchase American books, publications, films, etc., with their own monies (see Commission's *Thirteenth Report*, and the Marks/Smith report on *The Effects of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Cultural Relations of the United States and Eastern Europe*, Executive Communication 2776, printed for the House Committee on International Relations, April 1976). The proposal was subsequently endorsed by the Government Advisory Committee on International Book and Library Programs and by Congress's Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We believe no new legislation is required to reinstate the IMG Program. *We therefore recommend that funds to finance it be appropriated by the next Congress, and that the ICA be authorized to revive and operate such a program.*

The concept of using our surplus foreign currencies to support international exchange is, then, not new, nor is it a brainchild of the Commission. The precedent for their use in this way was established by the enormously successful Fulbright program. It was extended in the 1960's to the Informational Media Guaranty Program and later to the activities of various

Joint Commissions. In 1969 the Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs sponsored a study, *The Use of U.S.-Owned Excess Foreign Currencies*, by Professor Byron W. Brown. In forwarding this to the Speaker of the House, the Commission wrote:

The Commission sends forward this report for the consideration of the Congress because it believes the issues raised therein deserve the widest discussion within the Government and the educational community.

The holdings of so-called excess foreign currencies by the Government have long been considered a national problem . . .

The Commission believes that this report points the way toward an escape from the morass of confusion and inertia which has characterized our posture in this field. The Commission takes particular pleasure in the fact that Professor Brown's proposals provide a sound basis for an expansion of our educational and cultural programs without damage to the U.S. balance-of-payments position. Indeed, implementation of Professor Brown's proposals would contribute immeasurably to our continuing effort to protect and strengthen the dollar in international economy.

In spite of Professor Brown's clear-cut recommendation that these currencies be used to expand international educational and cultural activities, and in spite of the evidence which points to the effectiveness of their use for this purpose, the U.S. Government has apparently failed for 15 years to devise any new, imaginative ways to put them to work in the national interest in this vital sphere of activity. In fact, the history of IMG suggests that the opposite is the case.

*We therefore recommend that the Congress and the ICA, working together, devise a viable plan for the use of surplus U.S.-owned foreign currencies to promote international exchange, and that the Congress appropriate funds to implement the plan. We specifically recommend that consideration be given in the plan to using foreign currencies to: 1) encourage exchanges between Israel and the Arab nations; 2) expand exchanges between the United States and India, Egypt, and Pakistan; 3) reinstitute the Informational Media Guaranty Program.*

## Creation of a Western Hemisphere Center

For 25 years or more U.S. relations with Latin America have not received the sustained attention we believe should have been given to this important area. Each new Administration has come into power with the high resolve to correct the situation. Private organizations have periodically written learned treatises on what should be done. Government agencies, including this Commission, have examined various aspects of the relationship and made suggestions on how they may be improved. And yet our association with our closest neighbors always seems to leave something to be desired in terms of political, economic, or cultural relations.

The Commission took cognizance of this situation several years ago when it undertook a protracted study to determine whether the creation of a Western Hemisphere Center, patterned on the East-West Center in Honolulu, might contribute to improved North-South relations. The study included a meeting of the Commission with Mexican authorities in Mexico City, a visit to five Latin American countries by Commissioner Beryl Milburn, consultations with academic authorities on Latin America, and a series of 12 Commission meetings at which the views of government and private specialists on U.S.-Latin American relations were heard and examined.

These various exercises led to concrete Commission action. On June 13, 1977, it sent to the International Relations Committee of the House and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate a "Recommendation for the Establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center," whose basic purpose would be

to provide a site (or sites) where scholars, officials, and leaders from Western Hemisphere nations can meet, communicate, coordinate activities, and, where appropriate, work together toward the solution of common problems.

Among the conditions which the Commission believed were essential for the success of such a center was



that it be associated with a major research center in the United States, with subsidiary centers elsewhere in the Hemisphere if this appears on further study to be desirable.

Both committee chairmen acknowledged receipt of the recommendation and informed Mr. Marks that hearings on the proposal would be held when their calendars permitted. Chairman Dante Fascell of the House subcommittee was particularly receptive. The Commission has also received numerous expressions of interest in the Western Hemisphere Center from the academic community. What appears to be lacking to make the center a reality is strong support from the Department of State and the President, of the kind given to the East-West Center by President Lyndon Johnson. Such support would stimulate the action in Congress which is clearly required to bring this important subject to a head.

The Commission remains firm in its belief that a Western Hemisphere Center can play a salutary role in the development of cordial U.S. relations with Latin America. It believes further that just at this time, when the Panama Canal treaties are being widely discussed, a U.S. initiative to create a Western Hemisphere Center would be a small but valuable illustration to our Latin American neighbors of the genuine desire of the United States to improve hemispheric relations. *We therefore recommend that the Executive urge the congressional committees concerned with international affairs to proceed immediately with thorough hearings on the Commission's proposal for a Western Hemisphere Center.*

## Implementation of the Helsinki Agreement

The Commission has been concerned since 1974 with the possible results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and generally hopeful that it would lead to improved understanding between East and West. The Chairman expressed the views of the Commission in the article referred to above (page 11),

which was carried by the Baltimore's *Sunday Sun* on October 9, 1977, just as the follow-up conference convened in Belgrade:

. . . It is a good time to ask whether the agreement has served any useful purpose, and also whether the Belgrade review can have any positive results.

I think that, on balance, the answer to both questions is yes—if the American public does not expect too much. If we are looking for a major change in Soviet policy, the talks will be rated a failure. If our objective is to advance the goals of Basket III ["Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields"], it seems that the conference may serve as a small but important step toward better understanding between East and West.

The Commission is pleased that the Congress and the Administration have recognized the potential value to U.S. foreign relations of the Helsinki agreement and are continuing to take it seriously. In line with an early Commission recommendation, the State Department has projected an increase in exchanges with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; and the Congressional Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe has endorsed many of the Commission's earlier recommendations.

One of these, the establishment of an Informational Media Guaranty Program with Eastern Europe, we have already reiterated in this report under our discussion of the use of foreign currencies to develop and expand international educational and cultural exchanges (page 21). In the light of these circumstances, our recommendation here is a general one. *We recommend that all elements of the Government, including our successor Commission, continue to emphasize the implementation of the Helsinki agreement.* Progress to date has been disappointing and the Commission deplores the failure of the U.S.S.R. to fulfill its obligations under the terms of the agreement, and to be more forthcoming at the recent Belgrade conference. But we believe that the agreement provides a basis for negotiation which must be relentlessly pursued—in our own national interest and in that of the world at large.

## Exchanges With the Middle East

The Commission is gratified that steps have been taken by the State Department and AMIDEAST (America-Mideast Educational and Training Services, Inc., formerly American Friends of the Middle East) to improve the counseling of students from the Middle East who wish to study in the United States. This was one of the Commission's strongest recommendations in its *Thirteenth Report*. We are also happy to report that, in reply to another of our recommendations, rehabilitation of the USIS Cultural Center in Alexandria, Egypt, which was burned in 1967, has begun.

However, no progress appears to have been made on several other of our recommendations on exchanges with the Middle East which we believe are also important, to wit:

- That the United States give increased emphasis to the teaching of English in Middle Eastern countries.
- That a program be established under which Middle Eastern professors, who have studied in the United States, can return for "sabbatical years."
- That the Congress make an appropriation of \$60 million, from its holdings of surplus Egyptian currencies, for the support of the American University in Cairo.

Nothing has happened since these recommendations were made to suggest that the Middle East is becoming less important to us than it was a year ago. Indeed all the evidence (e.g., the growth of Iranian students in the United States from 25,000 to an estimated 60,000) point to the opposite conclusion. Since we believe our recommendations on educational and cultural exchange will contribute to improved communications between the United States and an area of the world which is vital to our interests, *we recommend that they be carried out without further delay by the responsible elements of the Government.*

## U.S. Support of UNESCO

The Commission's interest in UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) is longstanding, dating to the UNESCO General Conference of November 1974, where it adopted resolutions concerning Israel which were apparently motivated by political, rather than cultural or scientific, considerations. This action clearly affected the cultural relations of the United States with other countries and therefore prompted the Commission to examine the U.S. role in the organization. The Commission concluded that it was in our interest for the United States to remain in UNESCO, normalize its relations, and so play an active role in its deliberations.

Two years later, in November 1975, the General Conference again riveted the Commission's attention on UNESCO by threatening to adopt a "Declaration of Principles on the Use of the Media," which ran counter to the U.S. belief in the free flow of information. The Commission advised the U.S. delegation to oppose the declaration. It did so, and a decision on the proposal was postponed until the next General Assembly of UNESCO, in October 1978. But actions taken at recent regional UNESCO meetings indicate that little progress has been made in advancing the U.S. point of view. *We therefore recommend that the President appoint a Chairman of the U.S. delegation promptly, and that he continue vigorously to assert U.S. support for the provisions for the free flow of information contained in the Helsinki agreement and in Article IX of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.*

The United States has now normalized its relations with UNESCO and is playing a more active role in it. The Commission applauds the development. But the two incidents referred to above have convinced us that the U.S. relationship to UNESCO will be a subject of continuing concern to the Commission. *We therefore repeat here our recommendation of last year: that a member of the Commission be appointed as an observer or member of the U.S. delegation to the next*

*General Conference. And we carry this a step further, recommending to the new Advisory Commission that one of its members attend any international conference of cultural ministers or other high-ranking national officials who deal with international educational or cultural affairs.*

By so doing the Commission can best keep advised of international developments which are in its domain of action: There is no acceptable substitute in the learning process for actual exposure to the points of view of representatives of other nations. We make these recommendations in full awareness of the existence of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. Its primary functions are to advise the U.S. Government on UNESCO matters and to initiate or carry out programs of the organization in the United States. The Commission's mandate is to formulate and recommend to the President overall policies for exercising his authority under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act. The two functions are by no means mutually exclusive; neither are they identical.

## U.S. Support for the United Nations University (UNU)

The Commission's hopes and fears for the UNU are fully documented in its twelfth and thirteenth annual reports. The culmination of our hearings on the university was a recommendation that the Congress appropriate toward its support the \$10 million which the State Department had been authorized to request. The Congress did not do so. We now learn that the President's budget for the next fiscal year will include an item of \$7.5 million for the UNU. We continue to believe with former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, John Richardson, Jr., that:

. . . it would be unfortunate for our Government not to participate in this institution, which seems to express our values, our aspirations in a reasonably functional way . . . Those rare institutions which give hope of pursuing the as-

pirations we as a country have for the world should not be discouraged by the United States when others, such as our principal ally, Japan, are willing to put more into it than we are . . .

*We recommend that the Congress appropriate the \$7.5 million for the UNU which the President requests.*



## IV. Unfinished Business, 1963–1973

**W**e noted in the introduction to this report that it has been conditioned by the fact that it will be this Commission's final communication to the President and the Congress. It thus has a purpose beyond providing a summary of the activities and recommendations of the year, which has been the traditional function of annual reports. We believe that this final report, because it is final, should also serve as a guide to the Government on future operations of an advisory body which deals with international educational and cultural affairs.

In the previous chapter, we outlined the principal items of unfinished business on our agenda for the last four years. Our study of the Commission's earlier reports has shown that previous Commissions have also made recommendations or undertaken actions which merit consideration by a successor organization. This chapter undertakes to sketch these briefly—as a continuation of the unfinished agenda which it bequeaths to the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs.

### Members and Staff

But first it seems to us appropriate that we pay tribute in this final report of the Commission to our distinguished predecessors. Thirty-four individuals, including the signers of this report, have served on the Commission. (A complete listing is carried in Appendix B.) Nine of these served for more than 5 years. The dean



in point of time served is Homer Babbidge, who was a member for 8 years. Walter Adams, Luther Foster, Arnold Picker, and William French Smith served for 6 or more; David Derge, Walter Johnson, Roy Larsen and Pauline Tompkins for over 5. What is perhaps even more revealing of the high sense of responsibility which each member brought to his work is the fact that only three served for less than 2 years, and no one of these left the Commission because of lack of interest in its work. (One resigned when elected to Congress; one served out the term of a previous appointee and was not reappointed; one was an original member appointed for only 1 year.)

The valuable continuity represented by the membership was perpetuated in the chairmanship. In its 16 years of existence, only four men held the chairmanship: John Gardner (1962–1964); Homer Babbidge (1965–1967, 1969–1973); Joseph Smiley (1967–1969); and Leonard H. Marks (1974–1978). Their influence on the Commission was paramount and salutary; they deserve much of the credit for the Commission's accomplishments.

We would be remiss if we did not acknowledge here the unparalleled contribution made to the work of the Commission by its first Staff Director, James A. Donovan, jr. Mr. Donovan joined the Commission when it was created, having previously acted as Executive Director of the Commission's predecessor, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange. He remained in the position until the end of 1971, when the State Department assigned him to new duties. Thus for the first 10 years of its life, Mr. Donovan was the bulwark of the Commission. His comprehensive knowledge of international exchange programs, his complete familiarity with the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, his creative imagination, sound judgment, administrative talents and devotion to the real purpose of the Commission all combined to make him an ideal Staff Director. Many of the projects which he supervised for the Commission were pioneering examples of what it could and should do. Many of

the innovations and procedures he initiated (e.g., *Exchange Magazine*) were followed long after his departure. The Commission is much in his debt.

The Commission also wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the services during the past 4 years of its present Staff Director, William E. Weld, Jr. Mr. Weld's 25 years of experience, as a Cultural Officer and Public Affairs Officer overseas, and as Assistant Director of the U.S. Information Agency in charge of Western European Affairs, was a valuable asset to the Commission. Many of its achievements were made possible by his background and his dedication to the work of the Commission.

### Scope of Activity

The U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs was established by Public Law 87-256, the "Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961." It took the place of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, which had been established in 1948 by the Smith-Mundt Act (P.L. 80-402). It convened for the first time on April 5, 1962. It convened for the last time on February 27, 1978. During those dates it met 93 times, generally in Washington, but also when its investigations demanded, in New York, the University of Connecticut, Los Angeles, Honolulu, Mexico City, and Ottawa.

It is impossible for us to list here all the aspects of international exchange investigated by the Commission in the first 12 years of its existence. A cursory examination of the minutes of the earliest meetings, which normally lasted for 2 days each, shows an average of seven items on every agenda. In recent years meetings were held more frequently and were normally limited to 1 day. Eliminating from the count recurring topics (such as the CU budget), reports which led to no action, and in-house concerns (like travel of Commission members and approval of Commission reports), it is reasonable to assume that the Commission ad-

dressed well over 100 "substantive" questions at the 60 meetings held between 1962 and 1974. The scope of these discussions is suggested by the following agenda items taken at random from the minutes of these meetings: the role and status of the cultural affairs officer; cultural presentations; English-language teaching; AID programs in education; American schools abroad; the degree equivalency problem; community services to foreign visitors; the role of motion pictures in projecting the American image abroad; international sports exchanges; passage of the International Education Act; exchanges with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; the training of military personnel from abroad in the United States; an Advisory Committee on the Arts; teenage exchange programs; the Bicentennial commemoration.

If we cannot even list in these pages all the activities of the Commission not covered in its last four annual reports, it is manifestly impossible for us to discuss any of them in detail. Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter we sketch only the Commission's achievements, failures, projects, and procedures which provide lessons for the future.

## Special Reports

The Commission got off to a flying start. It was received by President Kennedy on the day it first assembled. (Only once in the succeeding 16 years were the members received by a President; Lyndon Johnson met with them on September 25, 1967.) The first Commission plunged immediately into the specific task set for it by the enabling legislation: "The Commission shall make a special study of the effectiveness of past programs with emphasis on the activities of a reasonably representative cross section of past recipients of aid and shall submit a report to Congress not later than December 31, 1962." The deadline was not met, largely because of delay in appointments to the Commission; but in April 1963 it produced as its first report to the

Congress a study of U.S. Government exchange programs entitled *A Beacon of Hope*. This landmark evaluation concluded that "testimony is overwhelming . . . that the program as a whole is effective [and] has proved itself an essential and valuable part of America's total international effort." Nevertheless, it made 12 specific suggestions for improvement. The report attracted enormous attention in both government and academic circles. What is more, it stimulated action.

In this respect, unfortunately, *A Beacon of Hope* failed to establish a precedent. The subsequent annual reports of the Commission, including its second called *A Sequel to a Beacon of Hope*, created such little stir that the Commission was moved to entitle its sixth annual report, *Is Anyone Listening?* The title was an expression of the Commission's frustrations that, in spite of their annual recommendations, the CU budget was declining, and the Department and the Congress were generally unresponsive to the Commission's recommendations. These frustrations have prevailed until today.

*A Beacon of Hope* did, however, establish a useful precedent which the Commission followed for 5 years before allowing it to languish until 1975. This was the sponsorship or production of special reports authorized by the sentence in the Fulbright-Hays act (i.e., P.L. 87-256) which reads: "The Commission shall submit to the Congress annual reports and such other reports as they deem appropriate."

Strictly speaking, *A Beacon of Hope* was not a "special" report because it became the Commission's first annual report. However, its reception apparently encouraged the Commission to produce between 1963 and 1969 ten special reports (including *A Sequel to a Beacon of Hope*, which was also the second annual report). Six of these were printed by the Congress: *A Sequel to A Beacon of Hope*; *American Studies Abroad*; *A Report on the Strategic Importance of Europe*; *Open Hearts, Open Minds*; *How America Welcomes Foreign Visitors*; *Government, the Universities, and International Affairs: A Crisis in Identity*; *The Use of U.S.-*

*Owned Foreign Currencies*. Two others, though not reproduced by the Congress, were also of unusual general interest. The first was *Foreign Students in The United States—A National Survey*. The second, entitled *The Brain Drain*, was an edited collection of papers delivered at a Commission-sponsored conference in Lausanne; it was commercially published in English, French, and Spanish editions.

For almost 6 years after January 1969 the Commission produced no special reports—possibly because it felt no one was listening. Then in December 1975, following a trip to Eastern Europe, Chairman Leonard H. Marks and William French Smith submitted to the Congress their observations on the Helsinki agreement, *The Effects of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Cultural Relations of the United States and Eastern Europe*. The following year the same Commissioners visited the Middle East and issued, in June 1977, a report on their observations, *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East*. Both of these special reports were printed by the Congress.

While none of these special reports had the impact of *A Beacon of Hope*, all elicited a certain amount of interest, and some action—though not as much as we feel they deserved. Nevertheless, the Commission believes that the periodic release by an independent organization of timely studies on aspects of international exchange constitutes an important service which the Commission has rendered, and can continue to render, to those concerned with the subject. (A complete list of the publications for which the Commission is responsible is carried at Appendix A.) *We recommend that the new Advisory Commission sponsor, or itself produce, more special reports on subjects of concern—in line with the practice of our predecessors on this Commission.*

## Other Significant Activities

The Commission's special reports suggest some of the Commission's principal concerns during the first

years of its life: American studies abroad; foreign students in the United States; the relationship between Government and academe; the brain drain; the use of U.S.-owned foreign currencies; and above all, an on-going appraisal of the Government's exchange programs. But this is a seriously incomplete list of Commission activities which can be instructive for the future. We turn now to others which are significant.

### Role and Function of the Commission

The role and function of the Commission was a constant preoccupation of its members during the middle years of its existence, as it has been since. During its first 2 years, the Commission was centered on the appraisal of government programs which led to *A Beacon of Hope*. Shortly thereafter a growing uncertainty as to its real purpose and utility began to appear. The Commission files reflect this in many places and in many ways: in accounts of "retreats" held to reassess what the Commission should and could do; in letters to administration officials asking how the Commission could best serve their needs; in passages of annual reports; in the personal reminiscences of former members. A prominent element in all of these was the question of the Commission's independence of action. Chairman Homer Babbidge summed it up in a letter he addressed in late September 1971 to Assistant Secretary Richardson on behalf of the Commission. It read in part:

It is our conviction that the Commission can neither support the present useful programs most effectively nor discharge the larger responsibility required by statute unless several changes are introduced . . . There are several aspects of the relationship between the Commission and the Department of State which have a tendency to suggest that the Commission is not an independent entity . . . It is our unanimous judgment that we will be able to discharge our statutory responsibilities more effectively if a clearer view exists of our cooperative and independent relationship with CU . . .

By 1973 Commission members were so discouraged

by the "is anyone listening" syndrome of its sixth report that they seriously considered voting the Commission out of business. Then, in early 1974, it resolved to its own satisfaction the question of its independence and launched a series of new and timely projects—all discussed in this and the three previous annual reports—which gave it new purpose and direction.

### Relationship to Other Advisory Groups

The Commission's relationship to other advisory groups has been another of its constant concerns.

In 1962, at the request of the then Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Lucius D. Battle, the Vice-chairman of the Commission participated in a thorough examination of the Department's cultural presentations (i.e., performing arts) program. The Commission endorsed the report emanating from this study. It led to a reconstitution of the Advisory Committee on the Arts and a determination that this committee should watch over only the cultural presentations programs of the State Department. At the same time, the secretariat of the committee was separated from that of the Commission, but a member of the Commission remained on the Advisory Committee on the Arts, as required by law, until the Department terminated the committee under the provisions of the Advisory Committee Act of 1972. Although the committee was later revived in a somewhat different form, the Commission remains unconvinced that the abolition of this valuable advisory group was wise.

Assistant Secretary Battle turned again to the Commission for guidance in October 1963, this time in connection with the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West (the East-West Center) in Honolulu. As a result of a study of the center's operation, in which the Commission participated, the Department established a National Review Board for the center, composed of distinguished private citizens and chaired by the Governor of Hawaii. The secretariat of the Commission served the National Re-

view Board, and members of the Commission regularly attended its meetings as observers. But the Commission never pretended to advise the center on its operation, and it played no active role in the protracted and complex negotiations which led, in 1975, to incorporation of the center as a private entity under the laws of the state of Hawaii.

The Government Advisory Committee on International Book and Library Programs (GAC) was the third advisory body over which the Commission once exercised some supervision. Its by-laws specifically called for one member of the Commission to serve on the GAC, and the executive secretary of the committee was considered a member of the Commission staff. But the Commission's influence on the GAC gradually eroded. When in 1977, the new Administration undertook to eliminate advisory bodies which no longer served a useful purpose, the GAC was abolished—against the advice of the Commission.

The only other organization which might be termed an advisory body with which the Commission has had a sustained association is the Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS). Throughout the years the Commission has attempted to define clearly its relationship to the BFS, since this was left ambiguous in the enabling legislation. In spite of this ambiguity, the association has been, one the whole, harmonious. The two bodies have occasionally met jointly; members of one have been welcome at meetings of the other; and each has conscientiously endeavoured to keep the other informed of its activities. Even so, the Commission has felt constrained to recommend in its recent reports that the Administration clarify the relationship. The President's Reorganization Plan No. 2 attempts to do so, stating that the new Advisory Commission "shall have no authority with respect to the Board of Foreign Scholarships . . ." But the question remains. Does this imply that a Commission instructed to "formulate and recommend [exchange] policies and programs" should cease actively to interest itself in the policies and programs of the Board of Foreign Scholarships? We rec-



ommend that the new Advisory Commission, though it has no authority over the BFS, remain aware of its activities, for they may affect recommendations on policy which the Commission is required by law to make.

This account of the Commission's relationship with other advisory groups is included largely for historic reasons. It does, however, suggest a generalization with implications for the future. At one point the responsibilities, and thus the influence, of the Commission diminished to the point where the members wondered what useful purpose they were serving. On January 16, 1967, the Staff Director, in a briefing paper on the Commission for the Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs wrote:

The Commission feels itself underused, [and] the members find themselves wondering what more they can do . . . The Commission feels it is not active in ways it should be in order to be most helpful.

We examine in the next chapter specific ways in which Administration officials can assure that the Commission is better utilized. We therefore limit ourselves here to a general observation and recommendation. Having established an advisory commission to formulate policies and appraise programs, it is folly for the Government not to avail itself fully of the talents of its members. *We recommend that the Congress and the Executive Branch call frequently upon the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs for assistance and act promptly on its recommendations.*

### Integrity of CU's Programs

Preserving the integrity of CU's programs was a concern of the Commission long before it became a fashionable subject of discussion in connection with Reorganization Plan No. 2.

In the 1960's this interest was manifested in various Commission recommendations on the place of the Cultural Officer in the diplomatic establishment. It therefore followed with special interest the proposals made

by Assistant Secretary Charles Frankel in 1966 for the commissioning of "education officers," who would operate at our Embassies abroad independent of USIS control. Mr. Frankel's suggestion was never implemented, and the question of the relationship of "cultural" programs to "information" programs continued to plague the Commission, as well as almost everyone else concerned with the conduct of this country's public diplomacy. It was largely in an attempt to resolve this controversy that this Commission, in conjunction with the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, initiated in 1973 the study by Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies which culminated in the report, *International Information, Education and Cultural Relations: Recommendations for the Future*.

This became a key document in the deliberations which produced Reorganization Plan No. 2 and the President's accompanying statement that "maintaining the integrity of the educational and cultural exchange programs is imperative." He later amended the section of the plan dealing with the new advisory commission to read:

The Commission's reports to the Congress shall include assessments of the degree to which the scholarly integrity and non-political character of the educational and cultural exchange activities vested in the Director have been maintained . . .

In view of this mandate to the Commission, we feel that no recommendation on the subject is required. The President has anticipated us.

### Research and Evaluation

Research on, and evaluation of, our cultural programs was another aspect of exchange to which the Commission turned frequently in the 1960's. It was not convinced then, and it is not convinced now, that CU has devoted enough attention to these fundamental considerations. In recent years the Commission has not held hearings on the subject; nor has it collected a comprehensive list of research and evaluation studies

done on international educational and cultural affairs (although the CU History Office has attempted to do so). We know that some in-depth investigations have recently been carried out; and we believe that CU is more conscious now than it was a decade ago of the necessity to use research and evaluation to shape its programs to meet the needs of the times. Perhaps the Commission can take some credit for this heightened awareness.

But it is our impression that much more can be done in this area, and that the time is opportune to do it. Reorganization Plan No. 2 will presumably bring CU's somewhat informal research function into closer association with USIA's more highly developed Office of Research. The marriage could be beneficial to our exchange efforts. *We recommend that the ICA carry out systematic research on, and evaluation of, its cultural and educational programs.*

### Countries With Limited U.S. Relations

Exchanges with countries with whom our relations are limited appears from the Commission's records to be one of its more noteworthy aborted efforts.

In 1969 the Chairman began reflecting on whether the Commission could helpfully undertake a study of exchanges with these countries. He wrote to the Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs:

What I propose is that the Commission hold a series of open meetings . . . at which experts on Communist China, the United Arab Republic, South Africa and Cuba from both Government and the private sector would give their views . . . It seems to me that such discussions are more appropriate for the Commission than for the Department of State to initiate. Thus they might prove to be the most important service the Commission has yet undertaken for the Department.

One year later nothing had been done about this suggestion. The Commission therefore considered it at its meeting of September 21, 1970, and drafted the following statement:

The Commission expresses herewith its sincere interest in the idea of a series of hearings to explore the implications and advisability of prospective educational and cultural relations between the United States and certain countries with which communications are limited . . . Before doing so the Commission requests the Chairman to explore the attitude of the executive and legislative branches toward this idea.

The Chairman began his exploration of attitudes with the Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, who wrote to the Department's Policy Planning Staff:

I believe these hearings would be quite in keeping with what I conceive the mission of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs to be . . . At the same time these hearings may well prove most useful to the Department, and may produce information which the Department could not provide itself, since the Commission is an independent body.

The Department apparently disagreed. Almost 2 years after the subject was first proposed, the Commission was still vaguely talking of exchanges with countries in this category. But the full-scale hearings which might have led to a definitive statement of policy on exchanges with such countries were never held.

The present Commission touched upon the larger issue in the two sessions it devoted to discussions of U.S. exchanges with the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) which have been summarized in our previous annual reports. Our conclusion after the second of these meetings (November 4, 1976) seems to us even more valid now than then: "We agree that our developing relationship with the largest country in the world recommends that this matter receive the serious attention of government and the academic community."

*We recommend that the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs formulate for consideration of the Congress and the Executive a clear policy of U.S. exchanges with countries, including the P.R.C., with whom our relations are limited. (For our observations*

on another aspect of this problem see chapter V, "Exchanges to Promote Political Ends.")

### English Language Teaching

English language teaching in other countries has not been a subject of serious concern for the present Commission. We have recommended that CU and USIA increase their efforts in the field in the Middle East, but that is the extent of our attention to it.

This is in contrast to our predecessors, for whom the teaching of English abroad was a subject of enduring interest. One member, former Congressman Thomas Curtis, regarded this as a most significant problem which did not receive sufficient attention from government agencies. His interest reflected the prevailing view of our predecessors that a widespread knowledge of English would facilitate communication between the United States and other countries, and that our official programs should promote this end.

We have now learned—with a mixture of pleasure and alarm—that USIA has embarked upon a thorough re-study of government efforts to teach English overseas, with a view to making recommendations which will surely affect our exchange programs as well as the cultural activities of USIA. What alarms us about this are the hints that USIA is becoming disillusioned with its direct English teaching through Binational Centers, American Language Centers, and the like, and that in seeking to remedy the defects it may downgrade all government efforts in the field of English teaching. We believe it would be a mistake to throw out the baby with the bath water. *We recommend that the Commission and the ICA review the U.S. Government's English-teaching programs overseas with a view to making them more effective—not with a view to eliminating them.*

### Cultural Presentations

Cultural presentations and their role in our exchange program have been alluded to in passing under

our earlier discussion of the Commission's relationship to the Advisory Committee on the Arts. Our statement there, that we were unconvinced that abolition of the committee was wise, illustrates the Commission's longheld opinion that international cultural communications are enhanced by the exchange of performing arts groups, and that this element of our programs deserves more support than it has received.

The Commission last addressed the subject on February 26, 1974. It noted that the Department's request of \$2.2 million for fiscal year 1976 was "modest indeed," and actually \$600,000 less than its appropriation for fiscal year 1964. *It recommended that the cultural presentations program be expanded; but the budget for this activity in fiscal year 1978 was only \$1.1 million. We repeat our earlier recommendation.*

### Travel by Members and Staff

Travel by the Commission members and staff was recognized early in the Commission's history as essential to the full performance of their duties for the Commission. Most members knew little when they were appointed about institutions in the United States involved in exchanges, and still less about the operation of government programs overseas. To correct this deficiency, they were encouraged to attend meetings at home and to visit our posts overseas. The trips served the dual purposes of giving Commission members a better background for their work and of providing information on the specific issues before them at any time. The number of special reports produced by the Commission between 1963 and 1969 indirectly suggests the volume of travel performed by Commission members during the period, for many of the reports required investigation beyond the confines of Washington, D.C. We would also note incidentally that members traveling on private business have used the occasions to do Commission-related business—at no expense to the Government. This is an additional argument for appointing

to the Commission individuals with wide-ranging professional interests.

Since the value of such travel had been clearly demonstrated during the 1960's, the Commissions of the 1970's planned to carry on the tradition. Tentative plans even called for one trip abroad each year by each commissioner. These ambitious plans foundered, largely because the Commission's budget could not accommodate them. But the travel that was accomplished (e.g., the Marks/Smith trips to Eastern Europe and the Middle East; the Commission meetings in Mexico City and Ottawa; Mrs. Milburn's visit to Latin America) confirmed the Commission's belief that there is no good substitute for the kind of experience which members gather by seeing other places, other faces. *We recommend that members of the Commission travel at home and abroad to inform themselves on various exchange activities and to investigate specific subjects.*

### *Exchange Magazine*

*Exchange* magazine has also been mentioned earlier in this report, in our summary of the Commission's activities for the year. It merits further mention in this chapter, which is at least in part a tribute to the foresight of our predecessors on the Commission.

In announcing the creation of *Exchange* in 1965, the Commission set the tone and guidelines which have characterized it ever since. It was "to serve as a forum for the discussion of the most pressing issues in the field of educational and cultural exchange." It has successfully served that purpose for 13 years—through three changes in editors, through three changes in format, through the ups and downs of the Commission.

Its articles have been footnoted in scholarly publications and listed in scholarly bibliographies. It has been the frequent recipient of unsolicited articles from serious academicians, and it has been successful in securing contributions on topics of its own choosing from other distinguished specialists. It has earned the approval of people in Government and in the private

sector. Increasingly individuals or institutions, both in this country and abroad, ask to receive it regularly.

We believe the success of *Exchange* stems primarily from the following factors. It is one of the few periodicals in the country devoted solely to international educational and cultural exchange, a subject which has a growing clientele. While unashamedly committed to developing "a better understanding of and support for" the Government's exchange programs, it remains objective, catholic, even occasionally controversial, in its presentation of material. This approach is made possible because *Exchange* is published by an impartial group of public citizens—not by a government agency. It presents timely issues (e.g., the Helsinki agreement, Reorganization Plan No. 2, free flow of information) as well as basic principles and examples of international exchange. And it makes a conscious effort to be imaginative and innovative.

This retrospective look at *Exchange*, plus our own experience with it, lead to the reasonable conclusion that its publication is the most influential and effective activity undertaken by the Commission. We therefore believe it should not be abandoned by the new Advisory Commission. It would be presumptuous for us to instruct the new Commission on the specifics of how it should use a Commission-published periodical; but we do feel an obligation to make a general recommendation based on our experience. *We strongly recommend that the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs publish a quarterly periodical devoted to stimulating discussion of international educational and cultural exchange.*





## V. Other Suggestions Affecting the Commission

**W**e assume from our own experience that the Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs will cherish its independence, as we did ours, and will therefore wish to establish its own agenda and its own *modus operandi*. It is not our intention, nor our desire, to infringe upon this independence. At the same time we hope that what we and previous commissioners have learned about subjects worth investigating and procedures worth following may serve as useful, initial guides to the new body. For this reason we have summarized in the preceding chapters the recommendations for action which were suggested by the deliberations of our predecessors and ourselves. In the following pages we complete our unfinished agenda for an advisory commission dealing with international educational and cultural affairs by outlining additional matters which we believe merit the consideration of the new Commission.

### Suggestions on Subjects To Be Investigated

The new Advisory Commission will obviously have high on its agenda a thorough and continuing discussion on how it can best fulfill its dual responsibilities of advising the Administration and the Congress on both the informational and the educational/cultural aspects of public diplomacy. This needs no elaboration from us. Our concern is clearly with the latter part of this dual mission. We therefore add now, to the list of sub-

jects for its possible study noted above, the following items which we believe merit its consideration.

### Government and Private Programs

The State Department is quick to point out that the programs it sponsors account for only 2 percent of all exchanges between the United States and other countries; and the percentage is declining as academic, business, and philanthropic organizations expand their efforts. As long ago as 1967, and again in 1970, it was suggested that the Commission study the relationship between government and private programs; but we find no record that any definite action was taken. Even if it had been, it is improbable that the recommendations of 10 years ago would still be valid, given the subsequent developments. *We therefore recommend that the new Commission address the question of the relationship of private exchange programs to government exchange activities.*

### Education of Foreign Students in the United States

In 1970 the Commission first became concerned that the swiftly growing number of foreign students in the United States was not receiving the quality of training or education it expected, and thus that many students were leaving the United States with unfavourable impressions. A study of the subject was projected, but not undertaken. The Commission's fears did not imply doubts about the supervision of students by the Institute of International Education and other reputable programming agencies, which was known to be close and effective. They were prompted mainly by the number of "unsponsored" or questionably sponsored foreign students. In 1970 there were an estimated 118,000 nonimmigrant foreign students in this country. By the end of 1978, the estimate is for 250,000. A disproportionately large percentage of this increase will be students who came on their own, poorly counseled and poorly supervised. Many will have succumbed to the

blandishments of the "educational brokers" referred to in the Commission's report on exchanges with countries of the Middle East; and recently disturbing reports have reached us of the unhappy experiences of students who have come to American institutions under such auspices. In short, the Commission believes that the time has come for some qualified authority to take a comprehensive look at the actual education a foreign student receives in the United States. The task may well be beyond the capacity of the Commission itself, but it is not beyond the Commission's capacity to sponsor such a study. The precedent was firmly established by the many useful studies sponsored by the Commission in the 1960's. *We recommend that the Advisory Commission and/or the ICA sponsor a comprehensive study of the education a foreign student receives in the United States.*

### Exchanges To Promote Political Ends

In 1976, when athletes from Taiwan were not permitted to participate in the Olympic Games in Montreal under the name of "China," the Commission was forcefully reminded of a number of occasions when athletes of one country refused to compete, or were barred from competing, with those of another country of a different political persuasion. The question will surely arise again in 1980, when the Olympic Games will be held in Moscow.

Similar incidents have in recent years affected the schedules of performing artists or performing arts groups. What particularly interests us is that, in spite of a generally improved atmosphere around the world for the free flow of people and information, the incidence of such incidents seems to be increasing rather than decreasing. We have therefore been hoping for almost 2 years to hold hearings on this important element of exchange, with a view to recommending a policy on it; but time has not permitted us to do so.

The new Administration's human rights policy has now brought the issue into sharp focus. There are those

who feel that we should have no relations with countries whose political or social philosophies differ markedly from our own. Others, including members of this Commission, argue that by refusing to have any contact at all with such countries, the United States simply widens the gulf which separates them from us. The Carter Administration has taken a forthright position on this subject as it relates to strictly diplomatic relations: We send a diplomatic mission to a country in order to communicate better with it; the gesture does not imply approval of that country's ideology. This attitude, however, has not been translated into a clear-cut policy on cultural and athletic exchanges with such countries. We believe it should be.

*We recommend that the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs study the question of using exchanges of athletic teams and cultural presentations for political purposes and recommend a policy on the subject.*

### Appraisal of On-Going Programs

We conclude this review with a suggestion which is no doubt redundant—because we believe it is important. The law creating the Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs requires that the Commission "shall appraise the effectiveness of programs carried out pursuant to it." This language is retained in the legislation which created the Advisory Commission on International Communications, Cultural and Educational Affairs. We mention it only to assure the new commissioners that our experience suggests that time spent reviewing the Government's programs is time well spent. Within the last 3 years, our Commission has reviewed the Department's cultural presentations and international athletic programs and its exchanges with Africa, the People's Republic of China, Canada, Mexico, Eastern Europe, and certain countries in the Middle East. In every case we felt the exercise was useful because: 1) an independent review of specific programs forced its operators to rethink

what they were doing and in several cases led to imaginative innovation; 2) the appraisals helped educate members of the Commission, providing us with background information which helped us in the overall performance of our job. We believe these benefits will accrue to any appraisals of on-going programs which the new Commission may undertake. *We recommend that the new Commission devote at least half of its time to appraisal of on-going programs.*

Having now listed in this and previous chapters some 20 subjects which we believe the new Commission can usefully examine, we may be stretching credulity when we say that they represent just the tip of the iceberg. However, we are convinced that there is almost no limit to the work which a commission charged with advising on public diplomacy can do—if it is properly constituted and utilized. We enlarge on this in the following section.

## Suggestions on Structures and Procedures

We begin this final section of our final report by reaffirming our conviction, based on our experience, that the new Advisory Commission can make a significant contribution to the conduct of our country's public diplomacy. Indeed, its creation just at this time, when Reorganization Plan No. 2 gives a new impetus to our international information and cultural activities, presents it with unusual opportunities for useful service. However, our experience also prompts us to acknowledge that certain conditions must prevail if the Commission is to fulfill its potential.

A good place to begin our discussion of these required conditions is the memorandum which Congressman Dante Fascell sent to the President on August 3, 1977, reporting the "general observations" of the House Subcommittee on International Operations of the Committee on International Relations after 10 days of hearings on Reorganization Plan No. 2. The subcommittee endorsed the restructuring of the Advisory

## Commissions on Information and on Educational and Cultural Affairs and added:

The following measures can ensure and safeguard the integrity and credibility vital to the success of our long-term public diplomacy programs: a) higher caliber membership, b) mandatory periodic reports, c) independent staff to investigate alleged improper actions, d) requirement for officials to notify the advisory group of pressures which would contravene the mandate of the programs, and e) obligation of the Director to respond to the Administration and the Congress on advisory commission reports and staff investigation findings.

We agree that these measures, if taken, would promote the effectiveness of the Commission; but we would like to expand upon them from the perspective of our experience.

### Membership

We wholeheartedly support the suggestion that members of the Commission must be of high caliber, influential in their professional fields. If they are not, they will not, as the law dictates, fully "represent the public interest." The greater their knowledge and prestige, the greater their impact on Congress and the Executive Branch.

The original law also required that members be appointed on a "nonpartisan basis." This was a reasonable requirement, for the conduct of our international exchange programs should not be affected by partisan political considerations. Certainly during the period of our service there is no evidence that voting on issues has been along partisan lines. Nevertheless, the present Administration has recognized the potential danger in the original legislation and has added an amendment to Reorganization Plan No. 2 which decrees that no more than four (of the seven) members of the new Advisory Commission shall be from any one political party. We approve this; and we especially approve its additional stipulation that members "shall be selected from a cross section of educational, communications, cultural, scientific, technical, public service,

labor and business and professional backgrounds." We recommend that in making appointments to the Commission the President and the Senate emphasize the selection of members who by profession and interest are best qualified to advise on public diplomacy.

Another aspect of membership on which we feel strongly relates to the participation of all members in Commission activities. In our three previous reports we have insisted that "the Commission will deal most effectively with the wide range of problems it faces when it has a full and qualified membership"; and we have consequently urged the President and the Senate to fill vacancies promptly. This advice has not been heeded: One vacancy has remained unfilled for over 2 years; another, for 15 months. Our deliberations have been further handicapped by the fact that one member has been unable to attend any meetings since August 1976.

The new Commission will have seven members in place of the present nine; and its scope of activity will be extended to cover the informational, as well as the educational and cultural, aspects of public diplomacy. We do not believe a Commission of this size can effectively perform an advisory function of this scope without the full participation of all its members. We therefore recommend that: 1) vacancies which occur on the Commission be filled as expeditiously as the law allows; 2) provisions be made for replacement of members whose record of attendance at meetings indicates that they will not be able to contribute consistently to its work.

### Reports by the Commission

The Fascell subcommittee's second suggested measure affecting the Advisory Commission reads simply "mandatory periodic reports." If he means by this that the Commission should be required to make more periodic reports, we would disagree. The existing legislation requiring an annual report and authorizing other reports to the Congress and the public which the



Commission deems appropriate, strikes us as just right.

The requirement for an annual accounting of the activities of a Commission whose budget (including salaries presently paid by the State Department) exceeds \$150,000 annually is certainly not unreasonable. Our Commission has, in fact, welcomed the requirement as an opportunity to circulate its recommendations within and without the Government. But we do not believe the benefits gained by requiring more frequently this kind of comprehensive reporting would justify the cost, particularly since summary minutes and verbatim transcripts of Commission meetings are available to anyone under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act.

The accompanying authorization encouraging the Commission to report "as it deems appropriate" has given us a highly desirable flexibility. It has enabled us to publish a periodical (*Exchange Magazine*) for public consumption; to prepare special reports on timely subjects for the Congress and the public; to send special resolutions, statements, or recommendations to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State or other officials; in short, to control and limit our reporting to what gives promise of being most economical and useful. *We recommend that no changes be made in the reporting required of the Commission.*

Earlier in these pages we referred to the early frustrations of the Commission when it felt that no one was listening. We have at times experienced the same frustrations. Yet we also acknowledge with pride and satisfaction that over the years our reports and recommendations appear to have had some influence, either on the determination of broad policy or on the development of specific programs. We have noted some of these in this and earlier reports. Perhaps the most significant of our recent contributions was the initiative which led to Reorganization Plan No. 2, with its determination that an advisory commission was needed to "formulate and recommend to the Director, the Secre-

tary of State and the President policies and programs to carry out the functions vested in the Director of the Agency." We welcome the implication in this statement that the Executive Branch will heed the recommendations of the new Commission. For it to do otherwise would, we believe, be a waste of a valuable resource.

And we note with particular approval that Reorganization Plan No. 2 to which we contributed has taken a still more definite step to assure a responsive ear for Commission recommendations. It is embodied in this sentence referring to reports by the Commission:

The Commission shall also include in such reports such recommendations as shall have been made by the Commission to the Director for effectuating the purposes of the Agency, *and the action taken to carry out such recommendations.* (Emphasis added.)

The italicized passage will surely encourage the Director of ICA to act upon Commission recommendations.

In sum, the scene has been set, partly as a result of this Commission's efforts, for effective utilization of reporting done by the new Commission; but much still remains to be done to translate theory into practice. *We recommend that the new Advisory Commission pursue the policy established by our Commission on reviewing periodically action taken on its recommendations by operating elements of the government.*

### An Independent Staff and Budget

The third of the Fascell subcommittee suggestions is that the Advisory Commission have an independent staff. We strongly support the suggestion.

Earlier in these pages we spoke of the Commission's concern in its early days about its genuine independence; and our own recent reports have insisted that to be effective the Commission must work closely with the State Department but at the same time remain truly independent of it. The key to the realization of this delicate balance is really the Commission's staff. It is they who provide the Commission's memory bank and

continuity; it is they who effectuate the liaison between the Commission and the Department; and it is they who feed information and opinion to the members and, through *Exchange Magazine*, to the public. As things now stand, staff members are regular members of the Foreign or Domestic Service of the State Department, on the Department's payroll; and until the present Chairman took over, annual evaluation reports on the Staff Director were written by an officer of the Department. This situation must inevitably test the objectivity of staff members. For example, if the Commission's Staff Director depends for advancement on evaluation of his performance by Departmental officers, he will be reluctant to promote Commission positions which are in any way critical of Departmental actions. Or the editor of *Exchange* may hesitate to publish an article which the Department considers "controversial." For the most part, we find that staff members have handled the problem well; but now that a new Commission is to be created, we believe it would be wise to correct what is clearly an anomalous situation.

The Commission's budget is an equally important element in this equation. If the Commission is to be genuinely independent, it must control its own finances. At present, CU proposes (with some help from the Commission staff), presents, and defends the Commission's annual budget; and the Commission accounts to CU for its use of the funds allocated to it. This means that if a member of the Commission or staff wishes to make a trip on Commission business, it must first be approved by an official of the Department. It means that if the Commission unexpectedly needs additional funds, it must go hat in hand to the Department.

Here again we must admit that no major problems have developed, since the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs has not interfered in Commission business; nevertheless, it is patently illogical for the Commission to rely for its funding on the agency whose performance it is expected to oversee. The only reason we have been given for the retention of this peculiar

arrangement is that the Commission's budget is so insignificant that it can more easily be handled as a line item in CU's appropriation than treated separately by the Office of Management and Budget and the Congress. We do not find this an overriding consideration. We believe, in fact, that this largely administrative detail is outweighed by the considerations outlined which would assure the independence of the Commission. *We therefore recommend that the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs be given its own budget and be authorized to recruit its own staff.*

### The Commission and the Administration

The Fascell subcommittee's fourth suggestion is a "requirement for officials to notify the advisory group of pressures which would contravene the mandate of the programs." It carries one step further the amendment to Reorganization Plan No. 2 which reads:

The Commission's reports to the Congress shall include assessments of the degree to which the scholarly integrity and non-political character of the educational and cultural exchange activities vested in the Director have been maintained.

We naturally approve the subcommittee's suggestion; for if the new Commission is to assess the degree to which ICA has preserved the integrity of the exchange programs, we are certain that it would welcome reports from officials on contraventions of this integrity. The requirement, however, is not included in the pertinent legislation, and we do not see how it can be enforced except by legislation. Under the circumstances we recommend that the Commission be always aware of its responsibility to investigate any pressures or actions which they believe compromise the integrity of the exchange programs.

This suggestion has ramifications which go beyond the immediate issue, prompting us to discuss a wider range of relationships between the Commission and top administration officials.

We note first that recognition of the Commission by the White House is important. It stimulates the enthusiasm of members and encourages the best available individuals to serve on the Commission; it encourages other government officials to cooperate readily and seriously with Commission investigations; it focuses congressional and Executive Branch attention on Commission recommendations. In short, it helps the Commission to do what the President has instructed it to do. We therefore hope that the President will set forth early in the existence of the new Advisory Commission procedures for establishing liaison between his staff and the Commission.

If the Commission's mandate to recommend policies suggests close association with the White House, its mandate to appraise the effectiveness of exchange programs suggests close association with the Secretary of State; for under the terms of Reorganization Plan No. 2, the ICA, including its exchange activities, operates under his supervision.

We do not suggest that the Secretary of State should assume direct supervision of the conduct of exchange programs. We do not contend that periodic meetings of the Commission with the Secretary of State will automatically lead to the enhanced role for exchanges in our foreign affairs which we believe they deserve. We do contend that the Secretary of State can profit from direct exposure to the views on international exchange of an independent, objective, and informed group of citizens, and that this exposure may lead him to a greater appreciation of the value of international exchanges in the implementation of foreign policy. *We recommend that the Secretary of State meet as occasion demands with the new Advisory Commission.*

Before turning to the relationship of the Commission to the Director of the ICA, we comment briefly on the Commission's association with other agencies which operate international exchange/training programs.

Our recent experience investigating the coordination among various exchange programs (chapter II)

showed us that our Commission could not do its job without a knowledge of what other agencies were doing in the broad field covered by our enabling legislation. We had kept ourselves informed of the programs operated by the Board of Foreign Scholarships; but we were inadequately informed on those of AID, HEW (including the Office of Education), the National Science Foundation, the Department of Defense, and others. Our joint meetings with representatives of these agencies were valuable. The Commission records show that our predecessors occasionally held similar joint meetings, with similar beneficial results. We are therefore confident that our successor agency will find the practice useful. It is of course quite possible that the GAO report on the coordination of government exchange programs will advocate a procedure for coordination in which an advisory commission has no formal part. But we foresee no situation in which an advisory group with a mandate similar to ours can afford to remain in ignorance of the broad sweep of government activities in the field of international exchanges. *We recommend to our successor Commission that it meet periodically with representatives of government agencies which conduct significant international exchange or training programs.* This seems to us especially important in view of the provision of Reorganization Plan No. 2 that the ICA coordinate all elements of this country's public diplomacy.

### The Commission and the ICA

The Fascell subcommittee's final suggestion is that the Director of ICA be obligated to respond to the Administration and the Congress on Commission reports. Reorganization Plan No. 2 recasts this idea in a manner which the Commission highly approves: by instructing the Commission to report annually on the actions taken by the Director of ICA to carry out Commission recommendations. Thus, though the Director is not required to respond directly to the Administration and the Congress on Commission reports, they will be informed

through the Commission's annual reports of the actions which ICA has taken, or has not taken, on Commission recommendations. Our Commission, as we have previously noted, approves this instruction. But it is an instruction which implies a passive, or reactive, relationship between the ICA and the Advisory Commission. We recommend a much more positive cooperation.

The 15-year experience of our Commission has shown that an advisory commission can be most useful when its principal advisee, in our case the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, requests Commission action on aspects of its programs. Thus, our Commission was most directly useful to the Department when it made the thorough appraisal of the Department's programs which led to *A Beacon of Hope*, and when it responded to requests from Assistant Secretary Battle for studies on cultural presentations and the East-West Center.

Since 1963 CU has seldom, if ever, called upon the Commission to do anything; but here again the example of one Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs was suggestive. During the 8 years that he filled the position, John Richardson, Jr., regularly attended Commission meetings at home or abroad and carefully considered each Commission report. His active cooperation meant much to the members of the Commission and gave added purpose to their work.

There is no doubt something to be said for preserving some distance between the adviser and advisee—as we have implied in our remarks on the need for the Commission to be objective and independent. And we do not suggest that the Commission was useless when it undertook investigations which were self-initiated or even, in some cases, tacitly opposed by the Department. But we do maintain that the Commission will be most fully and effectively utilized when there exists a feeling of mutual confidence between it and the government agency it advises, and the agency in question turns to it consciously for advice or assistance.

Naturally the development of this relationship depends on both groups concerned; but our experience

suggests that the main effort must come from the agency. To be concrete, it can be presumed from the outset that the members of the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs will be sympathetic to the aims and purposes of the ICA and eager to promote them—otherwise they would not have accepted appointment to the Commission. We have less assurance that the Director of ICA and his colleagues will appreciate the role of the Advisory Commission and what it can do to help them to meet their new responsibilities; but we find the appointment of John Reinhardt as Director most reassuring. Mr. Reinhardt is a Foreign Service Officer of extensive experience, who has on numerous occasions demonstrated his readiness to seek advice within and outside regular government channels. We hope and believe he will establish close relations with the new Advisory Commission. To that end we recommend that the Director of ICA ask the Commission, soon after it convenes, to investigate subjects on which the new agency needs advice, and that thereafter he regularly enlist the Commission's counsel on matters on which an independent opinion would be valuable.

### Creativity and Innovation in the ICA

Up to this point our suggestions for the new Commission have dealt with subjects and procedures rather than with principles or approaches. We have left to the last a general observation-cum-recommendation of greater potential impact than any we have yet made.

Our experience on the Commission has suggested to us that there is a growing tendency in Government toward caution or complacency: a "don't rock the boat" approach in which the performance of routine duties in a routine way becomes the norm; in which a premium is thus placed on mediocrity. We do not believe the agencies which are concerned with public diplomacy demonstrate this quality any more than others. In fact, we suspect that, on the whole, they have shown a greater willingness than most to experiment and to re-



wise. Our point is rather that the agencies dealing in communications have not been innovative and creative enough.

We live in a rapidly changing world in which new psychological, as well as new technological, developments affect international communications. We believe strongly that new approaches and new techniques are needed to meet the new challenge. Our Government has revised its organization and procedures to meet this challenge. But the reorganization will not be fully effective unless it is accompanied by creative thinking and innovative programming.

Can the new Advisory Commission help in this respect? We believe it can. The present Commission launched or supported imaginative exchange projects (the East-West Center, the Western Hemisphere Center, an Informational Media Guaranty Program); and our recommendation in this report for the establishment of a Middle East Foundation illustrates the capacity of an advisory commission to suggest ways in which the United States can extend the normal bounds of international exchange. Our successor can do as much. At the very least it can—and should—include in its appraisals of programs consideration of the degree to which the ICA is progressive and alert to new possibilities, as opposed to operating the same tired programs in the same unimaginative ways. *We recommend that the Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs, through concrete suggestion of new programs and periodic evaluation of on-going programs, assures that the ICA conducts the country's public diplomacy innovatively, imaginatively, creatively.*

## Conclusion

We began this report with two related and optimistic observations: 1) that there is probably greater awareness now than ever before in government circles of the importance of public diplomacy in the pursuit of our foreign policy objectives; 2) that the President's

Reorganization Plan No. 2 gives promise of enabling us to exploit more fully than ever before the possibilities of public diplomacy.

In the pages which followed we discussed in considerable detail what our experience has taught us about how an advisory commission can contribute to the realization of the optimistic hopes implied in our introductory observations. Many of our comments catalogue shortcomings or reflect disappointments. But these are not counsels of despair. On the contrary, we intend them as positive indicators for the future. They indicate areas of improvement in operations which we believe are not only desirable but possible. Our frustrations as well as our satisfactions provide useful guides for our successor.

Both the frustrations and the satisfactions lead us to one overriding conclusion: the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs can, if properly utilized, be a productive element of our public diplomacy. Reorganization Plan No. 2 has already corrected some of the faults which we felt reduced the effectiveness of our Commission. It is our hope that this, our final, report will help to correct others, and that the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs will have left a small but identifiable mark on the history of our country's international relations.

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## VI. Appendices



## Appendix A

### "Printed Reports Produced or Sponsored by the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs 1962-1978

1. "American Educational Programs in Africa," by Mabel M. Smythe. December 1962.
2. "Israeli Government Exchange Programs," by Mabel M. Smythe. December 1962.
3. *First Annual Report*. April 1963. (Printed by Congress.) Reprinted as *A Beacon of Hope*.
4. *American Studies Abroad*, by Walter Johnson. July 1963. (Printed by Congress.)
5. "Report on a Trip to Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico," by Walter Johnson. September 1963.
6. *Second Annual Report*. August 1964. (Printed by Congress.) Reprinted as *A Sequel to a Beacon of Hope—The Exchange-of-Persons Program*.
7. "Research, Appraisals, and Reports," by Mabel M. Smythe and Walter Johnson. September 1964.
8. *A Report on the Strategic Importance of Western Europe*, by Walter Adams. September 1964. (Printed by Congress.)
9. *Third Annual Report*. August 1965. (Printed by Congress.)

10. *Open Hearts Open Minds*, by Theodor Schuchat. February 1966. (Printed by Congress.)
11. *Foreign Students in the United States—A National Survey*, by Operations and Policy Research, Inc. September 1966.
12. *Fourth Annual Report*. January 1967. (Printed by Congress.)
13. *Government, the Universities, and International Affairs: A Crisis in Identity*, by Walter Adams and Adrian Jaffe. May 1967. (Printed by Congress.)
14. *Fifth Annual Report*. February 1968. (Printed by Congress.)
15. *The Brain Drain*, edited by Walter Adams. (Printed by the Macmillan Company, New York, January 1968. French edition, "L'Exode des Cervaux," published by the Centre de Recherches Européenes, Lausanne, 1968. Spanish edition, "El Drenaje de Talento," published by Mundo Moderno, Buenos Aires, 1971.)
16. *The Use of U.S.-Owned Foreign Currencies*, by Professor Byron W. Brown. January 1969. (Printed by Congress.)
17. *Sixth Annual Report: Is Anyone Listening?* January 1969. (Printed by Congress.)
18. *Cultural Diplomacy and its Presentation in International Affairs Text Books, 1945–1971*, by Michael J. Flack, 1971.
19. *Seventh Annual Report*. September 1970. (Printed by Congress.)
20. *Eighth Annual Report*. September 1971. (Printed by Congress.)
21. *Ninth Annual Report*. January 1973. (Printed by Congress.)
22. *Tenth Annual Report*. June 1974. (Printed by Congress.)

23. *International Information, Education and Cultural Relations: Recommendations for the Future*, by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University. March 1975.
24. *Eleventh Annual Report: A Necessary and Noble Task*. June 1975.
25. *The Effects of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Cultural Relations of the United States and Eastern Europe*, by Leonard H. Marks and William French Smith. December 1975. (Printed by Congress.)
26. *Twelfth Annual Report*. June 1976.
27. *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East*, by Leonard H. Marks and William French Smith. June 1977. (Printed by Congress.)
28. *Thirteenth Annual Report*. June 1977.
29. *Fourteenth Annual Report: The Unfinished Agenda*. April 1, 1978.
30. *International Educational and Cultural Exchange*, (a quarterly magazine) Vol. I (1965)—Vol. XIII (1978).





## Appendix B

### Members of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs 1962–1978

1. Adams, Walter, Professor, Michigan State University. (Member, May 12, 1962–November 23, 1969)
2. Babbidge, Homer D., President, University of Connecticut. (Member, March 11, 1965–September 24, 1973; Chairman, March 1965–May 1967, April 1969–September 1963.)
3. Brann, Eva T., Tutor, St. Johns College. (Member, July 23, 1975–March 31, 1978)
4. Burress, Richard T., Associate Director, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. (Member, July 23, 1975–March 31, 1978)
5. Cherne, Leo D., Executive Director, Research Institute of America. (Member, October 8, 1971–March 15, 1976; Acting Chairman, October 1973–February 1974)
6. Curtis, Thomas B., Vice President and General Counsel, Encyclopedia Britannica. (Member, October 8, 1971–July 22, 1975)
7. Derge, David R., President, Southern Illinois University. (Member, November 24, 1969–April 19, 1976)

8. Fleming, James, Publisher, Fort Wayne *Journal-Gazette*. (Member, May 12, 1962–May 1, 1964)
9. Flemming, Harry S., President, Inverness Capital Corporation, former Special Assistant to the President. (Member, October 8, 1971–July 22, 1975)
10. Foster, Luther H., President, Tuskegee Institute. (Member, May 12, 1962–October 1968)
11. Gardner, John, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York. (Chairman, May 12, 1962–March 11, 1965)
12. Goldberg, Lawrence, Vice President, Brandeis University. (Member, March 22, 1974–April 19, 1976)
13. Harris, Rufus C., President, Mercer University. (Member, October 20, 1965–September 25, 1968)
14. Hauser, Rita E., Attorney at Law, Stroock & Stroock & Lavan. (Member, March 22, 1974–March 31, 1978)
15. Hesburgh, Theodore M., President, University of Notre Dame. (Member, May 12, 1962–May 11, 1965)
16. Johnson, Walter, Professor, University of Chicago. (Member, May 12, 1962–December 11, 1967)
17. Lafontant, Jewel, Attorney at Law, Stradford, Lafontant, Gibson, Fisher and Corrigan. (Member, November 24, 1969–February 2, 1973)
18. Leach, James A., President, Flamegas Companies, Inc. (Member, July 23, 1975–December 31, 1976)
19. Larsen, Roy E., Chairman, Executive Committee, Time, Inc. (Member, May 12, 1962–September 14, 1967)
20. Marks, Leonard H., Attorney at Law, Cohn and Marks; former Director, United States Information Agency. (Chairman, March 22, 1974–March 31, 1978)
21. Milburn, Beryl B., Vice Chairwoman Texan Con-

- stitutional Revision Commission. (Member, April 8, 1976–March 31, 1978)
22. Moody, Wayland P., President, San Antonio College. (Member, October 2, 1968–October 7, 1971)
  23. Murphy, Franklin D., Chancellor, University of California at Los Angeles. (Member, May 12, 1962–March 11, 1965)
  24. Oldham, Dortch, Retired Publisher; Chairman, Tennessee Republican Party. (Member, April 8, 1976–March 31, 1978)
  25. Pate, Martha L., Chairwoman of College and School Division of the United Negro College Fund; former University Administrator. (Member, November 23, 1970–May 11, 1975)
  26. Picker, Arnold, Executive Vice President, United Artists Corporation. (Member, March 11, 1965–October 7, 1971)
  27. Robinson, Thomas E., Chairman, Department of Secondary Education, Rider College. (Member, October 1, 1968–October 7, 1971)
  28. Sachar, Abram L., President, Brandeis University. (Member, September 15, 1967–May 11, 1970)
  29. Scalapino, Robert A., Professor, University of California. (Member, December 12, 1967–March 6, 1969)
  30. Smiley, Joseph R., President, University of Colorado. (Member, October 20, 1965–November 23, 1969; Chairman, June 1967–March 1969)
  31. Smith, William French, Attorney at Law, Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher; Chairman of the Board of Regents, University of California. (Member, October 8, 1971–March 31, 1978)
  32. Smythe, Mabel M., Principal, New Lincoln High School, New York City. (Member, May 12, 1962–October 20, 1965)

33. **Tompkins, Pauline, General Director, American Association of University Women. (Member, May 1, 1964–November 23, 1969)**
34. **Turner, William C., President, Western Management Consultants, Inc. (Member, November 24, 1969–August 10, 1974)**



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