

UNITED STATES
ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

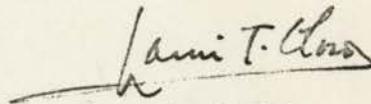
July 5, 1968

Dear Mr. Nimetz:

In accordance with our telephone conversation and in lieu of writing a special history of the Advisory Commission on Information, I am submitting herewith the Commission's annual reports to the Congress for the past five years.

I believe that these reports give a running account of the Commission's role, its activities, its views of the Government's overseas information, cultural and educational programs, its conclusions about them, and its recommendations for action. I hope that you will find these reports satisfactory.

Sincerely,



Louis T. Olom
Staff Director

Mr. Matthew Nimetz
The White House
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Washington, D. C.

2BE

To the Congress of the United States



THE NINETEENTH REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information



January 1964

THE NINETEENTH REPORT

OF THE

United States

Advisory Commission

on Information

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FOREWORD

This Report on the activities of the United States Information Agency (USIA) was in preparation when the news of President Kennedy's assassination shocked the Nation and the World.

This tragic episode in our national history places an extra and immediate responsibility on the USIA to dispel any doubt as to the ability of the United States to maintain domestic tranquillity, law and order.

If there is to be continuing understanding of our character, our strength and our motives, it becomes increasingly evident that we must compete in the field of communication with those forces that seek every opportunity to distort, misinform and mislead.

We must be strong militarily if we are to have a peaceful world. We must also be strong in leadership toward peace.

This Commission considers it vital that there be support by the Administration, by the Congress and by the public in building up a well equipped and skillfully manned information service.

The President must continue to have direct access to those who have expert knowledge and information about foreign opinion. This is of inestimable value in the formulation and presentation of American foreign policy to the world.

An immediate and continuing assignment of USIA is to project to the world the image of President Lyndon B. Johnson, his policies, his capacity and the depth of his experience.

This can be of material assistance in maintaining U.S. leadership in the free world.

FOREWORD

This Report on the activities of the United States Information Agency (USIA) was prepared in accordance with the terms of President Kennedy's Commission on the Nation and the World.

This report speaks in our national history places an extra and immediate responsibility on the USIA to direct any change in the ability of the United States to maintain domestic tranquility, law and order.

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To The Congress of The United States

CONTENTS

	Page
To the Congress of the United States	vii
Purpose of the U.S. Information Agency	2
Congressional Support and Understanding	5
Continuing Problems	7
Recent Accomplishments	15
Conclusion	17
Appendix	
Former President Kennedy's Statement of the U.S. Information Agency Mission	20

To The Congress of The United States

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information submits herewith its Nineteenth Report to Congress covering the calendar year 1963 in pursuance of the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act (Public Law 402) enacted by the 80th Congress on January 27, 1948.

This Commission consists of five private citizens appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for 3-year overlapping terms. Its members represent the public interest.

The purposes of the Commission are to "formulate and recommend" to the Director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) "policies and programs for the carrying out of" Public Law 402, to conduct appraisals of the effectiveness of the information, education and cultural programs administered by the Agency, and to submit a report to Congress covering these policies and programs.

The general objectives of this Act and thus of USIA are "to promote a better understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." More specifically the Act charges the U.S. information program with the responsibility for "disseminating abroad information about the United States, its people and policies promulgated by the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of Government having to do with matters affecting foreign affairs."

In 1963 former President John F. Kennedy expanded these objectives of USIA. He charged the Agency with "advising the President, his representatives abroad and the various departments and agencies of the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated U.S. policies, programs and official statements." (See Appendix for former President Kennedy's Statement of the USIA Mission.)

During the past year the Commission met 10 times in Washington, D.C. Regular meetings were held with the Director of the U.S. Information Agency and with members of his staff. The Commission also met with representatives of other public agencies and private organizations which are engaged in various aspects of international communication and exchange. These included, the former Coordinator of the Alliance For Progress, Mr. Teodoro Moscoso; the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Mr. Lucius D. Battle; the former Deputy Director of the Peace Corps, Mr. Bill D. Moyers; the President of Radio Free Europe Fund, Inc., Mr. Theodore C. Streibert; the President of American Committee on Liberation, Mr. Howland S. Sargeant; the Director of the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, Mr. John C. Broger; and the Director of the Communications Research Center of Brandeis University, Mr. Louis G. Cowan.

These meetings provided the Commission with authoritative explanations of activities that are related to those of the U.S. Information Agency. They illuminated areas of coordination and revealed the degree of effort devoted to persuasion, information and education programs that are directed at foreign countries by other institutions.

Members of the Commission met with President John F. Kennedy at the White House on January 28, 1963, for a presentation of the Commission's Eighteenth Report to Congress and for a discussion of the implications of the Commission's findings, conclusions and recommendations.

On February 21, 1963, J. Leonard Reinsch, Chairman of the Commission, and Commissioner Clark R. Mollenhoff presented a bound copy of the Commission's Eighteenth Report to Congress to Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota in honor of the 15th anniversary of the passage of Public Law 402. Senator Mundt is one of the two authors of this legislation.

On March 29, 1963, the Chairman of the Commission appeared before the House Subcommittee on International Or-

ganizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and testified at its hearings which were devoted to an examination of the ideological aspects of the cold war.

The Commission wishes to commend the Chairman of the Subcommittee, Representative Dante B. Fascell of Florida, and his colleagues on the Subcommittee for pursuing this difficult task. The hearings have shed light on the need for more effective interdepartmental coordination, the need for increased research, and the amount of useful work being performed under the auspices of private American business, labor, artistic and cultural organizations. The Commission looks forward to the completion of the Subcommittee's hearings and the subsequent issuance of its report.

During the past year Chairman Reinsch visited U.S. Information Service (USIS) posts in Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia in Brazil, and in Lima, Peru. In Rio he attended the Fourth Inter-American Public Relations Conference.

Commissioner M. S. Novik visited USIS posts in Rome, Athens, Ankara and Istanbul.

In its visits to overseas posts, the Commission finds signs of the growing maturity and professional competence of USIA personnel and of the cumulative impact of its work over the years. Led by an able Director, Edward R. Murrow, the USIA has moved forward in its two-fold task of serving as adviser to the Government on foreign opinion and of disseminating abroad the information about our policies, intentions and way of life that will help protect and advance the American national interest.

The Commission hopes that the Congress of the United States shares its confidence in the expanding potential of this important agency.

THE NINETEENTH REPORT
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**United States
Advisory Commission
on Information**

The U.S. Information Agency has become an integral part of the structure of the U.S. Government. As an arm of U.S. foreign policy, it receives its foreign policy guidance from the President of the United States and the Department of State. As an Agency with public information missions in 106 countries, 180 libraries or information centers in 86 countries, 70 reading rooms in 34 countries, and 149 bi-national centers in 33 countries, it symbolizes and represents the American presence abroad.

The Director of USIA reports to the President and participates in the deliberations of the National Security Council. He is present at Cabinet meetings. He attends the meetings of the Secretary of State. And he is represented at high-level interdepartmental meetings in Washington.

In pursuance of the USIA mission as outlined by the President, the Director offers advice concerning foreign public opinion.

Overseas, the principal representative of USIA is the Public Affairs Officer (PAO). He reports to the Ambassador and advises him on public opinion factors abroad, a function which was previously handled by several people. Under the general guidance of the Ambassador he conducts the Embassy's information program. With his Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO), the PAO also administers the cultural relations and educational exchange programs for the U.S. Government.

In Washington, USIA operations cooperate with many departments and agencies. Liaison is conducted with the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Department of Commerce. Less frequent but important relations exist between USIA and other departments and agencies such as National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Atomic Energy Commission, Agriculture, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare Department, the National Academy of Sciences, etc. This liaison between USIA and the domestic agencies enables the information program to disseminate to the world official views about various aspects of the American economy and the American scene.

It was clear from former President Kennedy's Statement of Mission for USIA that the responsibilities of USIA include explaining those activities of domestic agencies which have significance in the foreign field.

The cumulative growth of interdepartmental responsibilities combined with their intricate pattern of relationships have increased the burdens on the Director of USIA and on his immediate staff.

Thus, the Director must represent his Agency at top-level meetings in Washington, with the committees of Congress and with the general public. He must also direct and manage the operations of a worldwide communications apparatus.

The coordination of these two functions has become more complex in the light of USIA's new responsibilities because more is expected from the Agency by those who formulate and conduct U.S. foreign policy.

PURPOSE OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

The expanded authority, the increased functions and the evolving structure of USIA are designed to meet the following purposes:

1. As an arm of U.S. foreign policy USIA is the public relations adviser to the Executive in Washington and to the Ambassador in the field. At the same time it functions as an accurate expositor abroad of U.S. foreign policies and programs.
2. As an information service it disseminates accurate information about the United States through personal contacts and by means of the media of communications that are available to it.
3. As a propaganda apparatus in competition with the apparatus of international communism, it attempts to counter and correct Communist propaganda distortions and lies about U.S. policies and intentions.
4. As the cultural and educational arm of the Department of State in the field, it administers the cultural and educational exchanges and programs.

The above purposes are directed towards maintaining and developing U.S. leadership of the free world in the daily fluctuations of the cold war. They are implemented by USIA's continuing efforts to stimulate and develop abroad:

- understanding of the American economy
- appreciation of American culture
- confidence in American military strength
- interest in American education
- recognition of America's peace efforts
- appreciation of American economic assistance
- respect for America's scientific progress
- awareness of America's agricultural abundance as well as bounty
- balanced understanding of America's racial problems and progress
- recognition of America's space achievements

USIA purposes abroad however are not all general and intangible. USIA helps stimulate American foreign trade, attracts and encourages foreign tourists to travel to the United States.

publicizes the advantages and results of the multilateral Alliance For Progress programs, promotes the Food For Peace programs, and points out important advantages and opportunities of the free world to student, youth and labor leaders. Such endeavors have concrete results which are beneficial to the national interest.

Linked with accurate presentations of U.S. foreign policy and with continuous efforts to counter Communist distortions and false claims, these constitute some of the major purposes of a foreign information program.

The task of promoting and increasing foreign understanding of the United States and its policies is never ending. New generations abroad arise who need to be told of the distinctive American contribution to world peace, progress and security and of the value of this contribution to their own hopes, problems, concerns and goals. Allies and neutrals cannot be taken for granted and potential enemies must be countered whenever our national interests are at stake.

Insofar as USIA can inform foreign audiences about U.S. policies and the U.S. national interest, it is playing its role in developing respect for and confidence in U.S. leadership of the free world.

Some evidence that USIA is making progress in this role can be found in the Soviet's growing concern over the impact of the work of USIA. In 1963 the Soviet propaganda attack on USIA reached an all-time high. It has been extensive in volume and content. It has been continuous. Hopefully, it is a sign that the Soviets are worried about the growing skill and effectiveness of the U.S. effort.

Although progress is being made two important questions still face the Agency. The first is the need for greater support by the U.S. Congress for this type of 20th century diplomacy, and greater understanding of why its continued existence is necessary to the survival and prosperity of the United States. The second is the continual accumulation of unresolved problems that are both internal and external to the work of the U.S. Information Agency.

CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING

The Commission is concerned at a seeming lack of rapport between the Agency and some Congressional leaders. A fuller understanding and support of the function of USIA is needed in the Congress.

Since 1948 three Presidents representing both major political parties have recruited men from universities, from business, from the civil service, from the newspaper and radio industries and from the diplomatic establishment to direct the Government's foreign communications program.

During the past 3 years the Agency has been directed by an experienced radio and television commentator and expert in communications. Despite a serious illness, Mr. Murrow has been dedicated to his task and has added prestige to the Agency. The record is clear that neither he nor any of the 11 directors of the U.S. foreign information program who preceded him has succeeded in communicating to the Congress of the United States an adequate understanding of the foreign information program. This Commission also has attempted, with limited success, to impress on the Congress the magnitude of the effort necessary to compete effectively in the cold war. However, USIA has not had the degree of support commensurate with its requirements and potential.

Congress has provided the appropriations necessary for the construction of more powerful broadcasting facilities in the new plant at Greenville, N.C. The construction of other broadcasting facilities throughout the world also testifies to the exercise of Congressional willingness to appropriate funds for the acquisition of real estate and for the construction of technical facilities.

In this Commission's view it is just as important that adequate funds be provided for USIA's programs as for engineering and construction.

This Commission is convinced that if USIA is to discharge its mission as indicated by the Congressional intent that under-

lies Public Law 402, and as expanded by President Kennedy's Statement of Mission for USIA, it must obtain additional support. In the worldwide competition with communism in information, education and ideology, the evidence indicates the need for additional and better facilities, programs, personnel and material.

It is difficult to reach decisions on the size of appropriations that should be made available to USIA because it is difficult to pinpoint and demonstrate the tangible results that derive from activities of the USIA. Positive results are gradual, long-range and cumulative.

The Commission believes that the Agency has a good case in its efforts to modernize, improve and stay competitive with the Communist propaganda apparatus. However, the Congress in its review of appropriations has periodically discovered examples of ineffective planning and administration of programs. The Agency should examine carefully the documented Congressional complaints.

This Commission and its predecessors have long urged that the Agency, through a central mechanism in Washington and with the assistance of its country Public Affairs Officers, examine and review the programs and media that are sponsored by USIA in Washington and by each post in the field. The purpose of this recommendation was to eliminate marginal, superfluous or out-dated programs and media. This recommendation has not resulted in effective action. It is urged that in the future, the Agency present the results of such reviews to the Congress.

While the Commission believes that USIA's statement of fiscal requirements in the light of its expanded mission is generally realistic, the Agency must demonstrate a tough-minded attitude toward the continuous task of weeding out programs or media that are no longer necessary.

In view of the expressed attitude of the Congress and of the admonitions and recommendations offered by this Commis-

sion the Agency is again urged to examine, study and act on a number of accumulated problems which have been called to its attention.

CONTINUING PROBLEMS

Although this Commission recognizes improvements in USIA's prestige and posture, and in some of its products, several major problems remain which require continuing attention. Some will require decisions by USIA, some by the Congress, and some by the President.

1. *Internal Management, Communication and Coordination*—USIA is an Agency of complex and intricate operations. It consists of five operating or media services, six area or geographic offices, an office of policy, an office of research, an office of administration, an office of security, an office of private cooperation, and the general counsel—all in Washington. In any such organization, proper coordination of internal groups and offices is essential.

The Commission's last report to Congress called the Agency's attention to this matter. Although some steps were taken to work on this problem, it has not been resolved. The burdens that fall on the Director's office have increased sharply because of USIA's increased responsibilities to other Government agencies. The task of coordinating media and area offices internally, of integrating their plans and programs with each other and with research requires stronger and more concerted action. In addition, no effective device has yet been developed to communicate many of the problems and decisions of the top staff to lower echelons.

This is a problem facing all large-scale organizations, but it is especially important in a communications agency which produces so many different products, engages in such diverse activities and operates in over 100 foreign countries.

USIA may wish to consider the appointment of a permanent career administrator to furnish continuity in the top man-

agement of the Agency. His primary responsibility would be to insure that all facets of USIA's intricate operation are tied together more effectively. In addition, he would be responsible for providing the Director with continuing evaluations of the Agency's programs. Such an appointment would be in line with President Johnson's November 30, 1963 memorandum for the heads of departments and agencies in which he urged that each agency become "a model of good management and economical administration."

2. *Reduction in Publications*—The Commission has not seen results from its recommendation that the Agency reexamine the number and nature of its publications. Changing conditions and targets call for a review to determine whether the need for publications authorized years ago has changed and whether these publications continue to serve useful purposes. The Commission renews this recommendation and hopes that a reduction in the number of publications can be effected whenever objective reviews disclose that they are no longer necessary.

3. *Content Review of Print and Radio*—The Commission in its last report to Congress recommended that USIA establish outside committees for the purpose of improving the contents of Agency products by examining sample programs and output. No concrete action has been taken by the Agency.

The Commission reiterates this recommendation. It believes that such a review, conducted at least semi-annually, will supply top management with the additional judgment of outside experts. Such advice will help improve the quality of the Agency's media products.

4. *The Need for One USIA Building in Washington*—There is a continuing need for a single facility to house all of USIA personnel and operations.

The Commission feels that one structure, to replace the presently scattered 11 buildings, would be more economical and would materially ease top management's task of improving the Agency's internal management, coordination and communication.

5. *Forward Planning*—The Agency acted quickly on the Commission's recommendation to initiate forward planning considerations. More needs to be done and a clarification of the function is in order.

In its report to the Senate Committee on Government Operations, the Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations issued a thoughtful study in January 1963. Its observations on "planning and action" are worthy of consideration.

The section on planning stated . . . "planning in order to stop trouble before it starts is more difficult in part because it is hard for top officers to give it their attention and in part because of the confusion about the nature and purpose of planning."

"The object of planning is not to blueprint future actions . . . The object is to decide what should be done now in the light of the best present estimate of how the future will look. Planners think about the future in order to act wisely in the present."

Planning in USIA should examine the long-range aspects and implications of its present equipment and facilities. It should strive to ascertain new trends in communication techniques and research. It should also endeavor to identify countries of strategic importance to the United States in which USIA should concentrate its maximum energies and funds. It should help determine which media should expand, level off or decrease. In these and other ways forward planning can become a critical factor in the Agency's decisions on the nature, magnitude and geographic location of its programs and therefore of its budget.

6. *Research*—Little progress has been reported on the Commission's recommendations to increase funds for research and for the better use of research in the planning, conduct and evaluation of specific USIA programs and operations. More needs to be done in this important area. Research results are not a substitute for creative and imaginative programs. They do serve as useful guides, they highlight problems, identify trends in public opinion and help in the selection of media and targets.

Research also raises critical questions concerning the impact of the overall information program. And it is an important aid to the long-range planner.

7. *Career Legislation*—The Commission again recommends that the Congress provide USIA with the legal underpinnings that will enable its foreign service career corps to look forward to the emoluments and perquisites of a permanent foreign service career. Conditions of work, promotion, salary schedule, retirement and selection out procedures sanctioned by the Congress would finally give USIA officers treatment comparable to that received by foreign service officers in the Department of State.

8. *Exchanges of Specialists in Mass Communications*—Whenever possible training seminars in mass communication should be held abroad. A few have been held in Africa and they should be expanded within the limits of the budget.

The Commission believes that USIA also has a special role to perform in encouraging and selecting outstanding foreigners who work in the major communications channels of their countries to visit the United States.

Although private and public agencies have sponsored visits of individuals in the press, radio, television, motion picture and publishing industries, the Commission believes that more systematic attention should be given to this category of exchangees by USIS officers in the field and by top officers in Washington.

These are the people who among other things report on America. They should be given opportunity to visit and study the land which they interpret to their own countrymen.

Although the Commission reasserts its belief that this type of training program can best be performed in the field, it recommends that when groups are invited to the United States, they should be small in number and of high calibre. Their itineraries and hospitality should be carefully planned and their course of study well selected. Their stay in the United States should seldom extend to more than 7 or 8 weeks. Individuals invited

should be given a thorough orientation on this country for they cannot understand American communications without some insight into our society and way of life. Reciprocally, and whenever possible, American escort officers and teachers should be knowledgeable of the visitor's country. And after the foreign visitor completes his experience and tour he should be afforded an opportunity to share his observations with his sponsors.

The Commission recommends that USIA and the Department of State coordinate and focus their efforts more systematically on the steady development and improvement of this program.

9. *The Cultural Affairs Officer*—When the U.S. Information Agency was established as an independent agency in 1953, the administration and planning of the exchange of persons program in Washington was unfortunately separated from it and lodged in the Department of State. The responsibility for executing and implementing the exchange program in the field however remained with USIA. The USIA officer who usually discharges this responsibility in every foreign post is the CAO. He is directed by the PAO and his work is integrated with the rest of the USIS mission.

The CAO's duties have grown over the years. Today, he not only administers the exchange program, he frequently supervises the information center, library or bi-national center. He encourages and assists local universities in establishing courses in American studies. He helps organize and arrange for cultural, artistic and musical presentations. In this manner all U.S. cultural programs receive maximum planned publicity from local radio, press, television, motion pictures and from USIS libraries.

The Commission believes that with the growth of responsibilities in the cultural and educational field, it would be useful for USIA to conduct a study of its CAOs. This study would re-examine the standards used in recruiting CAOs, their training program, their relationship to the USIS mission, their management of the exchange program and their progress and promotion rate in the Agency's foreign service.

10. *USIS Libraries in Western Europe*—The Commission has been informed that USIA plans to eliminate a number of information centers or libraries in Western Europe to accommodate pressures for reductions in the Western European budget. The Commission questions the soundness of this decision.

These libraries have been developed over a long period of time. They represent a cumulative investment in the visible U.S. presence. They have become familiar, accepted and respected American institutions in Europe and in other parts of the world. They have developed reputations for featuring a wide variety of useful educational, cultural and information services to many appreciative and influential citizens. The Commission hopes that the decision to eliminate these libraries will be reconsidered.

11. *USIA Cultural Programs*—In earlier reports the Commission has called attention to the periodic shifts that USIA makes in its emphasis on information as compared to cultural and educational affairs. Its emphasis today is on information programs with less effort devoted to the cultural and educational side. This tends to throw the overall program out of balance.

The Commission believes that cultural and educational activities can be presented as one of a number of important means of accomplishing U.S. foreign policy objectives. In some countries where official restriction on information activities exists or where complete censorship prevails or where there is temporary opposition to a given U.S. foreign policy, U.S. cultural events are still accepted and appreciated. In most countries, however, especially in Western Europe and in Latin America foreign information programs are permitted. There, cultural activities can be useful adjuncts to U.S. foreign policy. They should be encouraged.

The Commission recommends that the Agency restore the balance of its program by integrating more effectively its cultural and educational activities with the overall information programs. This is especially true in Europe where an important redirection of the entire program is being planned.

12. *USIA Trade Fair Exhibition Program*—During the past 6 or 7 years the U.S. Government has established and developed an international exhibits and trade fair program in support of U.S. foreign policy. The President of the United States has assigned this responsibility to USIA, which has received Congressional appropriations for this purpose. The USIA has turned over these funds to the Department of Commerce which has been given the major responsibility for planning and executing the exhibits. In this task, it has received the guidance and assistance of an interdepartmental committee consisting of representatives from the Department of State and USIA.

The results have been uneven. These exhibits are primarily vehicles for the display of equipment, goods and commodities. Frequently, however, the managers of the exhibitions have displayed a lack of sufficient concern for projecting a major psychological message about the American economic system to foreign audiences. The Commission has received reports that despite an impressive amount of publicity and despite the large crowds that have been attracted to the shows, the desired psychological impact has been minimal. There have been some cases that the Agency itself has regarded as failures.

The Commission believes that the purpose of the international trade fair exhibitions should not be limited to showing the products that the American economic system produces. Their displays should also explain how our system works to the benefit of our people and of free people everywhere in contrast to the allegations of Marxism and of Communist propaganda.

The Agency itself has demonstrated an ability to mount exhibits with this kind of psychological impact which have enjoyed a degree of popularity and success in the USSR and in certain East European countries. This capability should be expanded and tied in more intimately with the administration of the international trade exhibits. And it would permit the Agency to cover the major international exhibitions with greater economy and psychological impact.

The Commission believes that since USIA has both the final responsibility and the know-how, it should reconsider its decision to transfer funds to the Department of Commerce for the execution of international trade fair exhibitions. USIA should accept full administrative responsibility for this execution and planning.

13. *Interdepartmental Coordination*—Some of the problems mentioned—trade fair exhibits, cultural presentations, exchanges—and others such as book production, distribution and translation, the teaching of English—and international broadcasting reflect the development of programs sponsored by a half-dozen or more private and public agencies.

Although each of these Departments or Agencies can justify its projects, it is clear that there is a continued need for interdepartmental coordination in order that duplication may be kept at a minimum.

During the past year the Commission has met with the director or deputy director of public and private organizations engaged in related international communications activities. All are attempting to seek to coordinate their activities.

The Commission remains convinced that a single department of communications, education and exchanges must some day emerge in order that the total U.S. national effort can be directed with a greater singleness of purpose and efficiency and with a central authority capable of planning these activities on a country by country basis.

14. *The Alliance For Progress*—The critical importance of the Alliance in Latin America has been underlined by the President of the United States. The USIS role in this multilateral program must continue to be exercised and guided by officers of the highest calibre.

There is no substitute for the insight, knowledge and techniques of local editors, publishers, radio and television executives, writers and sympathetic academic personalities. USIS should solicit their cooperation and advice, and seek their informal guid-

ance and suggestions on the most effective methods of disseminating information about the Alliance For Progress program.

15. *Domestic Public Relations*—Although USIA's audience is overseas, the Agency has a responsibility to report to the American people and to the Congress on its activities.

Its primary vehicle is the semi-annual report which contains pertinent information on USIA's worldwide operations.

These operations are also examined at least once a year by the appropriate committees of Congress.

In addition, USIA has a legal obligation (Title V, Sec. 501, Public Law 402) to make available, upon request, its press releases and scripts, after they have been released as information abroad, to the representatives of the mass media and to Members of Congress. Its educational films may be obtained from the Office of Education. Occasional domestic press releases are prepared on important developments. And, USIA officers speak to a variety of groups in the United States.

The Commission recommends that USIA avoid those domestic activities which are contrary to the intentions of Congress. This calls for restriction of domestic speeches and press releases. The Agency should limit the distribution of its materials and media products domestically, in order to allay any Congressional apprehension that the Agency may be propagandizing within the United States.

The Commission believes that a concerted attack on the problems discussed above will improve the conduct of the information program. Together with some of the outstanding developments in USIA, listed below, it will help create greater Congressional appreciation and support.

RECENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. The Motion Picture Division has produced films with taste and technical proficiency. Many are of the highest quality

and have been well received and appreciated abroad. However, care should be given to scripts to insure accuracy and to avoid questionable presentations of historic events which lead to domestic controversy. And the Agency should reconsider its policy of providing films for worldwide distribution without proper adaptation for regional differences.

2. There has been a substantial increase in book translations especially in Spanish for Latin America and in French for French-speaking Africa. The Commission has also been informed that with the assistance of the Government Advisory Committee on International Book Programs, progress is being made in eliminating the overlapping with the Agency for International Development in Latin America in book publications, translation and distribution.

3. The Agency's exhibits circulating in the Soviet Union and satellite countries have been well planned and constructed. The Commission has learned that they have created a significant impact on the minds of thousands of Soviet and East European visitors who attended the exhibits. The private American guides accompanying those exhibits have been well prepared and trained to clarify further the contents of the exhibits. They have communicated a great deal of information about the United States to the curious and interested visitors in these Communist countries.

4. The long-awaited new transmitter complex in Greenville, N.C., was completed this year. This major USIA achievement was well managed and constructed and has doubled the shortwave power of the Voice of America.

CONCLUSION

In this Nineteenth Report to Congress, the Commission has restated the purposes and mission of USIA in the context of the progress that has been made, the need for greater Congressional understanding and support and the problems that exist.

At a time when a new President has assumed office the paramount objectives of USIA are to help project the permanent U.S. national interest, the continuity of U.S. policies and to help maintain confidence abroad in American leadership.

To accomplish these purposes, the Commission recommends that USIA seek solutions to its continuing problems. These include the need—

1. To improve internal management, communication and coordination.
2. To reduce the number of publications.
3. To seek outside evaluation of USIA print and radio programs.
4. To reduce the number of USIA buildings in Washington from 11 to 1.
5. To improve and strengthen long-range planning.
6. To expand the research program and to use its results more effectively.
7. To obtain legislation for a career Foreign Service Corps.
8. To coordinate and concentrate the Government's programs for orienting and training foreign specialists in mass communications.
9. To review and study the role of the Cultural Affairs Officer.
10. To restore the balance of the Agency's cultural programs.
11. To reconsider the USIA decision to reduce the number of libraries or information centers in Western Europe.
12. To assume full responsibility for planning and executing the President's trade fair exhibition program.

13. To consider the need to consolidate into one agency of government the related but widely scattered programs in information, education and culture.
14. To seek the advice and guidance of local Latin American practitioners of mass communications in presenting the Alliance For Progress to Latin America.
15. To confine USIA's domestic public relations to a minimum and limit the distribution of its media products in the United States in accordance with the intent of Congress.

During the 15 years that have elapsed since the passage of Public Law 402 and during the first 10 years of its existence as an independent Agency, the Commission believes USIA has made progress. This progress must be more effectively documented and communicated to the Congress. It will help generate the understanding that must prevail if the Congress is to provide the support USIA needs to fulfill its role on behalf of the American people in the ideological struggle which will be with us for a long time.

If the United States were in a hot war, USIA or its wartime equivalent would constitute an important arm of the total war effort. Today, in a phase of cold war which has been characterized by an apparent relaxation of tension between the Soviets and the United States, USIA represents an investment in preventing hot war and in helping to create an atmosphere and conditions for the establishment of peace.

USIA has become a more effective instrument in eliminating misunderstandings of America's political intentions and in presenting the case for freedom. In an era of military co-existence and at a time of fierce ideological struggle, its value is obvious. Aggressive steps in the correction of problem areas

could be helpful in gaining understanding and support from the Congress, including the tools and funds with which to do the job.
Respectfully submitted,

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J. LEONARD REINSCH
Chairman

Sigurd S. Larmson
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M. S. NOVIK

John L. Seigenthaler
JOHN L. SEIGENTHALER

JANUARY 7, 1964

APPENDIX

Former President John F. Kennedy's Statement of the U.S. Information Agency Mission

The mission of the U.S. Information Agency is to help achieve U.S. foreign policy objectives by (a) influencing public attitudes in other nations, and (b) advising the President, his representatives abroad, and the various departments and agencies on the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated U.S. policies, programs and official statements.

The influencing of attitudes is to be carried out by overt use of the various techniques of communication—personal contact, radio broadcasting, libraries, book publication and distribution, press, motion pictures, television, exhibits, English-language instruction, and others. In so doing, the Agency shall be guided by the following:

- 1. Individual country programs should specifically and directly support country and regional objectives determined by the President and set forth in official policy pronouncements, both classified and unclassified.*
- 2. Agency activities should (a) encourage constructive public support abroad for the goal of a "peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others;" (b) identify the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified for its leadership of world efforts toward this goal, and (c) unmask and counter hostile attempts to distort or*

frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States. These activities should emphasize the ways in which U.S. policies harmonize with those of other peoples and governments, and those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding of U.S. policies.

The advisory function is to be carried out at various levels in Washington, and within the Country Team at U.S. diplomatic missions abroad. While the Director of the U.S. Information Agency shall take the initiative in offering counsel when he deems it advisable, the various departments and agencies should seek such counsel when considering policies and programs which may substantially effect or be affected by foreign opinion. Consultation with the U.S. Information Agency is essential when programs affecting communications media in other countries are contemplated.

U.S. Information Agency staffs abroad, acting under the supervision of the Chiefs of Mission, are responsible for the conduct of overt public information, public relations and cultural activities—i.e. those activities intended to inform or influence foreign public opinion—for agencies of the U.S. Government except for Commands of the Department of Defense.

To the Congress of the United States



THE TWENTIETH REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information



March 1965

THE TWENTIETH REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
To the Congress of the United States	v
Status of Recommendations in 19th Report to Congress	2
The Need for a Study of USIA's 1964 U.S. Election Coverage	11
International Cooperation Year (ICY), 1965	13

To The Congress of The United States

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information submits herewith its Twentieth Report to Congress in accordance with the requirements of Public Law 402.

On March 10, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler, Vice-President—Public Service, The Times Mirror, Los Angeles, California to replace John Siegenthaler as a member of this Commission.

On March 10, 1964, President Johnson nominated Dr. Frank Stanton, President, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to succeed J. Leonard Reinsch.

The Senate confirmed both Mrs. Chandler and Dr. Stanton on July 8, 1964. On July 9, the President designated Dr. Stanton as Chairman of the Commission.

On February 25, 1964, the Senate confirmed the appointment of Ambassador Carl T. Rowan to succeed Edward R. Murrow who was compelled to resign as Director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) because of illness.

The Commission wishes to commend the dedication which Mr. Murrow gave to his assignment. He increased the Agency's prestige and helped to obtain its growing acceptance as a permanent and vital part of our national security.

During 1964, the Commission held six meetings; three in New York and three in Washington, D.C. In the past year Commissioner M. S. Novik visited U.S. Information Service (USIS) posts in Rome and Geneva.

In 1964, USIA in addition to its regular operations assumed the added task of informing the world about the new President, his capacity, background, experience and the depth of his commitment to peace with freedom. It utilized all of its channels of communication to demonstrate to anxious foreign audiences, the continuity of our government at a time of national tragedy and crisis.

In November 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson was elected to serve as President for the next four years. The Commission hopes that USIA will continue to serve the President as counselor on foreign public opinion. As the Administration's policies and programs develop, USIA from its long experience can offer suggestions to the President for their effective presentation to foreign audiences. In implementing our national policies, USIA must generate imaginative and practical programs to promote the national interest.

THE TWENTIETH REPORT OF THE

United States Advisory Commission on Information

This 20th Report to Congress on the United States foreign information program reflects the Commission's efforts during the past year to review the status of recommendations made by a previous Commission in its 19th Report to Congress.

The results of this inquiry point out clearly that there are certain basic, recurring problems whose solutions are seldom permanent. They recur irrespective of directors or changes in administration. However, they need to be acknowledged and recognized. They need to be examined and studied.

The purpose of the U.S. Information Agency, which is essentially to build up good will for the United States and to create a favorable climate in which U.S. foreign policy can be conducted, is too vital to the national interest to be permitted to falter or to be hampered because of inadequacies in management.

It may be useful to repeat the broad objectives of USIA. These are:

- 1) to serve as the public relations adviser to the Executive in Washington and to the Ambassador in the field on the presentation and impact of U.S. foreign policy. This includes "advising the President, his representatives abroad, and the various departments and agencies of the implication of foreign opinion for present and contemplated U.S. policies, programs and official statements";

- 2) to disseminate accurate information about the United States through personal contact and the media of communication;
- 3) to counter and correct Communist propaganda distortions and lies about U.S. policies and intentions; and
- 4) to administer overseas the cultural and educational exchange programs.

The Commission has noted much that the country can be proud of in the work of USIA's overseas officers and their complements of local nationals who advise and assist them.

Much remains to be done to improve professional skills and techniques, the quality of information programs and products and the internal overall management and direction of the program. Such improvements would facilitate the achievement of the information program's purposes.

STATUS OF RECOMMENDATIONS IN 19TH REPORT

The 19th Report to Congress of the United States Advisory Commission on Information contained fifteen recommendations for the improvement of USIA. The results of two of these recommendations warrant special commendation.

The first was a recommendation concerning career status for USIA foreign service officers. The Commission is glad to report that an administrative agreement has been entered into between the Secretary of State and the Director of USIA, and endorsed by the President, whereby the Foreign Service Act of 1946 was made applicable to USIA. Accordingly, USIA's foreign service corps will soon be integrated into the State Department's foreign service. Although this Commission would have preferred separate legislation as a first step towards eventual amalgamation, it is hoped that the implementation of this agreement will be conducted with care, fairness and patience on both sides and with due regard for the equities of the officers whose records are being reviewed prior to official acceptance into the foreign service of the United

States. The Commission also hopes that this can be done without USIA's suffering the loss of its independence, i.e., its role and voice as an independent agency of government.

The second recommendation was the creation of a committee to survey the Agency's publications. This was instituted and completed with dispatch. The USIA Committee's recommendations for merging and eliminating publications, should result in sharper targeting as well as in improved format and content. It should also lead to measurable economies. The Commission suggests that the Agency consider utilizing the services of outside specialists in magazine production, format, layout and graphics in future reviews. They could contribute fresh and creative suggestions derived from their experience in producing publications whose quality and success are nationally known.

The Commission believes that although some progress has been made by USIA in improving conditions referred to in some of the remaining thirteen recommendations, it is clear that these conditions and problems will require continuing attention.

In general, these thirteen recommendations related 1) to means of improving the management of the foreign information program and the morale of its personnel, and 2) to ways of inducing greater Agency and top management concern for the impact on foreign populations of its programs, its operations and its communications.

The following is a summary of the principal recommendations made in the Commission's last Report to Congress and a brief statement concerning the Agency's reactions to these recommendations.

1. *To Improve Internal Management, Communication and Coordination.*

The Commission renews its recommendation that USIA should have a permanent career administrator (not to be confused with the Assistant Director for Administration) who would serve as a continuing management officer. He would furnish continuity to the changing top leadership of the Agency. He

would function as a general manager. He would concentrate on the daily need to integrate and coordinate effectively the products and programs of the media with the requirements of the geographic areas. He would attempt to ensure that research and evaluation as well as policy guidance are melded into the total operation. And he would have the authority to decide, to issue directives, to act daily as a general manager translating the objectives, policies and operating philosophy of the Director into concrete and specific operations.

2. *To Reduce the Number of USIA Buildings in Washington From Eleven to One.*

The Agency has tried to obtain more adequate housing facilities in order to conduct its affairs more efficiently. The acquisition of additional space in the building that adjoins 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue may be of some immediate assistance. The elements of the Agency, however, continue to remain scattered about Washington. The Commission renews its recommendation for a single facility.

3. *To Improve and Strengthen Long Range Planning.*

The one USIA effort in this area has not been sustained. The five year budget planning imposed upon USIA by the Bureau of the Budget was useful and may in time lead to more fruitful results. However, USIA has not yet fully implemented the notion of long range planning. The Commission recommends the need to institute forward planning as a permanent tool of management and policy.

4. Four recommendations were made for improving the administration of the cultural and exchange programs. Commission suggestions were:

a) *To Review and Study the Role of the Cultural Affairs Officer.*

The Commission has been informed that the State Department has authorized the Brookings Institution to sponsor a study of the functions and role of the Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO).

b) *To Coordinate and Concentrate the Government's Programs for Orienting and Training Foreign Specialists in Mass Communications.*

There is need to focus more systematic attention on this problem. Foreign journalists who labor daily in press, radio, television, motion pictures, book publishing and magazine publications help create atmosphere and attitudes concerning the United States. The administration of their orientation and training, when they are invited to come to the United States, should be reexamined. This applies equally to executives in foreign mass communications media who visit this country under special grants.

c) *To Reconsider the USIA Decision to Reduce the Number of Libraries in Western Europe.*

Western Europe remains the most important strategic area for the United States, which must labor continuously to prevent misunderstanding and ignorance of American intentions. The Commission hopes that the Congress will reconsider its views which prompted the USIA to reduce useful and effective institutions which have created much good will for the United States.

The decision to eliminate libraries in Western Europe or any other major program should be based on research evaluation which compares the impact or effective use of the library with other media. It is possible that for greater effectiveness, USIA would have been better advised to reduce other activities.

As this report is being prepared, news of rioting and destruction of USIA libraries in Egypt and Indonesia, and of demonstrations within the USSR reached the United States. This treatment of U.S. libraries has shocked Americans as well as others around the world who recognize the importance of making available reliable information through magazines, books and other publications.

Since 1945, USIA has documented 68 separate incidents of USIS libraries around the world which sustained attacks ranging in severity from broken windows to wholesale pillage. It is clear that the presence of a United States library abroad has attracted to it students, young people, journalists, and government officials. It has served them as a window to the outside world. Those who break that window are the dissatisfied, the frustrated, the sullen or the enemies of knowledge and freedom. In the Commission's view, attacks by certain foreigners on USIS libraries attest to their effectiveness with the broad population for two reasons. First, there would be no point in attacking ineffectual operations. Second, outpourings of deep regret, and in some instances of financial contributions for building repair and book restoration, testify to the more favorable views of an appreciative and more permanent library clientele.

These mounting attacks on USIS libraries suggest that this program should not be curtailed but reexamined. These libraries fulfill a need. They are a constructive force. They are an effective symbol of the American presence.

d) *To Restore the Balance of the Agency's Cultural Programs.*

The new management of the Information Center Service, the heart of the Agency's cultural operations has made a serious effort to integrate these operations more closely with the information function. Some progress is being made. Although cultural programs are justified by USIA only insofar as they implement political objectives, there is a need for greater flexibility and a somewhat broader and longer range view of the effectiveness of the cultural arm. In this area especially, results can only be measured after continuous and repetitive effort over a long period. Cultural operations are not a tactical arm. They are educational in the broadest sense of the term and it will require patience before their fruits ripen.

The Commission recommends that USIA strengthen its cultural programs, recognizing that many of their benefits to the United States take a long time to develop.

5. *To Assume Responsibility for Planning and Executing the President's Trade Fair Exhibition Program.*

There is some USIA recognition of the need for central planning and execution of the international trade fair exhibition program. The Commission hopes the need will be met. The problem of delivering an effective message to foreign audiences by the device of the trade fair remains. It will continue so long as responsibility for its planning and execution remains divided between two government agencies. The Commission hopes that USIA will assess the value and impact of each fair in order to improve succeeding ones by ensuring that the proper message is conveyed.

6. *To Seek Outside Evaluation of USIA Print and Radio Programs.*

As previously noted, there has been some improvement in program evaluation within USIA. However, the Commission continues to believe that outside specialists can aid USIA in improving the contents and format of its print and radio operations. The Commission again makes this recommendation in the interest of increasing economy and effectiveness.

7. *To Expand the Research Program and To Use Its Results More Effectively.*

There is some evidence that USIA is starting to expand and utilize its research program. Some Public Affairs Officers (PAO's), area and media directors are beginning to appreciate the need to determine the impact and effectiveness of their programs and products as they relate to the psychological climate in which operations are conducted. Other media and area directors and most PAO's continue to resist efforts to study their products or to use the results of research in the

planning of their programs. The magnitude of USIA's research operation remains far below the customarily accepted minima in private communications research and in private industry.

8. *To Consider the Need To Consolidate Into One Agency of Government the Related But Widely Scattered Programs in Information, Education and Culture.*

This is a proposal which requires overall government action. There is no question but that programs in this area have proliferated all over the government. In addition to USIA, the Department of State, the Agency for International Development (AID), the Department of Defense, the Peace Corps, the Office of Education, and the Departments of Commerce, Labor and Agriculture, among the major agencies, and a number of minor ones, conduct such programs. This has been amply documented in the hearings conducted by Representative Fascell of Florida and the House Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs. It is summarized in a committee report entitled "The U.S. Ideological Effort: Government Agencies and Programs", January, 1964. There is need for tightening up, for greater government-wide coordination, and for the elimination of overlapping authorities and responsibilities in the foreign information, cultural, and educational fields presently divided among so many government agencies.

9. *To Seek the Advice and Guidance of Local Latin American Practitioners of Mass Communications in Presenting the Alliance for Progress to Latin America.*

The Commission has been unable to ascertain the extent to which USIA follows this recommendation. The Commission has not visited Latin American posts this year to conduct independent observations. Nor has it received any information from the Agency concerning this matter.

10. *To Confine USIA's Domestic Publications to a Minimum and Limit the Distribution of Its Media Products in the U.S. in Accordance With the Intentions of Congress.*

Although this has been a recurring problem, there has been some reduction and the Agency has been responsive to past complaints both public and congressional. It is important however, to watch and reduce further this activity. The Agency should make a continuous effort to keep Congress informed as to its activities and its programs. The focus of USIA's interest and the time and efforts of its officials should be devoted to its overseas organization, strategy and purposes. The targets are foreign, not domestic. Speeches in the United States by USIA and the exhibition and dissemination of its product in this country should be held to a minimum.

THE NEED FOR A STUDY OF USIA'S 1964 ELECTION COVERAGE

Prior to the election of 1964, the Commission suggested that the Agency authorize a post-election study of USIA's coverage and presentation of the election.

Such a study would provide the present administrators of the Agency with an evaluation of its objectivity and of its ability to project to overseas audiences a balanced account of the American election process.

The results of the study would also help formulate guidelines to the administrators in the presentation and coverage of future national election campaigns.

The Commission recommends that this study be conducted by outside experts in political science and journalism who also have an understanding of the problems of translating the American election experience into terms that are of interest and make sense to foreign audiences.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION YEAR—1965

On October 2, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a proclamation naming 1965 as "International Cooperation Year" (ICY) in the United States. The observance of 1965 was requested by the 18th United Nations General Assembly in a resolution adopted on November 21, 1963.

The President further announced his plans to convoke a White House Conference "to search, explore, and thoroughly discuss every conceivable approach and avenue of cooperation that could lead to peace."

The Department of State will coordinate public and private proposals and programs which demonstrate the interest of the people of the United States in peace and in international cooperation.

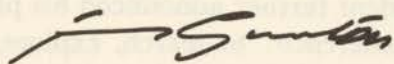
USIA can perform two roles. It can publicize world-wide through all its media the sustained efforts of many private American organizations, universities and associations. This it plans to do.

USIA is also qualified to encourage and support the research and study of foreign attitudes towards international cooperation. This is an area in which USIA can assume leadership and help make 1965 not only a year of progress but one in which research on public attitudes towards international cooperation can be initiated in many parts of the world.

The diplomatic, political, military and economic factors that bear on peace are the essence of international cooperation. Psychological factors, however, should not be neglected. The more the world learns about the dynamics of popular opinion and the related psychological dimensions that affect international understanding, the less difficult will the peace-making task become for the principal statesmen of our times.

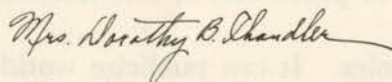
Thus, USIA's twin roles in the International Cooperation Year—to publicize abroad the appropriate activities undertaken by the people of the United States and to stimulate research on world opinion and attitudes towards international cooperation—can eventually lead to greater mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries. This is the purpose of Public Law 402, which governs the activities of the U.S. Information Agency.

Respectfully submitted,

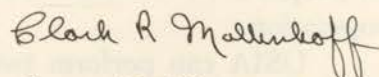


FRANK STANTON

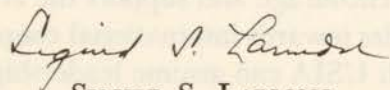
Chairman



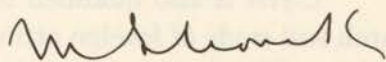
Mrs. DOROTHY CHANDLER



CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF



SIGURD S. LARMON



M. S. NOVIK

MARCH 23, 1965

To the Congress of the United States

★

THE TWENTY-FIRST REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information

★

February 1966

THE TWENTY-FIRST REPORT

OF THE

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Advisory Commission

On Information

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
To the Congress of the United States	1
Preface	3
Summary	7
The World Today in Capsule	13
Europe—"the Cities" of the World	13
Africa, Latin America and Asia—"the Country- side" of the World	16
Worldwide Responsibilities of USIA	17
Recommendations	18
Conclusion	35
Appendix	37

To The Congress of the United States

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information submits its Twenty-first Report to Congress for the calendar year 1965, in accordance with Public Law 402 (PL 402).

On March 27, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated Mr. Palmer Hoyt, Editor and Publisher of the Denver Post, to succeed Mr. Clark R. Mollenhoff as a member of the Commission.

On July 13, 1965 President Johnson nominated Mr. Leonard H. Marks to succeed Mr. Carl Rowan as the sixth Director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

Senate confirmation of Mr. Hoyt occurred on April 21, 1965, and of Mr. Marks on July 21. Mr. Marks was sworn in on August 31 and became the new Director of USIA on September 1, 1965.

During 1965 the Commission held ten meetings, four in New York and six in Washington, D.C., including a meeting with Mr. Marks before he assumed his new office. The new Director has taken over with vigor and is instituting a series of long-needed management changes that should result in a more effective foreign information and cultural program. USIA action with respect to this Commission's previous recommendations is outlined in a letter from Mr. Marks to The Chairman of the Commission. This letter is included as an appendix to this Report.

In September, 1965, Dr. Stanton and Mr. Hoyt, members of this Commission, accompanied by Mr. Frank Starzel, former general manager of the Associated Press, visited South Viet-Nam. The purpose of the trip was to appraise the U.S. psychological effort in Viet-Nam, to explore the effectiveness of personnel con-

ducting this effort including the organizational structure in which they operated, and to offer suggestions for improvement.

During 1965 the three other members of the Commission also visited United States Information Service (USIS) posts abroad. Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler visited USIS posts in London, Paris, Rome, Tokyo, Hong Kong, and Manila. Mr. Sigurd S. Larmon visited USIS in London, Paris, Frankfurt, Lagos, Accra, Cairo, and subsequently Caracas. Mr. M. S. Novik visited USIS posts in Rome, Milan, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Brussels.

No report to the Congress on the information program in 1965 can fail to record this country's gratitude to the vital, round-the-clock performance of the USIS mission in Viet-Nam, of both Americans and Vietnamese, who are engaged in conducting psychological warfare. To influence minds under the duress of battle is an almost impossible task. The observations of those members of the Commission who witnessed psychological operations in Saigon and in the provinces of Viet-Nam, attest to the dedication and energetic effort of our personnel.

PREFACE

It is the belief of the Advisory Commission that too little emphasis is being given to the crucial need to gain understanding and respect for the United States, its purposes and policies, through ideological means.

This calls for meeting the emergencies that exist today in Viet-Nam and Thailand. It also demands that we reach students and future opinion makers in other areas of the world through long-range planning involving libraries, the teaching of English, personal contacts, and the effective use of all media of communication.

When the United States Information Agency was created in the years shortly after the end of World War II, few Americans had any idea of the long-term commitment that was implied in our responses to the Cold War challenge.

Even now, 20 years after the end of World War II, with American troops still in Germany and Japan, with American troops still in Korea almost 15 years after the fighting there, and with American forces deeply involved in Viet-Nam, some Americans still fail to see the implication.

To this Commission the implication is clear. America is committed to a long and difficult course which may determine whether we survive as a nation and as a people. Along that course we will be severely tested from time to time by force of arms. We will continue to be constantly under fire in an all-out ideological struggle. Both phases of the overall struggle will strain our nerves, our ingenuity, and our resources. There seems to be no acceptable alternative than to meet the challenge with our best efforts.

When the Commission looks at the United States expenditures on these two phases, military and ideological, in the

struggle against Communist imperialism in the post-World War II era, it becomes apparent that the American people have accepted the commitment to do their best in the military phase. It is not clear that they have accepted a similar commitment as to their ideological response.

Between 1948 and 1964, the American people spent \$785 billion for military purposes and less than one-three hundredths of that (\$2.5 billion) for the USIA's ideological efforts. The Commission is aware that figures alone never tell the whole story; that a dollar invested in one way may bring more productive results than many times the same amount spent in another way. But the difference between the figures cited here is too great to allow for such comfortable rationalization. The figures show, at the very least, that the United States has given far too little emphasis to the ideological phase of the struggle for survival.

The competition from the Soviet and Communist China is increasingly active. Recently, the Tri-continental Congress held in Cuba concluded by announcing the establishment of a center in Havana for the purpose of accelerating and aiding "national liberation" movements in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Such a center created to originate and disseminate Marxist-Leninist propaganda, and to coordinate violent and non-violent infiltration and insurgency, constitutes a long-range threat to the stability and security of nations on all three continents.

Where USIA is closing libraries, and in some cases lessening efforts for budgetary reasons, the opposition moves in.

If the American people are to meet this competition, and gain peace through understanding, provision must be made for the time, talent, manpower, forward planning, and the degree of financial effort that the task demands.

The Congressional report which led to the passage of PL 402, in 1948 advised against "penny-wise and pound-foolish approach" in appropriations. "All that we require", the Congressional report said, "is the courage and imagination . . . to

establish and implement a sound program of reliable information and respected cultural explanation abroad, which will be comparable in times of peace with the unprecedented initiative we Americans are always able to display in time of war."

SUMMARY

This Twenty-first Report to Congress by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information examines what needs to be done in order to step up, improve, and strengthen the U.S. information and cultural relations program.

The present program is an outgrowth of the U.S. experience in World War II. Its objectives and scope were changed and broadened by the passage of Public Law 402 in 1948.

As an important arm of the U.S. Government in its conduct of the cold war, the responsibilities placed upon it and public expectations of its accomplishments have exceeded its fiscal resources. Its limited appropriations have been further restricted because of previous evidence of mismanagement, past public and Congressional suspicion of its personnel and programs, the assumption that foreign information is only a temporary necessity and experimental in character, embarrassing mistakes from trial and error programs, and the difficulty of demonstrating annual achievements and results.

The U.S. information and cultural programs, succeeded in reducing many misunderstandings of the United States in Europe. They played a prominent role in assisting European countries to resist Communist temptations and threats from within and from without their sovereign territory.

In the last five or six years, the Congress has insisted that the United States reduce its information and cultural activities in Europe. As a result, a large financial investment in libraries, bi-national centers, information centers and smaller posts which showed cumulative results was sacrificed, in order to meet the increased demands that sprang from rapidly changing and even revolutionary conditions in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

This Commission believes that the decision to reduce our efforts in Europe is a strategic error. The public outcry in Europe and in some American newspapers has interpreted this as U.S. psychological disengagement. At a time when post-war progress in Europe has been halted and set back by De Gaulle, it is necessary to be present and support those who have fought so valiantly and hitherto so successfully for the conditions which have produced a revived, prosperous, and more economically unified Europe.

In order for the United States to meet its responsibilities as a world power in information, education, and culture as it has done in defense and in the military and economic assistance programs, it must reexamine, step up, and strengthen its current effort. There is recent evidence that neglected and accumulated management problems in USIA are receiving attention. With more effective top management, USIA is in a better position today to face up to its ultimate purpose and to meet new challenges.

With population continuing to increase, the rise of a new generation and our adversaries continuing to undermine U.S. purposes and policies, it is more than ever necessary to seize every opportunity to reduce foreign misunderstanding of the United States.

To accomplish this objective the Commission recommends that:

- 1) USIA's purpose and role should cover both present and future objectives;
- 2) USIA should develop long-range plans. A ten year (1966-76) plan is recommended;
- 3) USIA should make more effective use of research in its plans, programs, budget, and evaluation;
- 4) USIA should improve the quality of its programs, products, and personnel.
- 5) USIA should strengthen, balance, and integrate more effectively its cultural and information programs;

- 6) USIA should reexamine its assumptions and review its programs, country by country, in order to expand useful ones and discard those that are marginal; USIA should review its list of priority countries for the purpose of determining areas of concentration and saturation and areas where minimum U.S. presence is sufficient.
- 7) USIA should search constantly for new techniques in communications from the private sector, especially from advertising, public relations, the public media of communication, and from universities.
- 8) USIA should continue to help create favorable atmospheres abroad for the understanding of U.S. foreign policies.
- 9) USIA should review and reconsider the decision to close libraries, bi-national centers and information centers in Europe.
- 10) USIA should seek a level of appropriations more commensurate with its responsibilities and more in proportion to the efforts of the U.S. military and of the U.S. economic and military assistance programs.

The Commission believes that in pursuing these ten tasks, the official government's effort in foreign communications can play a more determining role in developing respect for and confidence in the United States and in promoting greater international understanding.

THE TWENTY-FIRST REPORT
OF THE
United States
Advisory Commission
on Information

The U.S. information, educational and cultural program was a direct outgrowth of World War II. During the war the U.S. Government used all available information techniques and talents to influence the enemy, our allies, and neutral countries with varying degrees of success.

The legislation created to support the information program, stemmed from a widespread concern over the postwar spread of Communist propaganda activities in Western Europe and in other parts of the world. The present program dates from 1948 when Public Law 402 was passed.

From its inception the information program faced difficult problems in management and organization, policy and program, facilities and construction, personnel and evaluation, and the evolution of its role in the government's structure. Compounding these problems have been the difficulty of establishing an adequate financial and appropriations base and the domestic political controversies concerning its activities which have periodically raged in Congress and in the press. A succession of six directors in the last 12 years—each with a different idea of the mission, did not provide continuity and stability to the Agency's direction and leadership.

Improvement in the program's operation came slowly. Thanks to congressional investigations and hearings, public criticism, executive-level self-examination, and the periodic reports issued by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, the role of U.S. information became better defined, a sense of professionalism in the area of foreign communications began to emerge, purposes and objectives were clarified, confidence in its personnel and its methods grew gradually and in more recent days there are encouraging signs that management and administration are improving.

This has taken some 17 years of effort, of trial and error, of mixing and meeting short-range crises with long-range considerations.

During this period, the information and cultural relations program played an important role in:

- 1) European developments in which politically viable countries successfully withstood the threat of Soviet domination and in which the devastation of the war years was followed by a remarkable economic recovery;
- 2) the rehabilitation of conquered countries, e.g. Japan, Germany and Italy;
- 3) the Korean war;
- 4) the emergence and development of African states;
- 5) the Alliance For Progress for Latin America;
- 6) unmasking Communist lies and setting the record straight on Communist distortions of the intentions, policies and life of the American people;
- 7) helping wherever possible to create atmospheres more favorably disposed to the acceptance of U.S. foreign policy.

During this period the personnel in this program demonstrated their ability to render superb service in times of crises, e.g. Berlin, Suez, the Cuban confrontation, the Congo, the Sputnik challenge to U.S. space capabilities, and today in Viet-Nam.

Their efforts in non-crises remained far less spectacular and left much to be desired.

During this same period, the American presence abroad became symbolized by "USIS" (the United States Information Service). And this American presence was institutionalized by the numerous USIS libraries, information centers and bi-national centers most of which enjoyed popularity, admiration and use.

Today a USIA worldwide apparatus exists which is capable of reaching hundreds of millions of people throughout the world with a message, with ideas, with information.

The World Today in Capsule

Several months ago, Chinese Defense Minister Lin Piao stated in a major policy document that the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the "countryside" of the world which will surround the "cities" in Europe and North America and overwhelm them in revolutionary ferment.

This broad formulation of the state of our times by a leading Chinese Communist, schematic and over-simplified as it may be, is important and pertinent for two reasons:

First, it illustrates how the most militant Communist power in 1965 identifies the strategy and thrust of world developments and by implication its own role in these developments.

Second, it places in different perspective the goals and objectives of the United States. It illuminates strikingly what U.S. objectives, policies, programs and activities are up against.

Europe—"the Cities" of the World

Lin Piao's formulation of world developments was only dimly perceived when Public Law 402 creating a U.S. Information and Education Service was passed in 1948.

At that time the major concern was Europe which lay devastated and chaotic after five years of war and thus vulnerable to the extension of Soviet power, cloaked by the machinations of internal Communist movements.

It was only after a long trip to Europe by a bipartisan joint Senate-House Committee and the publication of its report which reflected anxiety and concern over the specter of a Communist western Europe, that Public Law 402 was passed. The Congress was determined that the United States join the debate initiated by Communist propagandists in order to correct and reduce the amount of European misunderstanding of American purposes and American policy.

For almost a decade and a half the U.S. Information, Cultural and Educational Exchange Services played a role in European recovery and in the gradual reduction of European-American misunderstandings.

Throughout this time, the world witnessed the evolution of a nuclear stalemate between the Soviet Union and the United States. Simultaneously the non-military dimensions of the cold war grew.

Propaganda, cultural and educational exchanges, competition in foreign economic and military assistance programs, and subversion were first unleashed by the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites and later by Communist China. Their purpose was *first* to undermine and reduce the wartime influence and prestige of the United States, and *second* to induce revolutionary activities against legitimate regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Success in the rehabilitation of Europe has recently persuaded some members of Congress that the need for a U.S. psychological arm could no longer be justified in that area. Success in arresting Communist revolution in Western Europe, it was believed, no longer required a continuous presentation of the American position. It was the opinion that it was not necessary for the United States to provide a service which the newly prosperous Europeans could provide for themselves.

Furthermore, with the new challenges in Africa, with new revolutionary developments in Asia and Latin America, it was felt that it was necessary to divert facilities, funds and per-

sonnel from Europe to these areas of greater demand and that American libraries be dismantled and discontinued.

The U.S. Information Agency arguments to the contrary were not persuasive. Many European posts and libraries in France, Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom, symbols of a progressive and helpful United States were eliminated. Unfortunately these decisions were made while the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Alliance was in disarray and while much of the political-economic cooperation was being set back by the new policies and statements advocated and promulgated by Charles De Gaulle.

European misunderstandings of America in 1948 have been replaced by European misunderstandings of today. They are based on opposition to certain American foreign policies, the rash of racial disturbances and riots, fears of the American economic "invasion" of Europe and the traditional envy of the great power which in the case of the United States is identified as a country with a low level of culture and thought.

The deterioration of confidence in the United States represents a far more subtle threat than the blatant Communist propaganda of the forties and fifties.

This is understood by America's solid friends in Europe who have protested but to no avail at what they consider to be U.S. psychological disengagement and at a time when it is more than ever necessary to have open channels of communication from official Washington to the people of Western Europe.

Installations built up over a decade and a half which became accepted and respected institutions in Europe and which represented substantial financial investments by the American taxpayer over a period of years were abandoned in favor of unwise economies.

What is required of us in Europe is a steady concern and interest in this most important continent which, from every conceivable strategic viewpoint, is so much identified with and essential to U.S. vital interests.

It is imperative that European protests of these USIS reductions and the representations of the interested American press be heeded. The advantages that accrue to the U.S. national interest from USIS operations in Europe surpass the financial cost. The United States should reinstate its libraries in Europe on a permanent basis as a recognition of the importance of maintaining authoritative centers of reliable information about the United States, its purposes, policies and ways of life. Failure to do so in this Commission's view will not enable the United States to display the necessary degree of staying power that is indispensable to its own national interest, and to the eventual establishment of a stable Europe and a peaceful world.

Africa, Latin America and Asia "the countryside" of the world

It is in the "countryside" of the world that the United States has directed its greatest psychological thrust during the last five years. This is the battleground of the immediate future. These are the areas where the inhabitants are experiencing a "revolution of expectations."

These are the areas where with significant exceptions, conditions are relatively primitive, population is exploding, illiteracy is high, health care and sanitation are lacking, nationalism is rampant as nations are being created, languages are varied, and the level of civilization is far different from that of the "cities" of North America and Europe.

These are the areas where in many instances whole systems of education and communications are being installed for the first time. The challenge to communicate effectively and to persuade the newly literate, the poverty stricken and those so vulnerable to revolution is immense.

At the same time, these are the areas where the competitive coexistence philosophy of the Soviet Union's policies and those of the United States have in some countries deteriorated into insurgency and so-called "wars of national liberation."

First, in the Congo, then in Viet-Nam, and more recently in the Dominican Republic, violence has erupted as native and

foreign-inspired revolutionaries have combined in an effort to overthrow established regimes. In Viet-Nam USIA has actually assumed the responsibility for coordinating all psychological warfare activities. In many other countries, USIA functions under conditions which border on insurgency and violence.

And these are the areas, many of which were formerly dominated by European colonial powers, where distrust and misunderstanding of the United States are at their highest and where the need for skillful persuasion and education is great.

Worldwide Responsibilities of USIA

USIA shares the responsibilities of other U.S. agencies engaged in foreign relations. It is and should be recognized as a permanent psychological arm of the government. It shares these responsibilities because of the worldwide strategic, commercial and political interests of the United States. It shares them because these U.S. interests are being contested vigorously and will continue to be contested vigorously by the USSR and Communist China for the foreseeable future.

To adequately discharge these responsibilities requires resources, manpower, strategic planning and talent, that are not entirely appreciated either by those who plan its operations or by those who appropriate its funds.

It is in the light of these varied conditions that USIA faces throughout the world and in the perspective of Communist challenges to the "cities" and "countryside" of the world that the Commission offers the following recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *USIA's purpose and role should cover both present and future objectives.*

If, as President Johnson has said, "the search for peace is the assignment of the century," the role of USIA is to help create understanding without which the conditions of peace cannot prevail. This role is to help bridge modern gaps and ancient chasms that separate the peoples of the world culturally, politically and psychologically. Its sole resource is people and the instruments of communication that are available to these people.

This has been no small task. Although USIA alone cannot be expected to perform the miracle, what can be realistically expected of it will depend on whether the effort expended is adequate.

Up to the present time, the U.S. Government effort in this area has not been much beyond minimal, measured by what can be expected of it, compared to the percent of effort devoted to U.S. defense and to foreign economic and military assistance and contrasted with the magnitude of the effort invested by American business and industry in its public affairs. By all these criteria and standards the job of telling America's story to the world by the U.S. Government has been underprogrammed.

Public understanding abroad of the United States and its policies, confidence in them, respect and good will—these are the broad goals that USIA seeks to achieve. It is in this context that USIA also presents and publicizes U.S. foreign policy.

To accomplish these purposes USIA has used every form of communication technique and instrument.

U.S. foreign policy is and should be both short-range and long-range in character. Much of the USIA effort is directed to the daily tactical task of explaining U.S. foreign policy devel-

opments and pronouncements. The heaviest burden falls on press, radio and on the newsreels of television and motion pictures in Washington. The products primarily are fast news, features, photographs and film. Around the world USIA foreign service officers distribute the products of these media adapted to their particular foreign audience or initiate and produce them themselves. And in the cities of the world where USIS has personnel, efforts are made to explain and discuss with foreign journalists, broadcasters, editors and large groups and organizations, the meaning and purpose of U.S. foreign policy as it develops daily, weekly and over the year. As a result USIA like the rest of the government must perforce spend a great deal of its time in putting out brush fires which erupt all over the world. The essential purpose is to set the record straight daily about U.S. intentions and motivations and to minimize and refute distortions and misinterpretation.

It is also true that irrespective of how effectively this foreign information task is executed, the actions and statements by some foreign leaders or by some foreign media will not reflect appreciation of particular U.S. foreign policies. As a result USIA is frequently placed in the difficult position of having to defend particular U.S. foreign policies which may not be popular at the moment.

But foreign policy objectives are also long-range in character. And this includes not only political, commercial, and strategic objectives, but the projection of American culture, science, education, the arts—indeed the entire gamut of one of the world's most exciting and dynamic free societies.

Throughout the world there is a persistent and insatiable thirst for what the United States is doing in everything from space and science to agriculture and the arts. This curiosity about the United States needs to be satisfied in every effective way.

The role of USIA cannot be justified or demonstrated by its success or failure in the short-run. For a fuller appreciation of its capabilities and weaknesses, its efforts over a longer period of time should be analyzed and judged.

2. *USIA should develop long-range plans. A ten-year (1966-76) plan is recommended.*

If USIA is to succeed in its vital mission as defined by the President and as outlined by the Congressional Statute, and if its purpose is to be realized then long-range planning must become a continuing function. In addition to the inescapable necessity of moving from crisis to crisis, of meeting daily foreign policy problems, and of putting out short-run brush fires, there is a need to formulate longer range goals and objectives. But long-range plans should be reviewed annually, or more frequently in the light of developments, with changes made as necessary and the plans updated accordingly.

Long-range plans should be designed to meet accumulated psychological problems in Western Europe, the challenges and opportunities appearing on the vast continent of Africa, the horizons extended by the Alliance For Progress in Latin America, and the threats and dangers facing the free Asian countries around the perimeter of Communist China. The sharp increase in both Chinese Communist and Soviet propaganda activities directed at Africa, Asia, and Latin America are in support of "national liberation" movements in these continents. They constitute a formidable adversary. They are signs of things to come. And USIA must prepare now.

Such plans should also address themselves systematically to the principal problems that interfere with an accurate projection of the United States. They should analyze, tie-in and contribute to all organizations the factors that are involved in determining the attitudes of other peoples and nations toward us. For example, they should encompass programs and projects to

- 1—acquaint American tourists traveling abroad with the importance of their role as private representatives of the United States;
- 2—simplify the orientation and processing of visitors from abroad by working with customs and immigration;

- 3—inform certain private athletic groups and organizations that represent the United States in international competition on the need for their personnel to observe the proprieties of conduct and behavior more carefully while abroad;
- 4—work more closely with private organizations like the International Chamber of Commerce, the Committee on Economic Development, the AFL-CIO, certain service clubs and others in order to promote a sustained program of information in foreign areas;
- 5—emphasize especially the role of the United Nations (UN) and assist its delegates and representatives as well as the foreign correspondents assigned to the UN;
- 6—take steps to assess what the opposition is doing and then to meet and keep ahead of this competition in facilities, in manpower, in organization and in money;
- 7—focus especially on the young rising generation in the schools and universities, on the labor groups that are emerging, and on intellectuals who play such prominent parts in the newly developing nations of the world;

During the next ten years USIA will have an unusual opportunity to project a long-range plan. For it is coincidental with the continuing need for such planning that in 1976 this nation will commemorate the bicentennial of its birth. In 1976 the American Revolution will have endured for 200 years.

This Commission believes that it is not too early for USIA, as part of its long-range planning, to begin to formulate a ten year plan with a gradually unfolding timetable of programs and events to culminate in the celebration of 1976. For this anniversary will provide the U.S. Government and USIA in particular, with an unusual opportunity to present to the world the fruits of its continuing experiment.

Such a ten year plan should consist of:

a *timetable* organized around the question of where do we want to be ten years from now;

objectives so realistically stated, that research efforts can help evaluate the progress or lack of progress that is made;

programs designed in the light of gaps in information or distortions among foreign audiences;

research intimately and analytically tied into the formulation of objectives, carefully collected to justify the projection of programs, and selectively utilized to test and assess products and results.

When completed, the plan should receive bipartisan support in Congress; it should have the endorsement of the President; it should be submitted to this Commission; and it should be used by the Agency as a long-range frame of reference in estimating its annual budget, in presenting its requests for annual appropriations and as a part of a long-range plan of action.

One of the recommendations to the President that came out of the Conference on the International Cooperation Year (ICY) called for a decade of international cooperation. The plan for 1976 that emerges from USIA should dovetail wherever possible with whatever projections are made concerning cultural and educational programs.

The spirit of freedom, independence, and equality is contagious. It offers a rallying point for the common as well as uncommon man.

Within this framework of freedom, the United States has developed a vital, dynamic, pulsating society whose progress has been phenomenal.

The task of USIA is to devise imaginative means of conveying to foreign audiences, but *related to their own interests, experience and problems*:

the nature and strength of our political system of federalism;

the nature and strength of our economic system;

the nature and continuing growth of our mass educational system;

the progress of our science and technology;

the unusual productivity and massive research developed in every major intellectual discipline;

the developments in culture, art, music and drama;

the nature of a society that has accommodated different religions, colors and nationalities from all over the world;

the perennially youthful character and optimistic outlook of our civilization;

the nature of a society that is constantly experimenting, criticizing and reevaluating itself—its progress, its problems, its goals, its failures, and its achievements.

This is an incomparable story, and the world should know it. Some of our unresolved social problems dealing with race, poverty, illiteracy, slums, housing, disease, crime and other evidence of both urban and rural blight should not conceal the solid granite blocks of constructive achievement. Nor should these problems become the headlines that overshadow the daily efforts made by private and public groups to find solutions to problems and resolutions of conflicts.

The 20th century has become the century of instantaneous worldwide communication. The jet plane and the communications satellites like *Early Bird* and *Telstar* are tangible symbols of a new age. A USIA ten year plan should confront head-on and grasp the challenges and opportunities offered by these new technical marvels. For as people get closer, the impact of ideas and ideologies becomes greater. The purpose of USIA's ten-year plan is to help make this impact constructive and peaceful, by using these new, modern instruments of instantaneous worldwide communication for the presentation and exchange of views on matters of common concern to the peoples of the world.

3. *USIA should use more research in its plans, programs, budget and evaluation.*

Long-range planning cannot be formulated in a vacuum or on mere speculation and hunch. *It must be based on adequate research.*

Changing and influencing attitudes is one of the most difficult tasks that men attempt to perform.

This is the avowed purpose of the U.S. foreign information and cultural programs. The development of mutual understanding, of international cooperation and of respect and confidence in U.S. policies and objectives cannot be accomplished quickly, sporadically or everlastingly. When achieved it must be nurtured and sustained. And it must be continuous.

This Commission has long urged that USIA employ wherever possible modern research methods in order to ascertain when and where it has succeeded or failed, and how it can influence attitudes more effectively.

Unlike most private practitioners in foreign communications, USIA managers are not disposed to organize and develop their programs and their budgets around facts as established by research. Although the process of international political communication is complex, there appears to be little desire to utilize the facts that research has made available. The use of research has been seriously neglected in USIA to the detriment of the program.

With USIA facing complex and difficult situations in various areas of the world, not only area programs but specific country programs must be adapted to the conditions that exist. Competition varies in type and intensity—that which exists on a local level and that which emanates from the Soviet Union and Communist China.

In private communications industry, the basis for successful programming is careful and thorough research. This applies equally to the USIA and its operations—anywhere and everywhere. One cannot substitute guesswork for the facts and be on target.

The Commission recommends that the Agency prepare its budget and formulate its programs and projects in the light of knowledge supplied by research.

The Commission recommends that managers of USIA strategy and tactics increase their use of research and its results. If the program is to be improved, those who direct it must welcome the kind of information that reliable research can provide. Research must be used for planning purposes, for program development, for evaluation of particular activities and products, and for budgetary justifications. The USIA will not be able to move ahead and engender continuing congressional confidence without building up hard data in support of a large part of its program. The Commission believes this can be done. All that stands in its way are a defensive posture, the need for a greater proportion of funds devoted to research, and the determination to use the results. How else can one know whether the Agency's activities are having impact, short-range or long-range?

4. *USIA should improve the quality of its programs, products, and personnel.*

This Commission and its predecessors have urged USIA to improve the quality of its personnel, its products, its programs, and its facilities. This must also be a continuous and long-range objective.

Progress has been observed in the modernization and improvement of radio and television facilities. The reproduction plants in Beirut and Manila are well-equipped. Libraries, information centers, and bi-national centers should be uniformly attractive, well designed, well equipped, and well located. The managers of the media in Washington and Public Affairs Officers (PAOs) abroad must strive to attain the high standards reached by the technical facilities and equipment of domestic American communications industries.

The primary task of USIA is not only to perfect its apparatus and facilities, but more important to improve and raise the quality of the message and ideas that are transmitted. Fewer and better products in radio, press, publications, motion pictures,

television and books should be its goal. Quality products, perhaps more costly initially, are more effective in the long run. Their effects will last.

People and ideas are USIA's principal currency. Both should measure up to the long-range struggle that lies ahead. Both should be of the highest quality.

Men and women who seek and accept a career in U.S. foreign communications (information, culture or education) should be assured of an honorable one. They should not only be well educated generally, but well trained in the art and science of foreign communication. They should receive considerate treatment not only when they are in their twenties and thirties but also when they become forty, fifty, and sixty. Career development should become more than a euphemism. Officers should be treated as human beings and not merely as "bodies" that are being matched against available "slots". It is important that officers maintain their sense of mission, drive and enthusiasm in one of the most challenging and vital of Government professions. This is not possible unless personnel policies are progressive, constructive, and humane.

Of particular importance to the USIA mission is the need for its foreign service officers to have adequate training in the language of the country to which they are assigned. Although some progress has been made over the years, language training remains one of the weaker spots in the Agency's personnel system. To communicate effectively requires not only training in communication techniques, but knowledge of the language, traditions, and psychology of the population. The Commission recommends that USIA require effective language proficiency from its officers and provide them with time and facilities for adequate training.

Next in importance to the men and women who represent the United States abroad, are the ideas which they should share, create, develop and communicate to foreign audiences. There is a continuous need to reexamine USIA's premises and assump-

tions that underlie our programs, policies, and operations. There is a need to test critically and continually old and new programs, media products, techniques and methods of communication. There is a need to come to grips with the challenges and criticisms offered by foreign intellectuals, students, and young people. How can the U.S. establish constructive dialogues with those who oppose or misunderstand U.S. policies? What new means can be employed to depict the magnitude and depth of unparalleled progress and development in the United States? If there is a worldwide election contest between the free countries of the world and communism, as President Johnson once said, how can we gain adherents to freedom's side in the continuing worldwide debate? Have we utilized the brainpower of private specialists in labor, business, academic life, agriculture, and the professions who know well the fears and aspirations of the people of Europe (West and East), Africa, Latin America, and Asia and how to appeal to them? How can we work more effectively with the manpower of the world whose emergence is one of the predominant characteristics of the awakening world?

Each USIA employee should be encouraged to offer his ideas on these and related matters. Creative ideas are as important as suggestions for increasing efficiency and economy and for improving operations. There is need for more concentrated consideration of them by top management as well as the employees of USIA. For without them USIA can become all form without substance, all apparatus without content, all technique without communication, all activity without achievement.

It might not be remiss for USIA to schedule sessions for its employees in which the major ideas of the contemporary world are considered by experts with a view towards improving the policies, plans, and programs of USIA. This could enhance the quality of USIA's radio and television, of its press and pamphlets, of books and features, of its design and graphics, of approaches and methods, of techniques, of emphasis and of its campaigns.

5. *USIA should strengthen, and integrate more effectively its cultural and information programs.*

This Commission believes that the long-range capability and resources for developing information, education, and cultural programs abroad should be strengthened. The Commission also believes that there is a need to define more adequately the activities that are sponsored by these programs.

The cultural and educational activities undertaken by USIA should be related to long-range foreign policy objectives. Any other criterion for spending the taxpayer's dollar cannot be justified. There is evidence that a cumulative, steady effort has produced results. This is true of libraries, certain exhibits, books, and cultural and educational exchanges.

Information activities and programs in support of specific foreign policies or as aids to the United States in explaining its position and role in crises situations will carry higher priority. They should not supplant the rich array of American cultural products and programs. It is necessary to disseminate information about American books, art, music, education, the English language, American history, etc. For misunderstanding and ignorance in this area is as harmful as a misunderstanding of a particular foreign policy. Such knowledge of America may prove to be more useful to the understanding and acceptance of American foreign policy than an interpretation of current news or events. In some areas where political hostility to the United States may be temporarily high, the cultural arm can continue to perform a helpful and healing function.

Further, the information and cultural activities should not be separated from one another as if they were contagious and required separate aseptic rooms. They should be coordinated and where appropriate, blended together by PAO's and CAO's (Cultural Affairs Officers) who are sufficiently sensitive to appreciate the potential power of both of these instruments of human communication in the development of international understanding.

It is unfortunate that so many of the excellent USIA sponsored cultural and educational activities that range from English teaching to seminars and book production are not well known to leaders of American education and culture. For example, a high degree of excellence has been achieved by the Agency's publications entitled "Problems of Communism," and "Legacy of a President", the Voice of America's Forum Program, such exhibits as the ones on American Architecture and Graphics, the catalog of Modern American Music, the contents of Amerika Magazines that are sent to the USSR and Poland, certain motion pictures and other products. In addition, the American cultural and educational scene has been covered and presented continuously by USIA for many years. Although funds have not been plentiful in this area, the results have frequently been impressive. More can be done and the quality of its personnel and products should be constantly improved. It is important to acknowledge however, that a solid start has been made. Careful building and development in the future not disruption and proliferation are the answers.

The Commission believes that the developing programs in culture, education and information should be more closely integrated and coordinated in Washington and especially in U.S. diplomatic missions abroad. Tendencies toward proliferation such as the inclusion of new education, art, music and cultural attachés, each reporting to the Ambassador, lead to uncoordinated and disorganized effort or to an unworkable span of supervision. Suggestions, regardless of how well motivated, that the cultural affairs officer be separated from the public affairs officer should not be heeded. It will set back the improvements made during the past fifteen years. For the success or failure of these programs lies not only in their inherent quality or substance, but in their management. The Commission believes that both are necessary.

6. *USIA should reexamine its assumptions and review its programs, country by country, in order to expand useful ones and discard those that are marginal; USIA should also review its list of priority countries for the purpose of determining areas of concentration and saturation and areas where minimum U.S. presence is sufficient.*

Assumptions about the role and function of USIS in every country should be reexamined in order to determine how much can be realistically accomplished. Since what is expected from the USIS program ranges from the dissemination of accurate information to the coordination of psychological warfare activities, these assumptions must be precisely delineated and related to specific country objectives. The same techniques, methods and channels which have been in use since 1948 should be examined in order to determine their current applicability. Are there new ones which should be added and old ones dropped? Each country mission should realistically review its objectives in this light. The Commission has been informed that the Director has instructed that this be done.

Priorities in programs and in country efforts are also necessary. There is a need to institute country by country program reviews in order to eliminate marginal activities, to replace outmoded techniques with modern, more effective ones, and to determine which media are necessary and important and which can be eliminated from a particular post.

The USIA should also determine where it wishes to concentrate its resources—personnel, money, and facilities—in order to achieve its goals. It should give consideration if necessary to the possibility of saturation programming for maximum effect. It should take advantage of areas where our present advantage may not continue forever and where present-day hospitality and appreciation of the United States is high. It should be frank in assessing where certain objectives can be achieved only if a large increase in funds is made available. It should identify those few countries which occupy the highest strategic

priority and provide them with adequate resources and our finest talent.

USIA should maintain wherever possible in friendly, neutral or hostile countries a chain of permanent institutions which, as library, information center or bi-national center, will serve as a symbol of the U.S. presence and as an authoritative repository of American materials. The United States must recognize that ancient friendships must be preserved and that American interests must be propagated even among, especially among, her friends.

7. *USIA should search constantly for new techniques in communication from the private sector, especially from advertising, public relations, the public media of communication and from the universities.*

“New” and “imaginative” techniques of communication should be sought constantly by operating officials. Top management must display sustained interest in searching for them and not permit the operation to become routine and non-productive. The views of American as well as foreign specialists in communication should be solicited. This can be done in a flexible and ad hoc manner. There is also need, however, for the Agency to lodge this responsibility in some central place, perhaps with the long-range planning function, which is presently dormant, or with the Office of Private Cooperation. Private communications research companies with advertising and public relations experience in foreign countries, the public media of communications and the universities are good sources of ideas and suggestions. USIA must explore and utilize more aggressively the most modern methods of influencing people by means of communications.

8. *USIA should continue to help create favorable atmospheres abroad for the understanding of U.S. foreign policies.*

USIA has a special role in creating an atmosphere for a better understanding of the United States and its foreign policies.

In certain instances it helps to establish a receptive backdrop for important diplomatic negotiations.

This is a traditional function for an information program. Communicating with those who direct and operate in the foreign media is an indispensable activity. USIA should be in a position to provide them with accurate and official information about the policies and intentions of the United States.

9. *USIA should review and reconsider the decision to close libraries, bi-national centers and information centers in Europe.*

During 1965 there have been continuing reductions of European posts and libraries in strategic places.

Five years ago the U.S. Government operated fifty-two libraries or information centers and thirteen reading rooms in Western Europe. Today there are twenty-two libraries and one reading room. The Commission believes that this drastic reduction has been unwise and uneconomic.

The libraries and information centers contain representative collections of American books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Some serve as centers for seminars, discussion groups, and lectures concerning the United States and its relations with other countries. They display exhibits, sponsor dramatic, musical and artistic events and become favorite meeting places for many who are interested in the United States. Their facilities are used by journalists, educators, workers, government officials, and parliamentarians. They are reference sources for students, both nationals and those from foreign lands.

The libraries and information centers were designed to create respect and understanding for the United States, its people, its principles and ideals. The effect is very often long-range, starting with students who eventually will be the political and business leaders of their countries.

The Commission recommends that the decision to close European libraries and information centers be reviewed and reconsidered.

10. *USIA should seek a level of appropriations more commensurate with its responsibilities and more in proportion to the efforts of the U.S. military and of the U.S. economic and military assistance programs.*

If the United States is to receive the respect and confidence which it seeks, it must be guided by policies and deeds that are deserving of a great power. In some instances, however, perfectly deserving deeds and policies may not be so recognized and acknowledged by all countries. To make sure that they are well presented and not distorted in any circumstances, and to carry the U.S. burden in the propaganda war of this century with Communist doctrine is the special responsibility of USIA.

In discharging these responsibilities the Agency is at once engaged in information, in education, in persuasion, in cultural presentations and activities, in preinsurgency and counterinsurgency operations and even in actual psychological warfare depending on the particular country in which it operates. To perform adequately, it must attract, train and retain people who are specialists in communicating reliable information about the United States to foreign audiences.

But, above all, it will require a more adequate fiscal base. Such a base can only be calculated, justified, and obtained if Agency objectives are realistically and reasonably formulated, if the techniques and methods are scientific and modern, and if information and cultural activities and programs, whenever feasible, are properly researched before they are produced, or at least after they have been released in order that their degree of impact and effectiveness may be judged.

It is difficult enough to communicate effectively with a domestic audience whose culture and language are similar for the most part. And huge sums of funds are involved. It is infinitely more complex and difficult to do so in the foreign milieu and atmosphere of over one hundred different countries. If the United States Government is to pay more than lip service to

what is expected of the U.S. Information Agency, it must begin to provide it with more realistic, financial support.

Compared with funds spent by private enterprise for similar public relations and information operations, the effort of the United States is miniscule. At the same time what is expected of this program is overdrawn and unrealistic. And compared to the U.S. military and economic aid, the effort is out of proportion.

The first words of the first Report to Congress issued in 1949 by the first members appointed to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information considered this matter.

"1. Is this program important?" the Commission asked.

"Yes; more than the Commission thought when the Smith-Mundt Act was passed.

"2. Is it effective? Yes, as far as it goes.

"3. Is it adequate? No.

"4. What can be done to improve it?"

On budget the Commission said, "a realistic approach requires that we provide a budget better balanced between the three-pronged program of military, economic, and information policy. A budget which contemplates \$15 billion for military, \$5 billion for economic and only \$36 million for information and education service does not provide an effective tool for cleaning out the Augean stables of international confusion and misunderstanding."

Nineteen additional Commission Reports to Congress and sixteen years later, these words remain true. For during this interval—

the Defense expenditures between 1948–64 were \$785 billion;

the AID expenditures between 1946–64 were \$99 billion;

the USIA-State expenditures for information, education, and culture between 1948–65 were \$2½ billion;

At the same time, the information and cultural programs have had some successes and failures, some accumulated experi-

ence, trained professionalism and improved facilities. Seldom during this period, have they been provided with sufficient resources in any country which would have permitted more than token performance.

In a recent article in Reader's Digest, former President Eisenhower in reflecting on "America's Place in the World," expressed his concern and appreciation for the need to achieve greater international understanding.

"The hard truth," he said, "is that this task of communication is so great that, in the main, it must be done by the federal government. I think we must decide that if we are going to win the cold war, we must spend whatever is necessary on this job—a half billion or even a billion a year if it takes that much. If we must, let us take it out of the defense budget or the space effort or some other program. Surely, in a national budget of over 100 billion dollars, we can find the needed money."

Congressional reductions in requested funds for reasons of mismanagement and inefficiency have been legitimate and valid. Cuts in appropriations in order to impose on the Executive Branch of government changes in policy such as the gradual psychological disengagement in Europe because of some congressional dissatisfaction with U.S. foreign policy, with foreign aid, or with the policies and attitudes of particular foreign countries can only produce handicaps to the mission of USIA.

Requests for increased appropriations need to be planned and justified by criteria and evidence which demonstrate the progress and effectiveness of the operation in particular countries. To accomplish this objective, there should be fewer and more realistic objectives set for USIA and there should be a major increase in the budget which is set aside for research in order to help produce this evidence.

CONCLUSION

The Commission believes that between 1948 when Public Law 402 was passed and the present, the U.S. Government constructed a worldwide apparatus capable of communicating

messages to the peoples of the world in a variety of media. During this period the responsible agencies, including USIA from 1953 to the present, have had to overcome serious problems of management, of recruiting and training qualified personnel, defining and clarifying objectives and missions, developing a worldwide foreign service with its logistics, constructing and developing technical facilities, establishing the necessary fiscal and administrative controls, and seeking adequate appropriations.

As a result, the United States has begun to compete in the ideological arena with growing strength to the point where both the Soviets and the Chinese Communists have expressed pain at USIA's surprising strength and persistence.

The Commission believes that in order to meet the long-range challenge of hostile propaganda in every continent of the world where the United States has strategic interests, the USIA must be further strengthened.

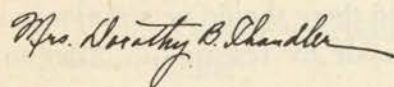
The next ten years will provide USIA with a unique opportunity, as part of its long-range plans to project to the world the past and present accomplishments of the United States as well as its future intentions.

The Commission believes that to tell America's story to the world more effectively, and to combat those who are intent on distorting and subverting this story, USIA will require more substantial financing than it has received to date.

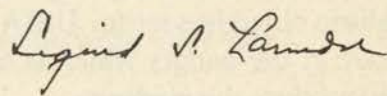
Respectfully submitted,



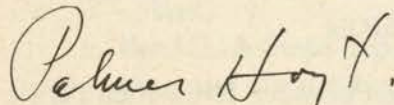
FRANK STANTON
Chairman



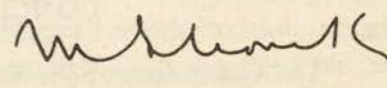
Mrs. DOROTHY CHANDLER



SIGURD S. LARMON



PALMER HOYT



M. S. NOVIK

FEBRUARY 7, 1966

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY,
Washington, D.C., December 1, 1965.

DEAR FRANK: I want to report to you on steps that I have taken during the first three months of my term of office as Director of the USIA, with particular reference to recommendations made by your Commission in its Twentieth Report to Congress and the President.

In that report you made certain specific recommendations which will be considered individually below:

1. *To improve Internal Management, Communication and Coordination*

To accomplish this objective I have utilized outside specialists in administrative management, news operation and radio broadcasting. As a result substantial changes will be made shortly in the operation of the Voice of America, the press and wireless service and the Office of Administration. In addition, I have previously announced the consolidation of the motion picture and television services, which merger became effective today.

In addition, I have enlarged the functions and responsibilities of my Executive Assistant so that he has a greater responsibility in the field of management. I believe that these steps carry out the spirit if not the letter of your recommendation.

2. *To Reduce the Number of USIA Buildings in Washington from Eleven to One*

I have had several meetings with the General Service Administrator, Lawson B. Knott, in which I pointed out the

DR. FRANK STANTON, *Chairman,*
U.S. Advisory Commission.

difficulties inherent in multiple building locations. We are handicapped in our efforts to obtain a single building because of the logical suggestion that the VOA retain its location in the Health, Education and Welfare building and that other units move there when HEW abandons the building. However, it is unlikely that any immediate abandonment will take place and, during the interim, make-shift arrangements are suggested. I do not subscribe to this recommendation and will continue my efforts to remove some of the obstacles which we currently face in our housing of the Agency staff.

3. To Improve and Strengthen Long-Range Planning

I concur fully with the recommendation and have named Wilson Dizard as a long-range planning officer in the Office of Policy. In addition, I intend to remove IOP from operational functions and direct their energies and talents towards planning.

4. Cultural and Exchange Program Activities

a. I have given considerable thought to the role of the Cultural Affairs Officer, and have conferred with the newly-appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs, Mr. Charles Frankel. In addition we have jointly participated in a Task Force which will recommend an expansion of U.S. efforts abroad in the field of education. As a result of that study, I am hopeful that there can be a clarification of the role of the CAO, and a clearer delineation of the respective fields of interest between the various agencies interested in cultural activities.

b. There have also been discussions to coordinate and improve government programs for orienting and training foreign journalists visiting the U.S. A more definitive program toward this end will be proposed at a later date by USIA.

c. I have made the categorical statement that there will be no further reduction of libraries in Western Europe and that I will advocate the strengthening of our program in this area. I have previously explained to each of you orally the circumstances which led to the consolidation of the libraries services in

London, Paris and the reduction in Germany of the number of America Haus installations.

d. In order to restore the balance of the Agency's cultural program activity,

1. I have recommended the creation of the post of "Cultural Minister" in the leading capitals of the world. Preliminary discussions have been held with the Department of State and eminent scholars on the subject. These men have been invited to suggest candidates for this position. This recommendation has met with the whole-hearted approval of the Secretary of State and the Assistant Secretary for Cultural Affairs. Recruiting of candidates for this post will start shortly.

2. I am endeavoring to secure an outstanding scholar as my cultural advisor with the authority to supervise the Agency program in the field of books, libraries, teaching of English programs and related cultural activities.

5. To Assume Responsibility for Planning and Executing the President's Trade Fair Exhibition Program

We have proposed to the Department of Commerce a termination of the existing relationship with the Agency on trade fair programs. Our proposal is that the Department of Commerce be responsible for all trade fairs devoted to the sale of goods and services and that the USIA undertake and sponsor those trade fairs which are primarily for information and cultural purposes.

6. To Seek Outside Evaluation of USIA Print and Radio Programs

As previously reported I have used outside consultants to evaluate our press and radio activities. Mr. Frank Starzel, formerly General Manager of the Associated Press, has made a detailed study of the press and news operations. Mr. Peter Straus, owner of several radio stations, has agreed to undertake a study of the VOA program through Latin America with particular reference to youth groups.

7. *To Expand the Research Program and To Use Its Results More Effectively*

I have emphasized the importance of research activities and have instructed all area and media directors to work closely with the Office of Research and Reference Service.

8. *To Consider the Need to Consolidate Into One Agency of Government the Related But Widely Scattered Programs in Information, Education, and Culture*

No action has been taken on this recommendation.

9. *To Seek the Advice and Guidance of Local Latin American Practitioners of Mass Communications in Presenting the Alliance for Progress to Latin America*

I have met with the Public Affairs Committee of the Council of Latin America to discuss a cooperative arrangement with the leading U.S. companies engaged in international trade in this area. Steps have been taken to carry out a program of mutual benefit. In addition, I am hopeful that a closer relationship can be created with the Committee for Economic Development, the International Chamber of Commerce and leading labor groups. With reference to the latter, I have met with representatives of the AFL-CIO and recommended their participation and advice in this effort.

10. *To Confine USIA's Domestic Publications to a Minimum and Limit the Distribution of Its Media Products in the U.S. in Accordance with the Intentions of Congress*

I have issued a directive requiring my approval for all speaking engagements. As a result there has been a drastic reduction in the number of speeches made by employees.

I intend to restrict my speaking efforts to national groups engaged in the foreign policy field, and significant groups relating to press, broadcasting, books and other media. During the first 90 days, I have made three speeches as follows:

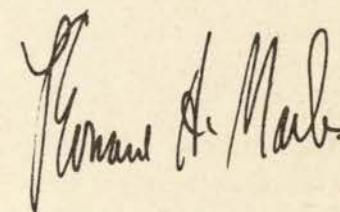
- a. To affiliates of the Columbia Broadcasting System.
- b. American Women in Radio and Television.
- c. Broadcast Promotion Association.

At this time I wish to formally express my appreciation for the assistance which individual members of the Commission have given me and the collective encouragement which I have received from you.

I look forward to a meeting after the first of the year at which time I would like to present significant policy problems, budgetary questions and related matters.

If there are any questions regarding any of the steps which I have taken, I shall be glad to amplify this report.

Sincerely,



LEONARD H. MARKS

cc. Members of the Advisory Commission

To the Congress of the United States



THE TWENTY-SECOND REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information



February 1967

**THE TWENTY-SECOND REPORT
OF THE**

**United States
Advisory Commission
on Information**

THE COMMISSION

PALMER HOYT 1965—
Editor and Publisher
The Denver Post
Denver, Colorado

SIGURD S. LARMON 1954—
Chrysler Building
New York, New York

M. S. NOVIK 1962—
Radio-Television Consultant
300 West 23d Street
New York, New York

FRANK STANTON, CHAIRMAN 1964—
President
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
New York, New York

FOREWORD

Public Law 402 (PL 402) instructs that the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information submit an annual report to the Congress of the United States. It must, first, assess the operations of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and, second, propose recommendations for its future. This is the twenty-second such report. It covers, but in its considerations is not restricted to, calendar 1966.

The annual report is but a part of the Commission's overview. Among them, members and the Staff Director inspected USIA activities in 17 nations during 1966. Mr. Palmer Hoyt inspected United States Information Services (USIS)* in Hong Kong, Thailand and Greece. Mr. Sigurd S. Larmon visited USIS Venezuela, including its bi-national center in Caracas. Mr. M. S. Novik attended the Student Affairs Officers Conference in Colombia and visited USIS posts in Austria, Italy and Israel. Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler—who resigned from the Commission on November 1 after two years service—visited Austria, Germany, Sweden, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR. The Staff Director attended the Western European Cultural Affairs Officers Meeting in the United Kingdom and conferred with USIS officers in Holland and France, where he inspected USIS facilities.

Additionally, the Commission held ten meetings during 1966, which afforded an opportunity to confer with the Director of USIA, hear briefings by the Agency's top executive managers and review Agency product.

*

The tools of the past are often inadequate to the tasks of tomorrow. The problems facing the United States information, cultural and educational services are not the same as those of

*"USIS" is used to identify the Agency abroad. The title "USIA" is used only within the United States.

20 years ago. USIA must match its mission. Periodic inventory-taking is called for.

Such is this report. Its assessments include a review of the USIA mission, its administration, the quality and training of its personnel, the adequacy of its funds, the appropriateness and validity of its long established organizational structure, its relationship with the Congress and the American people, the scope and magnitude of its research and the effectiveness of its programs and policies.

The Commission finds four areas in which challenges to USIA are paramount:

- 1) The continued fulminations of mainland China, including its internal upheaval.
- 2) The President's call for "peaceful engagement" with the USSR and Eastern Europe.
- 3) The continued unification of Western Europe.
- 4) The rise of a new generation which constitutes new audiences with different memories, new expectations and with changing concepts of the United States and what it stands for.

In this 22nd Report to Congress the Commission commends the present administration of USIA for its efforts to improve, make more efficient and modernize the management of the Agency's affairs. Much remains to be done, both by the Executive and the Congress. The Commission has identified continuing problems and new opportunities. It urges the USIA to take steps toward their solution. These include the needs to:

Develop greater stability and continuity (page 8).

Reexamine approaches to the underdeveloped areas (page 10).

Reassess USIA's role in Vietnam (page 13).

Strengthen its cultural and education programs (page 14).

Establish a corporate memory (page 18).

Reinforce the training program (page 19).

Encourage discussion of policy problems, plans and programs (page 19).

Reestablish contacts with the academic community (page 20).

Improve the inspection program (page 20).

Plan for the 1976 United States bicentennial (page 21).

The Commission also draws the attention of the Congress to a set of recommendations exclusively within its jurisdiction. These include the needs to:

Create a statutory USIA Foreign Service, (page 21).

Permit domestic availability of USIA materials (page 22).

Finally, the Commission calls the attention of the Congress and the President to the need to provide increased appropriations (page 23).

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If one word can be found to describe the single most critical challenge facing United States information programs abroad as we enter the final third of this century, that word is "change." A longer word, but equally apt, is "transition"—the one used by the President of the United States in his State of the Union address on January 18, 1967. Ours, he said, is:

"A time of testing—yes. *And a time of transition.* The transition is sometimes slow; sometimes unpopular; almost always very painful—and often quite dangerous. But we have lived with danger for a long time before, and we shall live with it for a long time yet to come Let us remember that those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

This report is addressed to an important number of those fatigues.

THE TWENTY-SECOND REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information

On February 24, 1967, the Voice of America (VOA) will be twenty-five years old. A new generation has come to maturity. Memories of war have faded, if they have been experienced at all. To increasing millions, the cataclysmic events of 1939-45 appear unreal.

In the newly created nations, in the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggles for independence and against colonialism have been replaced by the monumental problems of modernization and nation building—and even of freedom and democracy.

The new generation is skeptical, and is not confined to the Western world. From the need for “a cultural revolution” in Communist China to warnings against Western ideological blandishments in East Europe, there is evidence that the new generation is restless, asking questions and determined to make up its own mind about the important issues of its time.

It is in this context, complicated and compounded by the burdens of the Vietnam war, that the U.S. Information Agency performs its mission on behalf of the American people and the free world: to establish and maintain communication channels for the transmission of reliable, authentic information about the United States, its people, its policies, its problems, its intentions and its achievements.

Almost 20 years ago, when Public Law 402 creating information and education services was written by the Congress, we were concerned about the magnitude and effectiveness of Communist propaganda. The proliferation of its books, magazines and periodicals, the distribution of its exhibits and motion pictures, the signal power and propaganda content of Radio Moscow, the entire strategy and tactics of Communist propaganda appeared to be sweeping the world.

It was in part to meet this potential menace to the interests of the United States that Congress created information, cultural and educational services. Today it is the *Soviets* who attest to the capability of the United States in this area. In books and magazines, in resolutions of important committees, in speeches by top leaders, Communist concern is expressed over the impact made by United States efforts in these fields.

Although this Soviet estimate of U.S. effectiveness is in the Commission's view overdrawn, it is worth reporting to the Congress that because of its past investments and continuing suggestions, coupled with the dedicated work of USIA personnel at home and abroad, the U.S. effort is beginning to make a difference.

But success must not breed a slackening of effort. If the work is not sustained, its results can evaporate. The information, cultural and educational programs of the United States, like those of other major world powers, require continuing support if U.S. policies are to be understood. Our rivals have learned this lesson well. The American people, the Congress and the Executive must know it equally well. The continued execution of these programs has become a fixed part of U.S. relations with the rest of the world.

The USIA in 1966

These constructive developments should be reported to the Congress:

1. A cost reduction program—prompted in large measure by the Bureau of the Budget—is being introduced by USIA. The Agency is attempting to apply the principles of a Program Planning and Budgeting System (PPBS) wherever possible. Although all the results of such a system—pursued with modera-

tion and common sense—will not be evident for four or five years, advantages are already visible. Answers are now becoming available to questions the Commission has asked for years: What differences are made by particular programs and media? Which programs are most effective? Which are less effective, marginal or expendable? How can one justify resources devoted to one country as opposed to another? What is the impact of the total USIA operation and of its constituent parts? How can objectives be formulated so that their achievements are susceptible to more objective assessment and measurement?

In the Commission's view this is one of the encouraging management developments in USIA. Yet even in this early period of trial and error it is clear that much basic data is not at hand. The accumulated research needs of USIA stand out in glaring relief.

2. To answer the questions raised by new methods of administration and management, USIA has reorganized its research activity. It is attempting to convert it into an effective management tool and aid to policy decisions.

Two caveats must be entered in the record. The first questions the wisdom of placing the Office of Research under the Agency's policy office. Too close a relationship between policy and research may compromise the latter's objectivity, a situation which would not obtain were research to report to the Director.

The second relates to a tendency to dismiss the importance of area specialists in the analytic process. If research does not utilize the professional services of individuals who have long knowledge of particular foreign areas, its judgments and analyses can become technical, unrealistic and immature.

The Office of Research sponsored a meeting at Airline House devoted to an examination of methods of determining the effectiveness of USIA programs. Outside specialists from industry, the universities and the Bureau of the Budget counseled with Agency officers. The conference report contains many useful suggestions; the Commission commends them to USIA management for serious consideration.

3. The Voice of America has embarked on new, expanded concepts of international programming. It had been

apparent for years that international broadcasts sounded alike. Contents and ideologies differed but common techniques made it difficult to distinguish one from another. After months in planning, VOA in November introduced contemporary programming methods and modern sound to give U.S. international broadcasting a distinctive voice. The new approach is at present being applied only to English language broadcasts, but may in time be adapted to foreign language broadcasts as well.

4. The Agency continues to perform with efficiency during international crises, conferences or Presidential journeys. The recent Presidential trip to Southeast Asia and the Manila Conference was an event in which sound planning and exertion made it possible to relay a complete account around the world with dispatch and impact—an accomplishment which warranted recognition by the Chief Executive.

*

The Commission comes now to an examination of continuing problems and new opportunities.

Following are recommendations for action by USIA, the Congress and the President:

*

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION BY THE USIA

Greater Stability and Continuity

The Commission believes that, after almost 20 years, the time has come for USIA to settle in.

Although it is difficult to assure the tenure of Agency Directors and their deputies because of shifting political sands—there have been four Secretaries of State but twelve Directors of USIA since 1949—there should be institutionalized in USIA a permanent Deputy Director, perhaps authorized by legislative statute, who would serve irrespective of changing Administra-

tions or changing Directors. The permanent Deputy Director could be either a career civil servant or a senior foreign service officer of the highest stature, familiar with the role of Congress and with the Congressional process, with broad-gauged overseas experience, able to build a firm administrative backup to the Agency's operations.

This Agency and its predecessors have been marked by constant shifts in personnel at all levels. Directors of geographic areas are often transferred after short tours and after serving in areas not necessarily connected with present leadership assignments. Heads of media are replaced too frequently. Public affairs officers (PAO's), cultural affairs officers (CAO's), information officers, librarians and others are frequently shifted from one part of the world to another at great expense and with little regard to past experience.

USIA has operated under the concept that a foreign service officer who has served in one part of the world for many years may assume direction of another geographic area with whose problems and affairs he is only distantly familiar. The Commission does not concur. It believes the position of area director should be assumed by those who have demonstrated ability and knowledge of an area by virtue of long service in it.

This fluctuating top leadership situation has been the logical extension of a foreign service system which believes that skills acquired abroad are transferable and interchangeable. In USIA this is true only of those few foreign service executive officers who serve as generalists—in Brazil as well as in Indonesia, in Iran as well as in South Africa, in Japan as well as Holland. It is they who may be shifted from one part of the world to another with relative frequency and without damage to organizational efficiency. PAO's, for example, should not be.

The Commission also believes that CAO's should serve for longer periods. The CAO works with educators and students, with artists, intellectuals, writers and musicians. His effectiveness increases in direct proportion to time on the job in a particular country. To insure a familiarity with the United States officers can be returned periodically for study or work.

There may always be need for the officer who is in effect an executive presiding over specialists in information, cultural and educational affairs, but it is clear that an officer's peak efficiency is realized only after he has been in a country for several years and after he has mastered the language, customs, psychology and politics of it.

The Commission recognizes that it may be unduly onerous—and in some cases unproductive—to have certain officers remain in one country for the entire term of their foreign service careers. The Agency should therefore consider the possibility of further regionalizing its foreign service. There might be, for example, a Europe corps, a Slavic corps, an Africa corps, an Asia corps, an Arabic corps, a Latin America corps—in short, a number of special cadres comprising officers thoroughly familiar with the cultures, languages, philosophies, histories and psychologies of the peoples in those areas. In time the Agency would build a sizable body of veterans of these broad areas who not only could render service in the field but could also provide sensitive judgment and advice in Washington.

The problems of instability extend to the Voice of America. Part of the continued success of the Voice in building and holding audiences can be attributed to the language skills, insights and political knowledge possessed by men and women who have been broadcasting to particular countries for many years. One of VOA's problems is that these veterans will soon retire. There has been difficulty in recruiting younger men and women as eventual replacements.

The restructuring and reorganizing of USIA's foreign service would grant it greater continuity, cohesion and stability, would facilitate the tasks of the training programs and would aid the overall planning and projections of the human resources needed in this program.

Approaches to the Underdeveloped Areas

In Asia, Africa and Latin America the race is between economic development, financial investment and food production on one hand and population on the other. Unless these factors are placed in better balance, famine will become this generation's legacy to the next.

Such problems are quite unlike those facing the rest of the USIA program, which remains essentially Europe-oriented and concerned with the more sophisticated problems of complex civilizations. They require different orientation, different planning and consideration, possibly by a different type of personnel. The Commission recommends that USIA establish a task force to plan and examine information materials required in these underdeveloped areas. The problems of Laos and Indonesia have more in common with those of Uganda and Kenya than they do with those of France or Japan.

One of USIA's major objectives in underdeveloped areas should be the spread of useful information about self-help and modernization. The implementation of this objective would demonstrate to those peoples that Americans are interested in the things important in their lands and can work effectively in helping them reach their own goals. Materials of this type motivate as well as inform. It is especially important to provide the peoples of these continents with ideas and informational products which demonstrate that the United States has a body of experience applicable to the problems of national development and modernization. The gap between the United States as a "have" nation and those among the "have nots" must not appear so great that it cannot be bridged.

The production of such information materials can hardly be accomplished on a worldwide basis. They should be tailored to fit local needs. The Commission believes this type of material can best be produced and coordinated regionally.

a) *Library Collections.* It is in these underdeveloped areas that the character of the book collections in the libraries and information centers is especially important. Most USIS libraries contain balanced collections ranging from history and literature to government, science and the arts. In underdeveloped areas special collections on civic education and civic development programs should also be made available.

b) *English Teaching.* It is in these areas, too, that the teaching of English should play a more prominent role in the total U.S. program. As the first post-war Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs—which then included U.S. information,

cultural and educational programs—former Senator William Benton, said in a recent speech:

“The late Edward Murrow . . . agreed with me that no objective of that agency over the next one hundred years could be more important than the spread of the English language But United States policies by and large have been sloppily conceived and imperfectly coordinated. This has led to fragmentation of efforts. It has inhibited an effective overall attack. The aim of the government as a whole . . . should be admitted openly and avowedly as the teaching of English on a world scale.”

c) *Women's Activities.* It is in these underdeveloped areas that there has developed a profound and revolutionary change in the status of women; their lives have changed more in the last 20 years than in the previous 2,000. Women are assuming leadership in the struggles *against* poverty, ignorance, injustice and population growth and in the fight *for* political emancipation, the right to vote and the right to hold office. They are helping mold the opinion of a rising generation.

The Commission urges the Agency to set in motion a recruiting and training program for women's affairs officers to serve in those countries where women's groups are actively seeking information and education materials. There is evidence that where these officers have served (Nigeria, Japan, Vietnam and Kenya) their activities have redounded to the mutual interests of the United States and the host country.

d) “*Problems of Communism*” and “*Problems of Democracy*.” It has been asserted that since USIA's primary purpose is to support foreign policy objectives, it is incapable of creating products and programs which are steeped in scholarship and dedicated to comprehensive and authoritative considerations of contemporary affairs. VOA's “Forum” series—“Information and Documents” and “Problems of Communism”—is evidence to the contrary. They are popular and effective and have received the plaudits of scholars and journalists around the world.

The problems of underdeveloped nations should receive the same type of authoritative and scholarly treatment as have problems of communism. The Agency should explore the feasibility of preparing a companion publication which would deal with democracy, modernization and nation building.

There is a need for such a publication—prepared perhaps in Washington, perhaps on a regional basis—which would serve as a clearing house of information and as a vehicle for the exchange of experience among the nations of the world. Successful experiments in democracy should be reported and failures should be documented. Such experience could be useful to the new one-party states as well as two- and multiple-party states. It could help point out what must be done in civic education and development as well as through economic development before productive economies and free societies become possible.

e) *The Labor Information Program.* The Commission has observed that the Agency does not evince a firm policy on the use of labor information officers. This is especially true in Latin America, where there has been considerable movement—and some termination—among this category.

The Commission believes many of the challenges facing the United States abroad, especially in underdeveloped areas, arise from Communist penetration of organized and unorganized labor. Next to students and youth groups, workers and labor organizations deserve priority attention by USIA. It is essential to provide them with information on the free labor movement in the United States and on the progress and procedures of free labor organizations around the world. As in other parts of the USIA program there is need to provide the labor information officers program with continuity and stability. Successful programs, once introduced, should not be quickly withdrawn. Effective labor information officers, once assigned, should not be removed without replacement.

USIA's Role in Vietnam

USIA has poured men, materials and resources into the psychological operations of the Vietnam war. Capable personnel have been diverted from other parts of USIA's foreign service

to meet the demands of hard-pressed American and Vietnamese administrators. Results, although difficult to measure, have frequently been encouraging. The success of the Chieu Hoi program—in which defectors and escapees turned themselves in under safe-conduct passes—attests to the effectiveness of the operation. Equally important, captured enemy documents assessing the dangers and threats of this type of psychological warfare to the morale of their forces reveal that the operation is meeting success. Interrogation of prisoners, defectors and escapees further confirms these assessments.

The Agency and its personnel both in Washington and in South Vietnam are to be commended for their imaginative efforts in pursuing these programs.

The Commission is concerned, however, that although the USIA mission in Vietnam is of the highest priority, its resources, personnel and budget are to a considerable degree being siphoned off from other areas. Budgetary cuts have been applied precisely to those areas where suspicion and criticism of American policy are most acute. Capable officers are needed in these areas as well. The Commission urges the Agency to plan its requests for appropriations and its recruitment programs in such a manner that its worldwide responsibilities do not continue to suffer from a drain of personnel and funds into Vietnam.

Cultural and Educational Programs

The production of cultural and educational materials is scattered among the media in USIA. Radio, motion pictures, television and press reflect the variety of the American cultural and educational scene. These are supplemented by the many products developed by the information center service in USIA.

There is a continuous need to strengthen the quality of product in order to meet keen competition for attention in all parts of the world. Product, as well as all cultural and educational programs, should be reviewed by a small but high level staff which would report to the Director.

a) *USIS Bi-National Centers (BNC's), Libraries and Information Centers.* USIA should focus more sharply on its bi-national centers, information centers and libraries. They are in many respects the heart of the Agency's overseas operation.

When properly directed, they serve as a coordinating device and outlet for the multi-media programs of USIA. An excellent report on bi-national centers was prepared at the Director's request by former Ambassador Charles W. Cole. It reads in part:

"The 133 bi-national centers of the A and B classes constitute one of the greatest opportunities available to the United States in its overseas cultural activities, especially in Latin America, where 113 of them are located.

"This opportunity has been only partially utilized and can be much more fully exploited at comparatively small additional cost. The opportunity is, moreover, a unique one, for the bi-national centers are institutions in which local nationals voluntarily and overtly identify themselves with the United States and further objectives which it approves and supports. In addition, they are living and visible examples of the kind of private, democratically conducted organizations so characteristic of the United States for they constitute a locus in which returned grantees of all types can maintain contact with what is going on in the U.S. and with other returnees.

"The BNC's do not, and, being under local auspices, cannot engage in propaganda. But, positively, they do create an understanding of the U.S., its civilization and its policies, and by teaching English create the most important avenue of continuing communication. Negatively, they play a most significant role in destroying myths about the imperialism, materialism and capitalism of the U.S.

"The bi-national centers devote most of their energies and funds to the teaching of English and derive almost all their local income from student fees. The BNC's are the instrument by which the United States can take advantage of its greatest cultural asset overseas . . . the English language Indeed, it is now widely realized that English has become the scientific, commercial and diplomatic *lingua franca* of the modern world.

"Most of the students at the BNC's and most of the visitors and library users are young people, not unsympathetic with the U.S. and more energetic and likely to get ahead than the average. A great many of them are students in the universities or secondary schools.

"It must be realized, too, that a majority of the BNC's are in provincial towns which are culturally starved. The BNC is often the only place where the local inhabitant can hear music, listen to a lecture, see a modern print or borrow a book. They are even more evidently the only place where he can learn to read and speak English."

Ambassador Cole's recommendations call for the construction of new bi-national centers or additions and renovations to existing structures, increased opportunities for the teaching of English, stepped-up and improved recruitment of teachers and librarians, increased opportunities for exhibits especially designed for bi-national centers and the creation of some device for recognizing the contributions of the centers' boards of directors who serve bi-national interests. The Agency is moving ahead in executing some of these recommendations.

The full potential of libraries and information centers has yet to be realized, despite the fact that their usefulness has been attested to in many countries. The Commission recommends that a task force be assigned to examine how libraries and information centers can measure up to their full potential. Libraries and information centers are a physical embodiment of the United States. The impression they create can be inviting and cheerful or unattractive and drab. Many foreigners experience their first contact with the United States in walking by or entering these American institutions abroad. They, accordingly, should be designed well and distinctively—not necessarily expensively—to best represent the United States.

It is also necessary to determine whether centers and libraries have been placed in strategic locations. If the Agency is interested in approaching youth and student groups, small information centers or libraries located near universities facilitate access. Similarly, the placement of small information

centers in workers quarters facilitates reaching important labor groups.

Book collections and translations should be reviewed to determine their adequacy and up-to-dateness. The percentage of books in the language of the host country should be at least 50 percent. A determined effort should be made to reach 75 percent. Similarly, book collections should place heavier emphasis on investigations produced in the social sciences during the past two decades. While literature and science should not be neglected, the future leaders of most foreign countries are searching for new insights and ideas, for new methods and approaches in economics, in government, in education, in psychology, in sociology, in cybernetics, public administration and management.

In the years ahead it is likely that the intense competition between the Soviets and the United States in science, technology and space exploration will be extended to include the social sciences. This year Soviet Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev, in a speech to the 23rd Party Congress, opposed "the idea still existing among some Party workers that the social sciences have only propaganda importance," and gave these disciplines a new ranking equal with the natural sciences. American scholarship, research and investigation in these crucially important areas deserve important display.

b) *Libraries in Europe.* This report referred earlier to the rise of a new generation, especially in Europe, which remembers neither World Wars I or II nor the causes and events which prefaced them. It is therefore imperative that the European programs for youth, centered around libraries, be expanded. Many who were born during 1945 are already taking their place in society as working, voting citizens. It is essential to the best interests of the United States that they be kept accurately and reliably informed.

In this era, when misunderstanding of American objectives and suspicion of our motives are especially high, it is folly to reduce the U.S. presence. In Western Europe a vigorous information program is essential. The new generation requires a continuous program of education about the United States. Their own schools and media place the emphasis in other directions; one cannot expect otherwise.

The Commission again brings to the attention of the Congress the damage to the United States when the library in London was closed, when the library in Paris was retrenched, when posts and libraries were eliminated in France, Italy and Germany. No people can be taken for granted. With rapidly changing societies and economies in Europe, with challenges from every part of the world converging on Europeans, it is indispensable to our own best interests not to appear to withdraw from this strategically important continent.

c) *Education Officers.* In its last report to Congress, this Commission expressed concern at a proposal emanating from the Department of State that embassies' public affairs and cultural staffs be fragmented further by the establishment of educational attaches. The report stated that such "tendencies toward proliferation . . . lead to uncoordinated and disorganized effort or to an unworkable span of supervision." It cautioned that the success or failure of information, cultural and educational programs "lies not only in their inherent quality or substance, but in their management."

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of PAO's and CAO's do not see the need for an additional education officer. Moreover, the creation of these posts leads to duplication of effort. There has been no demand from Ambassadors for assistance in this area. If the Department persists in its position, it will jeopardize present programs.

If needs in certain countries are not now being met, either qualitatively or quantitatively, immediate steps should be taken within the context of the present organization. The Commission urges that USIA and the State Department pool resources to strengthen cultural and educational programs without further fragmenting the overall U.S. effort.

A Corporate Memory

It is unfortunate that after twenty years of experience in foreign communications the USIA today possesses little systematic data recording it. There is in effect no corporate memory.

The Commission recommends that the Agency give high priority to creating one. USIA should institute a schedule for the interrogation and debriefing of all foreign service officers

returning from their posts or in the process of moving from one post to another. It should systematically debrief its foreign service personnel to obtain information about those approaches, operations, techniques and programs that have succeeded and those that have failed.

Such a codification of foreign service officer experience could in time form the case-books for a training program to pass on to tomorrow's officers the benefit of their predecessors' experience. It will help, too, in answering such questions as "What have you succeeded in accomplishing after one, two or three years in a post? How can funds be better expended? What are the weaknesses in a program? What concrete suggestions can be offered for improving an operation? What are the new opportunities and the built-in limitations to the USIA program abroad?"

The Training Program

The training program, like the research program, is basic to the Agency's operations. Incoming officers cannot be sent to the field unarmed. And, if not well trained before taking up their posts, they can work at cross purposes with Agency objectives.

Unfortunately, the training program has suffered from fluctuating leadership and a lack of agreement within USIA on the essentials of the mission and on training requirements of officers scheduled for overseas duty. A new Director of Training has been appointed and charged with the mission of reorganizing and implementing this essential operation. He will need the full support of the Director as well as of area directors and media chiefs, who in the past frequently have been reluctant to allow foreign service officers sufficient time in training and orientation.

Discussion of Policy Problems, Plans and Programs

This Commission said in its last report, and finds worth repeating now:

"Each USIA employee should be encouraged to offer his ideas . . . Creative ideas are as important as suggestions for increasing efficiency and economy and for improving operations. There is need for more concen-

trated consideration of them by top management as well as the employees of USIA. For without them USIA can become all form without substance, all apparatus without content, all technique without communication, all activity without achievement."

The Office of Policy has begun to provide a forum for the consideration of certain plans and policies. This effort should be encouraged and expanded. There has been a dearth of intra-agency comment and debate on important matters. Creative discussion sessions should be scheduled throughout the Agency. They should be accompanied by a constant drive for creative ideas, for new solutions to old problems, for hard discussions of policies and program content. Consideration of both substance and administrative management is essential to the attainment of the Agency's mission and goals.

Contacts With the Academic Community

The Commission notes with regret the gradual decline of interest by academicians and scholars in the USIA mission and in the general subject of international and inter-cultural communications. Relatively few continue to pursue research in this field. USIA should renew its contacts with the academic community, rekindle its interest and invite its suggestions, reviews and commentaries.

The Inspection Program

The present USIA inspection system consists of dispatching teams of senior Agency officers or foreign service officers to posts in different parts of the world to examine personnel, organization and operations. Subsequent reports are studied by the Ambassador, the Director, the public affairs officer, the area director and the inspector general.

The Commission believes that civilian review should be incorporated into the Agency's inspection of its own operations, and that each task force should include at least one public member. Such inclusion would serve to provide a fresh, independent and experienced point of view. It would help overcome the difficulty of having colleagues in the same agency inspect one another. A subsidiary benefit would be in enabling public mem-

bers to learn more about and assess one of the government's most vital overseas programs.

The 1976 Bicentennial

The Commission's last report to Congress recommended that USIA formulate a ten-year program culminating in the celebration of the American Bicentennial in 1976.

As the government's principal arm in disseminating information abroad, USIA and its media should begin to plan now. It is not too early to establish a task force to direct what is to be done each year, leading into the events of 1976.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO CONGRESS

A Statutory USIA Foreign Service

Successive directors and this Commission have pleaded with the Congress for legislation which would provide foreign service officers of USIA with a career service. The collapse of proposed legislation in the 89th Congress has led to further deterioration of morale among those who serve the interests of their country abroad.

The argument in favor is well known by the Congress and need not be repeated here. The men and women of the foreign service cannot and should not be expected to lobby in their own behalf. They are no one's particular constituency and are completely dependent on the good will, wisdom and judgment of the Congress for their support.

It is the foreign service public affairs officers, cultural affairs officers, information officers, librarians, labor information officers, student affairs grantees, radio and television and motion picture officers who talk with editors, writers and commentators, who counsel with, guide and advise exchange students, professors and scholars, who arrange for and publicize the artistic and musical extravaganzas, who provide foreign parliamentarians and appointed officials with reliable information about U.S. policies and intentions, who speak to foreign audiences, who create exhibits, lend books, show motion pictures or place television and radio programs on local stations, who talk to labor groups and enter into dialogues with students about the United States. They represent the United States, not with foreign offices and prime

ministers, but with people from every walk of life who have prejudices as well as curiosity about the United States.

Such representatives of the United States need a Congressionally sanctioned career system. The Commission urgently recommends that Congress make every effort to grant them one.

Domestic Availability of USIA Materials

Public Law 402, which provides the basic authority for U.S. foreign information, cultural and educational programs, was passed in an atmosphere of Congressional suspicion and skepticism. Special concern was registered over the possibility that such programs might "propagandize" the American people if overseas products were to be made available in the United States. Congressional committees have reiterated the intent of Congress that USIA's products not be distributed domestically. Indeed, previous members of this Commission have sustained and supported this view.

This Commission feels that, after almost two decades, the walls can come down. The time has come when the vigilance of Congress and the press may be relied upon to provide sufficient safeguard against partisanship and the promulgation of a particular Administration's point of view.

The American taxpayer should no longer be prohibited from seeing and studying the product¹ a government agency produces with public funds for overseas audiences. Students in schools and colleges all over this country who are interested in government, foreign affairs and international relations should not be denied access to what the U.S. government is saying about itself and the rest of the world. The Commission recommends that the Congress effect the same "open door" policy on overseas-intended information materials as decreed by the "Freedom of Information" Act (the Moss Act, passed July 4, 1966) for domestically-based governmental operations.

In legal terms, the past prohibition against domestic distribution has been *de facto* rather than *de jure*. There is nothing in the statutes specifically forbidding making USIA materials

¹ The only current exception is the "Problems of Communism," which may be purchased from the Government Printing Office.

available to American audiences. Rather, what began as caution has hardened into policy. But the law notwithstanding, so hoary a precedent is not lightly discarded. The sense of Congress was accessory to its creation, and the sense of Congress is essential to its demise.

(It is important to underscore that this Commission's recommendation is addressed to "making available" USIA materials, not to promoting their domestic distribution. Distribution in this country should not be initiated by the USIA, but should be permitted in response to requests.)

The granting of specific authority by the Congress would have the effect of adding to the "free flow of information" that characterizes the Moss Act. It would bring to USIA the views, criticisms and suggestions of Americans concerning the Agency's effort to keep the world well informed about the United States, its foreign policy objectives and the American people. It would encourage the development of a high quality product. It would serve to insure accurate and balanced treatment of the news. It would improve credibility overseas in demonstrating there is no curtain between what is released abroad and what is made available at home. Most important, it would satisfy the American people's right to know what its government is saying to the world at large.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT

Increased Appropriations

The USIA today faces a difficult and expanding task, an outgrowth of the fact that the United States faces not only a large war in a military sense but also a world which has become skeptical of U.S. aims. This skepticism stems directly from the Vietnam war but is also affected by such domestic problems as racial disturbances and controversy over conclusions of the Warren Commission Report. These issues abound in the world's media. Some foreign coverage is accurate and complete. Much is distorted, exaggerated and without perspective. As world communications become almost instantaneous, the problem becomes more acute.

As a result, the challenge to keep the record straight looms ever larger. There is no permanent success in the achievement of U.S. interests and objectives; their pursuit is a continuing responsibility. Evidence of momentary achievement cannot justify curtailment or elimination of vital programs.

It is in this light that inadequacy of USIA appropriations continues to handicap the Agency. Lack of funds has hurt the best interests of the United States—as in the closing of libraries and posts in Western Europe. In the last few years USIA has been receiving appropriations which enable it to move from year to year on a “going rate” basis. With continued inflationary increases both in this country and abroad, and with exceptions resulting from buildups to meet crises in Southeast Asia, the USIA is operating at a steadily declining pace. Its overseas programs, its programs in training, in management and research, its representation funds—all have in many cases been depleted and starved. Personnel and funds have been removed from one area and transferred to another, with the frequent result that neither is well served.

Despite the institution of a cost reduction program and despite a conscientious effort on the part of management to conserve and save wherever possible, USIA remains without sufficient funds to do its job.

AFTERWORD

When we say that “communication is one of the greatest problems of the world today,” we may be bored with the statement but we deal fairly with the fact.

It is a key problem—and a key opportunity—for the United States. As this report has indicated, we are come upon new times, new allegiances, a world erupting into new political formulations. The idea of independence, not conceived in the United States but certainly brought to flower here, is raging dared among peoples of the world who hardly dream it would be within reach. In its wake have come instability and a groping for the way.

The United States can help—indeed, it must. The Commission believes that neither the Legislative nor the Executive has yet approached this responsibility with the vigor it demands—a responsibility that must be accepted and discharged irrespective of skepticism, lack of appreciation and occasional hostility. The Congress has responded in granting funds for the construction of broadcast facilities, but has been less than willing to make comparable investments in other overseas programs. Where the needs and challenges are greatest, where the task of making U.S. intentions clear is most difficult—it is in these areas that USIA has been most handicapped by Congressional reluctance.

This 22nd Report, read in conjunction with its predecessors, suggests to the Congress—and to USIA—that more needs to be done. We dare not leave *undone* those things which advance the causes of peace and retard the forces of arms. The skill is at our command. We need only the will.

Respectfully submitted,

PALMER HOYT

SIGURD S. LARMON

M. S. NOVIK

FRANK STANTON
Chairman

JANUARY 26, 1967.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY,
Washington, D.C., June 21, 1966.

DR. FRANK STANTON, *Chairman,*
U.S. Advisory Commission.

DEAR FRANK:

The following will serve as a status report on actions taken by the Agency on the recommendations made by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information in its Twenty-first Report to Congress. I have listed below the specific recommendations which you have made and my comment on each. They are as follows:

1. *USIA's purpose and role should cover both present and future objectives.*
2. *USIA should develop long-range plans. A ten-year (1966-76) plan is recommended.*

I concur in your recommendation that we have a responsibility to project U.S. foreign policy from a short and long-range standpoint. We attempt to do so.

Since taking over the office of Director, I have stressed long-range planning and have emphasized its importance in:

- a. Planning for the recruitment of trained personnel.
- b. Instituting language training programs.
- c. Evaluating the technical facilities which we operate to determine whether they will become obsolete.
- d. Considering new facilities in light of technological advances made in the art of communications.

Consistent with these objectives, I have appointed Wilson Dizard as long-range planning officer and have given him specific assignments which are now being developed.

In order that we may keep abreast of technological improvements, we have constantly conferred with the National Aeronautics and Space Council representatives to determine the prospective use of satellites for short-wave broadcasting, for frequency modulation programs and other means of communications. Special studies have been instituted on these subjects directed towards our particular problems.

3. *USIA should use more research in its plans, programs, budget and evaluation.*

In your report you state, "This Commission has long urged that USIA employ wherever possible modern research methods in order to ascertain when and where it has succeeded or failed, and how it can influence attitudes more effectively."

As you know, our Research Section has carried out specific projects using "modern research methods," and I am satisfied that the personnel of this section are highly qualified to continue doing so. I am unable to comment on your statement that, "The use of research has been seriously neglected in USIA to the detriment of the program." This statement obviously refers to a situation which may have existed prior to my appointment.

We are currently using research for planning purposes, to evaluate the usefulness of particular media products, to justify our request for appropriations before the Bureau of the Budget and Congress, and to determine attitudes of foreign populations on significant problems of mutual interest.

I have recently determined that research can be used more effectively if it is integrated with the Office of Policy. Accordingly, on July 1, 1966 the Research unit will be transferred to that section and the Reference Service will be transferred to the Office of Administration. It is my expectation that this reorganization will bring about a more efficient operation.

4. *USIA should improve the quality of its programs, products and personnel.*

I concur in this recommendation and we are constantly striving to improve the quality of the programs, products and personnel of the Agency.

Effective October 1, 1966, I have named an experienced Foreign Service Officer, James J. Halsema, as Head of the Training Division and he will institute a more vigorous program of indoctrination for our officers assigned overseas. Moreover, arrangements are being made for a larger complement of personnel to be trained at the Foreign Service Institute, not only in language training but in cultural aspects of the foreign countries to which officers will be assigned.

In your recommendation you also suggest that "Each USIA employee should be encouraged to offer his ideas on these and related matters." You will be gratified to learn that the Employee Suggestion Program which I instituted immediately after my appointment has resulted in 541 suggestions as compared to 110 in a comparable period. Not only have I received valuable suggestions for improvement of Agency material and programs, but we have been able to effect savings of \$45,000 as a result of these ideas.

Reviews have been made periodically on the usefulness of our magazines and pamphlets. New products will be instituted when the need arises and others will be abandoned when they no longer serve a useful purpose.

The VOA is altering its basic format and in the Fall we will present a new concept of program service. I am hopeful that we can shortly present to your Commission taped excerpts from typical programs which are being planned. In addition, I have recently received a report on a special investigation made on our Latin American program by Peter Straus, an experienced broadcast station owner-manager. During this investigation he visited Latin American countries, monitored the programs of the domestic system as well as short-wave transmission of the VOA and other services. As a result of this report, I plan on making substantial changes in the Latin American output.

5. *USIA should strengthen, and integrate more effectively its cultural and information programs.*

In order to strengthen our cultural program, I have appointed Dr. Charles Cole as Cultural Advisor. As you may know, Dr. Cole has an eminent background for this responsibility and has served as the U.S. Ambassador to Chile and President of Amherst College.

We have endeavored to strengthen the Binational Center institutes as a means of developing cultural programs more fully in certain areas of the world.

In order to aid in the recruitment of outstanding scholars as Cultural Affairs Officers, I plan on convening a meeting of leading college presidents who will be informed of USIA objectives and programs and whose support will be enlisted.

6. *USIA should re-examine its assumptions and review its programs, country by country, in order to expand useful ones and discard those that are marginal; USIA should also review its list of priority countries for the purpose of determining areas of concentration and saturation and areas where minimum U.S. presence is sufficient.*

We regularly re-examine the assumptions and the country plan for each of the countries in which we operate. Concurrently, programs of the Agency are regularly monitored and those which have outlived their usefulness or are not serving a valid purpose are discarded. This effort is a constant one and emphasis has been placed upon it at all times.

7. *USIA should search constantly for new techniques in communications from the private sector, especially from advertising, public relations, the public media of communication and from the universities.*

Since my appointment as Director on September 1, 1965, I have met with distinguished representatives from advertising, public relations, radio broadcasting, magazines, newspapers and from the educational community. Specifically, formal meetings have been held with the Public Relations Society of America—National Officers, New York Chapter; Public Relations Roundtable; Advertising Federation of America; Broadcasters Promotion

Association; National Association of Broadcasters; selected representatives of multiple-owners of broadcast facilities; and International Council of Industrial Editors. These meetings have resulted in valuable suggestions and have brought about an area of cooperation which promises to stimulate the recruitment of personnel and the development of new ideas.

8. *USIA should continue to help create favorable atmospheres abroad for the understanding of U.S. foreign policies.*

We endeavor to carry out this suggestion at all times.

9. *USIA should review and reconsider the decision to close libraries, bi-national centers and information centers in Europe.*

I have previously explained the circumstances which led to the curtailment or reduction of our library service in London and Paris. At this point I would like to give you a report on the current situation in these capitals.

In Paris we retained the first floor of the three-story building at the Place de l'Odeon which housed the USIS library. A reference collection of 5,000 volumes is in active use. The remaining volumes were transferred to the USIS Youth Center and to the American Library. Reports from the post disclose that the patronage at the Place de l'Odeon has increased because of the presence of an Institute of American Studies on the 2nd and 3rd floors and that students attending this Institute have made good use of the reference facilities. Considerable use is also made of the augmented collection at the USIS Cultural Center.

In London we maintain a small reference library at the American Embassy. The remaining volumes were transferred to the University of London where they are actively used by the large student population of the University. Reference queries are being handled by mail and phone. By diminution virtue of these arrangements, there has been no in service being rendered to the residents of London desiring library access to U.S. library facilities nor to the residents of the United Kingdom seeking reference service. In addition, books are being sent by mail throughout the United Kingdom.

No further reductions have been made in libraries, Binational and Information Centers in Europe. However, improvements have been made in certain facilities and every effort will be made to up-grade the existing centers.

The status of our libraries in Europe is under continuing review and efforts will be made to improve the facilities. However, at this time I do not believe that it would be desirable to attempt to expand the facilities in Paris and London described above.

10. *USIA should seek a level of appropriations more commensurate with its responsibilities and more in proportion to the efforts of the U.S. military and of the U.S. economic military assistance programs.*

At the present time, I am preparing the estimates for the budget for Fiscal Year 1968 and will request at that time funds adequate to carry out our responsibilities in light of conditions which are anticipated for that period.

This brief summary is designed to acquaint you with some of the highlights of our program in the areas enumerated. Periodically, I look forward to meeting with you and other members of the Commission to answer your questions and to seek your advice on the most effective way of carrying out the objectives assigned to us by the Congress and the President.

Sincerely,

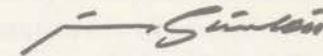
LEONARD H. MARKS
Director

The 23d Report
United States
Advisory Commission
on Information

February 1968

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with requirements of Section 603, Public Law 402, the United States Advisory Commission on Information submits herewith its 23d Report to the Congress on the information, educational and cultural programs administered by the United States Information Agency.



Chairman

February 14, 1968

THE COMMISSION

SIGURD S. LARMON
M. S. NOVIK
FRANK STANTON
PALMER HOYT
THOMAS VAIL

LOUIS T. OLOM
Staff Director

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with a resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, passed July 1, 1961, the President has directed the Secretary of State to submit to the Congress a report on the information, educational, and cultural programs administered by the United States Information Agency.

[Signature]

Chairman

February 14, 1962

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The United States Information Agency should be reorganized to make it more effective in carrying out its mission.

2. The United States Information Agency should be given more authority to carry out its mission.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States Information Agency (USIA) was created in 1948 to carry out the foreign information program of the United States. It was the first of its kind in the world. At that time, the United States was the only country in the world that had a separate agency for the purpose of carrying out its foreign information program. The USIA has since then become one of the most important agencies in the United States government. It has played a key role in the United States' foreign policy and has helped to build a better understanding of the United States in the world.

FOREWORD

In this time of difficulty abroad and disorder at home, there is need of a responsible national instrument to communicate to the world the enduring reality and purpose of the United States of America. The foresight of the Forties has given us one. The challenge of the Sixties—and of the years beyond—must be to match the means to the mission. This Report seeks to advance that aim.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) was created in 1948 to carry out the foreign information program of the United States. It was the first of its kind in the world. At that time, the United States was the only country in the world that had a separate agency for the purpose of carrying out its foreign information program. The USIA has since then become one of the most important agencies in the United States government. It has played a key role in the United States' foreign policy and has helped to build a better understanding of the United States in the world.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) was created in 1948 to carry out the foreign information program of the United States. It was the first of its kind in the world. At that time, the United States was the only country in the world that had a separate agency for the purpose of carrying out its foreign information program. The USIA has since then become one of the most important agencies in the United States government. It has played a key role in the United States' foreign policy and has helped to build a better understanding of the United States in the world.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

NEW DIRECTIONS. Both mission and organization of United States public affairs programs abroad, evolving over the past two decades, have taken their lead from the experience of World War II and the early post-war years. While the world moved on. Recent history suggests new tacks be taken, that new forms be shaped to changing functions, new priorities assigned to changing orders of urgency: that our involvement be less with media and more with audiences, that we be less a spokesman and more a counsellor, less a publicist and more an educator. (Page 11)

NEW DIMENSIONS. Public Law 402 directed that the United States undertake information, educational and cultural activity overseas. Responsibility for these allied missions has devolved in varying degree to the President, the Department of State and the United States Information Agency (USIA). It is time to draw the reins together; logically, this Commission believes, within a restructured USIA or a new agency reflecting those enlarged dimensions. (Page 12)

NEW DUTIES. Recognizing that "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" is not only a basic tenet of American doctrine but an injunction of 20th Century diplomacy, that Agency should be assigned a role as an influence on foreign policy as well as an instrument of it. Improved structural liaison with both the President and the Department of State should be effected to make that role both possible and effective. (Page 14)

NEW EMPHASES. Agency activities abroad should reflect the fact that, increasingly, the message is better delivered by hand than by handout. No longer can the U.S. expect communications about itself to be picked up intact or *in toto* by the media abroad. A greater reliance must be placed on contact: between public affairs officer and writer, between cultural affairs officer and educator, between foreign nationals and the U.S. itself. (Page 16)

Thus the broad strokes of what this Commission sees as "An Agenda for the Future." There are fine lines, too. Among them are these:

CULTURE AND EDUCATION. Foremost among USIA's long run activities are those in the associated areas of cultural and educational affairs. They are areas which have received relatively short shrift over the years, and to which this Commission feels the Agency must pay increased due. This report offers several suggestions as to how it might do so. (Page 17)

EXCHANGE. The record shows the United States lagging dangerously behind the worldwide competition in educational and cultural exchange activity. Appropriations, which should have risen with need, have long been held to an inadequate plateau. USIA must grant increasing attention to this area as it shifts its focus from the short run to the long. (Page 19)

LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION CENTERS. This area of Agency activity, too, has been subject to increasing neglect. We consider ill-advised those decisions which have made libraries and information centers vulnerable to the economy ax, and repeat our urging that the course be reversed. (Page 20)

INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS. It is often possible to find willing hands among foreign nationals in helping effect better relationships between the United States and their countries. The indigenous organization should be the object of increasing attention by the Agency overseas. (Page 21)

REPRESENTATION. An increasing level of contact calls also for a sizable increase in the representation funds—the expense allowances—available to Agency officers charged with personal contact. Representation allowances are now only half those necessary to carry out even an inadequate level of personal contact, suggesting that a doubling of current budgets is a minimum target for the future. (Page 21)

FOCUS. There is no one best way to reach all of USIA's worldwide audiences; hence, in the Commission's view, production of informational material—now originated largely in Washington—should be modified in favor of regional or country production programs. (Page 23)

CONTRACTING OUT. The Commission believes USIA should make increased use of the outside contract in acquiring media material, both taking advantage of this nation's conspicuously abundant communications talent for that part of its output which remains domestically produced, and seeking out local expertise for an increasing production commitment overseas. (Page 25)

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS. An extensive service opportunity for USIA exists among the increasing number of foreign correspondents stationed in the United States. The Agency should assist those already here in arranging contact with American news sources in both the public and private sectors, and should encourage more of their number to visit as well as work in the United States. (Page 26)

VOICE OF AMERICA. A stalwart of the United States' overseas information effort for over 25 years, VOA will continue to bear a principal part of the burden in communicating America to the rest of the world. But change is an inevitable companion of the technologies with which it must exist and of the audience attitudes with which it must deal, and the organization must keep abreast of both. In technique and in content, the Voice must make change a constant. (Page 27)

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS. Canada's EXPO '67 of the recent past, and Japan's EXPO '70 of the not-far-distant future, have and do offer the United States unique opportunity to showcase itself in important world forums. The Commission commends the Agency for past performance and encourages its continued participation. (Page 28)

The Commission's overview has sought to look both beyond USIA and within it. Its next recommendations are internal.

MANAGEMENT. A career deputy should be instituted. Problems of internal coordination and communication should be remedied. Recognition should be given the fact that USIA's top management requires experience in communications and international affairs as well as skills in administration. (Page 29)

RESEARCH. USIA should accord research its proper priority. It should reestablish an independent research capability which, this Commission feels, has been neglected and misused in the present Agency scheme of things. (Page 30)

PPBS. Caution is indicated before applying too quickly and too rigorously a Program Planning and Budgeting System, originally designed to evaluate hardware, to activities involving opinion, attitudes and ideas. Moreover, research should be assigned a key role in producing valid data for PPBS. (Page 30)

TRAINING. The Commission commends progress in this area. It recommends further that courses in international communications and public affairs be developed, that a "memory bank" of Agency experience be established and that orientation programs be devised for Ambassadors and political officers before they depart for new posts. (Page 32)

PERSONNEL. In the final analysis it will be people who determine the success or failure of USIA's worldwide mission. While the Agency has developed a substantial body of professional expertise, it must accelerate its efforts to find new hands to take over from those nearing the end of their tours and to increase the proficiency level of those in mid-career. (Page 33)

RESPONSE. The Agency has an imperative obligation to assure field officers timely policy and operational guidance. Its prob-

lem is complicated by the expanding geography and extended day in which it operates. Headquarters staffing and personnel deployment should take into account time zone differentials and the need for rapid transmission of information. (Page 34)

The Commission proposes three recommendations for legislative consideration by the Congress.

A CAREER SERVICE. The Commission commends the Senate for the impetus it has given a career system for Foreign Service Information Officers in passing S. 633, and urges the House of Representatives to carry it forward. (Page 36)

DOMESTIC AVAILABILITY. No recommendation of this Commission's 22d Report received more attention than that urging that "the walls can come down" between America and the product USIA creates about it for distribution overseas. The ensuing months have strengthened the Commission's belief in both the urgency and correctness of this view. We repeat it now. (Page 36)

And finally:

TWENTY YEARS LATER. It is time for a searching reexamination of USIA mission and execution. We recommend, first, that such a study be authorized and, second, that it be accomplished both outside the Agency and beyond the confines of an executive or legislative investigation. It is our view that an independent organization should be retained under contract to conduct not only a detailed inspection of how well USIA functions under its present understanding of its mission, but of how best to reshape that mission to a changing world.

We recommend further that, as there is need for a new look at USIA, so also is there need for reexamination of the role—and indeed the existence—of the Commission on Information. Our mission, too, must be responsive to the times, and we invite Congressional satisfaction of that question. (Page 39)

The 23d Report United States Advisory Commission on Information

As the last two decades have shrunk our planet, the need for governments to explain, to inform, to educate—in short, to communicate with the people of their fellow nations—has been recognized and acted upon by all major and many lesser powers of the world. The Honorable Dr. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee, Minister of the Embassy of India, gave eloquent testimony to this worldwide phenomenon in a commencement address on “The Role of A Diplomat” at Kansas Wesleyan University on June 5, 1967:

“In these times of non-silent diplomacy public relations in the country of accreditation has become an important weapon in the armory of a diplomat. Often, in democratic societies, influencing or appealing to the people who are potential voters is a useful adjunct to the functions of a diplomat in safeguarding and promoting the interests of his country. While an envoy would certainly find it physically impossible to reach every individual, his sociability, his relations with leaders of the community, and his handling of the press and other media of communication (whose influence in the formulation of ideas and policies is most significant) will go a long way in achieving his purpose . . .

“Diplomacy today has acquired new dimensions. [It] has scaled the wall of sovereignty to cultivate public opinion in the host country. In this the envoy is assisted by a retinue of diplomats [who] go around the country and speak to audiences to explain the viewpoint

of their governments. Every embassy, all over the world, maintains an information department to influence, to educate and to enlighten the people. It tries to have itself photographed from the right angle and put the best foot forward. This is an art and involves hundreds of trivialities which, though in themselves unimportant, assist the cause it seeks to serve."

It was in this spirit that the United States began an experiment in foreign communications predicated on the American doctrine of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Its aims were to know and understand these opinions, whenever possible to heed them and to learn from them, when necessary to debate them and, if possible, to affect them. Its instrument was the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, Public Law 402.

PL 402 was passed because Congress became aroused over the growth of a communist propaganda mechanism inundating the world with attacks against and distortions about the United States. It was to counter this communist propaganda that PL 402 created information and educational exchange services in the Department of State. But after five years of dissidence and difficulty these two services were partially separated. The information program was removed from State, where it had been directed by a General Manager working under the general policy guidance of an Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and lodged in the newly created (1953) United States Information Agency. Accompanying it was responsibility for the administration of the cultural and educational exchange programs abroad, although policy administration of those programs remained with State in Washington. Subsequently, the cultural and educational exchange programs received broadened authority with passage of the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961.

Thus it was in response to an ideological challenge now two decades old that the U.S. initiated its information, educational and cultural programs. But in 20 years the world has changed, and so have the worldwide audiences. What was relevant in the

immediate post-war period has been either partly forgotten or never known by a new generation. USIA's objective today must be to discern what aspects of America remain relevant to its new as well as its old audiences around the globe.

The challenge was put well by the USIA career foreign service officer who said:

"How can we, who are such an enigma to him, make the foreigner, who is such an enigma to us, comprehend our goals, motives and intentions? How can we speak to him so that he will understand and believe? That is the major problem of international communication confronting the United States today. What can a nation with a GNP of \$2,700 a year for every one of its citizens possibly say that is meaningful to one whose per capita income is \$50? Or, what is the point of talking about human resource development, when the American index [of education] is nearly twice that of New Zealand, our nearest competitor, and is three times that of the U.S.S.R.? Do our pockets of poverty even have any bearing on that state of poorness that marks the masses of the world?"

"The answer is that American experience does have relevance to the experience of other societies, because the United States today is a laboratory¹ for

¹ This concept received articulate expression in a comment reported by Henry Fairlie in the November 12, 1967, issue of the London Sunday Express:

"A well-known and shrewd Indian recently visited the United States and, at the end of her stay, made by far the best remark about the country which I have yet heard. 'America,' she said, 'is a laboratory.'"

"She explained that every major problem which besets other countries of the world is present in America, but only America has the resources with which to experiment in trying to find solutions."

"Can mass poverty be ended? Only America has the wealth to find out. Can different races live together? Only America can find the answer."

"Her observation was, in fact, a brilliant one. Once one understands

that America is a huge laboratory, it is much easier to understand the situations in which it finds itself."

western civilization in applying knowledge to human problems, a laboratory dependent ultimately on its 5,000 colleges and universities, its 400-500 crucial voluntary societies, its research institutions, businesses, foundations, and government departments for answers to the human resources problems of all nations. Our job is to help others get moving, find a way to apply knowledge to their problems. In this respect, all information is the stuff of change.

"So we are entangled today in the largest communicational venture of all, exerting what leadership we can to help other countries find stable evolutionary patterns of change within the norms of their own cultures.

"Whether 'information' informs is as much a function of the attitudes of the recipient as it is a function of the intentions of the source and the inherent truth of the message. If our truth is to have the force of truth in Indonesia and Ghana and Iran, it must in some way be useful to the peoples of those societies within their own frames of reference. Only under those conditions will what we have to say inform them; but given those conditions, any information will serve to build a bridge of common knowledge, interest and trust between us."

The building of bridges is USIA's principal business.

AN AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

These are the recommendations of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information on how the nation may best pursue in the future a challenge laid down 20 years in the past. They are based in part on the Commission's own observations and in part on its study of interviews conducted with more than 50 senior officers of the Agency and in the Department of State, including present and former Ambassadors with extensive experience in foreign communications.

New Directions

The mandate of PL 402 is "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." After 20 years, there remains confusion about how best to carry it out.

There is uncertainty as to whether greater thrust and emphasis should be placed behind *information* and persuasion or behind *education* and persuasion. As mass media have become less accessible, especially in Western Europe, Japan and in the large metropolitan cities of the world, and as opposition to certain U.S. foreign policies has crystallized, USIA efforts have become less successful—a situation aggravated in some cases by the lack of more sophisticated information materials.

In other instances this confusion has led to a reexamination of the assumption that communication through the mass media can inform and educate, can change minds and alter opinions abroad. Because so many officers have experienced the phenomenon of the "obstinate audience," especially in countries that are either unfriendly to our policy or suspicious of our purpose, they have learned how difficult it is to change opinion and how long it takes even to set the record straight.

Confusion about mission is linked with doubt about the continued efficacy of the instrument of communications, com-

pounded by the fact that while the U.S. has expected so much of this program it has provided it only minimal support. We can never know now, 20 years later, whether a more substantial program would have made a significant difference in disposition toward American policies and intentions in those countries where the effort was not made. We *can* point to the many constructive changes and results in postwar Japan, Germany and Italy—countries which have been accorded saturation information programs.

The Commission believes that in certain parts of the world the information program directed at foreign mass media should be reduced and replaced by a strong personal contact program with those who communicate through these mass media, and that such personal contact with mass media communicators should be supplemented by augmented programs of education and cultural presentations of the highest standards.

New Dimensions

The U.S. Information Agency has succeeded in developing a capability in communicating with foreign peoples. It has developed a solid corps of professionals. It has constructed a worldwide communications apparatus. It has a superior record in executing the foreign policy guidance it receives from the President and the Department of State. And it has worked as an effective member of the Ambassador's team in embassies abroad.

The question of major interest is not whether USIA has done well in the past, but whether it might do better in the future. This Commission thinks it can, particularly in the area of educational and cultural exchange. The continued separation of the exchange programs into United States Information Service (USIS) administration abroad and Department of State administration in Washington has become an anachronism, an anomaly leading to ineffectiveness, excessive bureaucracy, and to an unfortunate diminution in funds for this imperative segment of long-range communications effort overseas. We believe that

division should end; that it is time to draw together into a restructured USIA, or into a new independent agency, the reins leading to our now fractionalized public affairs programs overseas.

The suggestion is not new. The 15th Report of this Commission to Congress (issued March 1960) recommended the consolidation of the Government's information, cultural and general (as distinguished from technical) educational activities into one independent agency.

"The time has come," the Commission said then, "for the U.S. to consolidate all the foreign cultural, educational and information programs in one agency . . . Although U.S. foreign information, education and cultural programs have shown much improvement, their impact, from a total communications point of view, remains difficult to discern when the U.S. information and education program is evaluated country by country. Consolidation of all U.S. foreign communications in one agency will result in more unified and comprehensive planning, more economic use of what are essentially scarce resources, and a cumulative impact that will be more apparent. Previous bureaucratic divisions and differences should now be subordinated to the common purpose of achieving mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries, in this most critical area of international communications."

In its 16th Report (issued January 1961), the Commission summarized for a new Congress and a new Administration some of the major recommendations derived from the Commission's then 12 years of experience with the program. It again included the suggestion for consolidating all information, educational and cultural activities.

What was evident then remains evident now. As USIA continues to expand its educational and cultural activities the need to bring under central direction the disparate operations carried on in State and in the Agency for International Development (AID) has become still more urgent. Planning of country programs would become more effective. Expertise would be

pooled and ideas would be more readily generated and circulated. Plans, policies and operations would no longer be divided. More effective programming of exchangeers would be encouraged in the U.S. and more sustained follow-up would be accelerated in the field. It would at long last join together the policies, programs and personnel of the exchange program which have been divided for so many years. And it would increase the likelihood of an appropriation more realistically related to the many tasks that are being neglected and unmet by the U.S. Government.

New Duties

The United States has developed a professional capability in publicizing abroad the U.S. Government's activities, policies and statements dealing with foreign affairs—an important part of the ongoing activities of diplomacy (negotiations, personal contact, meetings, conferences and the like) both here and abroad. It must be continually refined and developed to maintain quality performance.

What has not been achieved with any degree of constancy, quality or quantity is a fertile and creative contribution to the formulation of foreign policy. The fundamental reasons for this continued inadequacy are that:

1. USIA has never developed the muscle to exercise its charter in this area.
2. Most areas of the Department of State have remained uninterested, unreceptive or hostile to the introduction of psychological or public opinion factors into foreign policy considerations.
3. Other agencies of government (Defense, State, Agency for International Development, Commerce, Central Intelligence Agency, Treasury, etc.) are staffed in greater

depth to fulfill a responsibility in the foreign policy area.

4. USIA has not developed a policy input capability based on relevant research.

Thus it has been the "trumpet" function of USIA that has become best accepted and understood by the Congress, Presidents and the Department of State.

The evolving expertise of USIA has suggested yet another arena not contemplated by PL 402 in which it can play an effective role: foreign public relations counseling to other Government agencies. Its mandate for this activity was given by the President in the early 1960's, but has yet to be effected. If USIA is to accomplish this purpose it will need to take three important steps in Washington:

1. It must develop a strong staff with which to support the Director and his deputies in their counseling role. USIA officers are so preoccupied with line duties in providing administrative and program support for officers in the field that they do not now have the time to provide adequate staff support for counseling purposes in Washington. Thus the total U.S. effort loses the benefit of insights available to information and cultural officers whose wide circle of contacts abroad gives them important knowledge of foreign public opinion that few other Embassy officers obtain.
2. To supplement and systematize information acquired by policy and operating staffs, the Agency must begin again to develop an up-to-date research organization which can provide objective data on trends in foreign public opinion (about which more later; see page 30). These data will assist the Director and his staff in providing the counseling called for in USIA's mandate.
3. To place experienced public affairs officers as special as-

sistants to heads of departments and agencies conducting programs with important international implications—not in Offices of Public Information. Rather, they should be positioned to offer counsel at key points and at the highest levels *before* problems reach the communications channels. Domestically-placed, but with sensitivity to foreign opinion, these PAO's should become embedded in the departmental consciousness.

Broadening of the counseling role is as desirable in the field as it is in Washington. The most effective PAO in the Embassy is the one who is an integral part of the Country Team; PAO's and their staffs work not only for the Ambassador but for all members of the Embassy. The reverse relationship is equally important; an effective PAO can persuade other Embassy officers, representing other agencies and functions, to work with his program as he keeps them aware of information opportunities and keeps communication channels open to them.

New Emphases

Most of the Agency's senior officers report that personal contact—especially with journalists but by no means to the exclusion of others—ranks second only to the exchange program in priority and importance. True worldwide, it is especially true in Western Europe, Japan and in the large metropolitan cities of the world.

The primary purpose of this contact is to reach foreign communicators, teachers, students and other important segments of society, to enter into dialogues with them and to establish firm bases for mutual trust and respect. The result is ideally a two-way street.

Although personal contact has always been considered a USIS officer's duty, it has become even more important in those countries where the mass media no longer use materials distributed by foreign governments—conspicuously, those countries

with affluent communications systems well stocked with their own foreign correspondent corps. This does not necessarily hold in the underdeveloped areas of the world, although there, too, suspicion of the handout by a foreign Embassy, irrespective of how friendly it may be, has increased.

The changing role of the media and the ever-rising importance of personal contact have produced new requirements, some already alluded to in this report. USIA should modify its practice and structure both in Washington and in the overseas missions to match these new developments. It should reduce the number of personnel producing worldwide materials (see page 23) and increase funds for outside contracts (see page 25).

Culture and Education

USIA policy, in the eyes of many of its senior foreign service officers, is too short-range, too crisis-oriented. Unlike the British and the French, to name two frequently cited examples, the U.S. has not developed long-range cultural programs which go forward irrespective of the immediate problems of the day. Too much of USIA's vigor is devoted to extinguishing brush fires, not enough to erecting permanent relationships.

Many feel that we have missed the boat most conspicuously on the cultural front, and that we merely pay lip service to that effort. Our laxity in coupling the country's cultural resources to USIA's mission—by arranging conferences, seminars and similar exchanges between teachers at both the university and secondary school level, and in otherwise utilizing such talents as museum directors, pace setters in the arts, leading lights of the theater and the musical world—is a subject of repeated criticism by officers both in Washington and abroad.

Three of their recommendations the Commission finds worthy of particular mention:

1. The establishment of Chairs of American Study in foreign universities. While it may in some cases take years to

secure such Chairs, once established, they may be expected to pay dividends indefinitely. In that connection, USIA also should encourage the availability of American texts and other books of academic interest, perhaps through subsidization to bring their cost within student range.

2. A serious weakness in the cultural field has been USIA's inability to attract significant numbers of notable Americans to foreign soils. One solution to this problem might be in recruiting such men and women for sabbatical "cultural residencies" around the world—perhaps under a program funded by private foundations. The artist abroad, the scholar abroad, the writer abroad, could reside either in the Embassy or outside it, but, from whatever base, would spend his year in constructive contact with artistic colleagues of the host country.

3. Hundreds of speakers should be recruited each year to speak to a variety of subjects around the world. We have not begun to supply—and take advantage of—the demand that exists today.

In the developing areas USIS programs cannot avoid being involved as much with education as they are with information. This frequently means marshaling all an Embassy's resources (e.g., the attaches from the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, etc.) as well as resources in Washington to construct information programs and materials and to offer ideas directly relevant to the country's interests and problems.

Progress in the areas of culture and education is difficult to pinpoint on a year-to-year basis, and the influence of our efforts cannot be gauged immediately. Yet it is these basic considerations that supply perspective in a rapidly changing world, and that help develop a constancy in our overseas relationships. They deserve greater priority in USIA's program planning.

Exchange

The people of foreign countries continue to express a keen interest in and avid thirst for information about American education, science and culture, about technology and the arts, about its business developments, its labor movements and its social programs, and about research and development under way in universities, in industry, in government and in foundations². This is a

² For examples of foreign service officer comment on effectiveness of the exchange program, see Appendix, page ii.

continuing story that will require continued coverage in depth. And it is a story—trends, developments, personalities and issues—that should be told with professional skill. The prodigious efforts being expended in the U.S., the many imaginative innovations associated with and produced under conditions of free inquiry in a free society by all these disciplines, must somehow be made known to the peoples of the world.

But even more effective than asking USIA to tell this story through media is to invite selected foreign citizens and leaders to come and observe, and to facilitate their observations in every possible way. In commenting on the exchange of persons program, one experienced Ambassador said that whereas at present he receives two or three leader grantees a year, he could use 50 to 100. The policy of reducing leader grantees is tragically mistaken, he said, and has seriously hurt and impeded the U.S. interest. "We must," he continued, "bring the ears of the makers of foreign public opinion to our country, close to its sounds. For it never fails. When people come to the U.S. they are different. The U.S. just cannot be conveyed as well by the mass media."

Those times in which the U.S. encounters difficulty abroad because of unpopular policies or distortions of our purpose are precisely the times to redouble our efforts. We are in such times

now. This Commission joins the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs in its persistent plea that the size and quality of this program be increased.

Libraries and Information Centers

This Commission has repeatedly underscored the importance of USIS libraries and information centers, which in addition to their content represent a physical embodiment of the U.S. abroad. We consider misguided the Congressional sentiment—and Agency compliance—which has closed so many.

Neither USIA nor the Congress has yet learned the seriousness of the loss we incur in erasing so many years of personal effort and financial investment. The library becomes the forum for multiple dialogues between official and unofficial America and a cross section of a foreign society—its students, workers, correspondents, teachers, businessmen and, perhaps more important, its dreamers and seekers after new knowledge and new information. It is urgent that we not be cut off from so valuable an avenue of constructive communication.

Yet we increasingly are. Worldwide attendance and circulation figures of USIS libraries since 1955 demonstrate the effect of our continued pullback in this area:

Fiscal year	Attendance	Circulation
1955	31,244,762	10,919,556
1956	28,339,594	11,352,824
1957	27,327,132	8,743,930
1958	28,171,425	9,482,562
1959	25,519,268	7,892,621
1960	25,847,160	8,007,853
1961	27,789,671	7,734,098
1962	23,583,556	6,720,179
1963	23,517,145	6,724,674
1964	24,062,167	6,433,723
1965	23,958,678	5,604,907
1966	20,173,986	4,786,140
1967	19,601,409	4,812,677

But the trend continues. Information centers in Japan were among 1967's budgetary casualties.

Indigenous Organizations

There is a need to strengthen and support those organizations indigenous to a host country³ which in USIA's judgment

³ As an example: *The Nederland-Amerika Instituut in The Netherlands, with a central headquarters in Amsterdam and chapters in four cities. Founded in 1945, its purpose is to "further goodwill and to promote better understanding between the United States and The Netherlands, and to achieve this goal in close cooperation with other organizations."*

identify with the United States and promote its objectives and interests. We have many friends in this framework. In many countries and in certain situations they can perform the information job better than USIS. The existence of such organizations and societies is so important that, where they do not now exist, every effort should be made to create them.

A distinguished American Ambassador to a Latin American country was quoted recently on the challenge facing every Embassy. "An Ambassador's job," he said, "is to open a mutually advantageous dialogue with creative, constructive minds in a society so that the U.S. is identified with political, social and economic progress." Indigenous organizations can help measurably in creating the channels for that communication.

Representation

This Commission again urges the Congress to provide more adequate representation funds. Hand in glove with the work of USIS officers is attendance at luncheons, dinners and extra-curricular entertainments of all kinds; while the PAO is often a guest, he is more often a host. Congressional disregard for our recommendations is reflected in the appropriation figures on page 22. Their message is clear: current expenditures, while inadequate to the increasing level of personal contact recom-

mended in this report, are yet nearly double the amount Congress has been willing to allow (less than \$2 per week per position overseas). The gap has been filled until now from the pockets of our foreign service personnel—a state of affairs that is truly unconscionable.

HISTORY OF USIA REPRESENTATION ALLOWANCES

Fiscal year	Agency request	House allowance	Senate allowance	Final allowance
1955	\$60,000	\$30,000	\$60,000	\$35,000
1956	150,000	35,000	150,000	50,000
1957	250,000	50,000	100,000	50,000
1958	250,000	50,000	250,000	50,000
1959	135,000	75,000	135,000	90,000
1960	135,000	75,000	135,000	90,000
1961	135,000	90,000	135,000	90,000
1962	135,000	100,000	120,000	110,000
1963	135,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1964	140,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1965	140,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1966	120,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1967	210,000	110,000	110,000	110,000
1968	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000

NOTE: 1955 was the first year for which the Agency submitted its own appropriation request. Total representation available from predecessor agencies amounted to \$83,064 in 1953 and \$56,551 in 1954.

SUMMARY—ACTUAL REPRESENTATION COST, FISCAL YEAR 1966

Area	Overseas American positions	Reimbursed expenditures	Out-of-pocket expenditures	Total	Percent unreimbursed
East Asia and Pacific	296	\$24,525	\$11,750	\$36,275	32%
Africa	174	20,902	18,178	39,130	46%
Near East and South Asia	225	20,851	19,068	40,248	47%
Latin America	277	21,250	13,970	35,220	40%
West Europe	156	16,564	22,643	39,270	58%
Special Europe	32	2,702	1,955	4,657	42%
Soviet Union and East Europe	24	3,199	1,116	4,115	27%
Total	1,184	\$109,993	\$88,680	\$198,915	45%

Focus

It has become abundantly clear that there can be no uniform worldwide program produced at a central point yet appropriate to the USIA universe. Our approaches must be both multiple and flexible. Programs must be tailored to regions or, in some cases, even to countries, and media support must be tailored to programs.

A first approach will be that for the developed countries, particularly Western Europe and Japan, which will contribute much of the world's political and economic leadership for some time. In these areas, with sophisticated and complex communications and educational systems, only a minimal media presence is required. Personal contact is at a premium. The optimum would be (a) a small but top-flight media documentation service supplied with texts and basic materials about U.S. policy, (b) a highly visible cultural presence with emphasis on education, art, science and technology, and supported by first-rate libraries, bi-national centers or information centers, and (c) a doubling or even tripling of the exchange program.

A second is that of the developing countries, particularly in Africa, Latin America and Asia. It is there that a more traditional approach to information, educational and cultural outputs can be employed—and in abundance. The task is made more challenging by the rise in importance of the professional, the educator, and the technician, plus the emergence of those who comprise the service and maintenance industries in many countries bent on coping with the new problems of urbanism, modernization and industrialism. These problems have a common base that is understood around the world. In approaching these carriers of civilization, USIA should make available to them that part of the American experience that applies to their needs, interests and problems. We add the caution that USIA cannot assume that its European experience can be transplanted without modification to the developing countries.

A third: those countries in both the developed and the

developing areas where the metropolitan centers have sophisticated communications and cultural complexes, but in which the rest of the country remains primitive. USIA programs in such situations must be carefully tailored mixtures of the first two approaches.

A not-insignificant fourth is that part of the world beyond what we have come to call the Iron Curtain. USIA access to communist countries remains remote and difficult (with the exception of Yugoslavia, which requires special treatment and special programs). The Commission endorses efforts to reach those peoples by radio. At the same time, it hopes that the Department of State and USIA will continue to press, wherever possible, for increased exchanges of persons, information materials and exhibits.

The problem goes beyond the matter of where USIA directs its audience efforts. It also involves how—a matter discussed by Commissioner Larmon in a letter to the Director:

"Knowing your audience is a fundamental in any advertising, promotion or public relations activity.

"If action must be based on an exact reading of the local situation, then opportunities can be fully exploited only if local responsibility is balanced by local authority, permitting direct, immediate and localized reaction.

"There have been problems over the years in getting this concept clearly recognized. Ted Streibert [the first Director of USIA] sensed this when he created USIA as a local reaction mechanism in terms of each country.

"Maximum authority was in the hands of each CPAO (country public affairs officer) backed by a guidance and support mechanism in Washington.

"The question now is whether or not the principles on which USIA was founded should not be reviewed and reasserted.

"In my talks with the CPAO's there was a feeling that the CPAO's decision-making authority has been gradually eroded. This trend has been increased in the past few years under the guise of efficiency, budgetary control and cost effectiveness studies.

"None of the men with whom I talked questioned that he should be given policy guidance, budgetary limitations and a panel of agency-wide concepts within which to plan his program.

"They all felt, however, that their judgment should be the primary criterion in determining local program operations. If the CPAO fails to meet the grade within this pattern, he should be replaced without delay. In the absence of such action he should not be second-guessed from Washington."

In sum, there is urgent need either to eliminate or reduce substantially the central preparation of materials for a mythical, worldwide audience, to modify substantially the continued Europeanized character of the information, educational and cultural program in non-European areas, and to give additional weight to the experience of USIA's field officers in determining emphasis of particular country programs.

Contracting Out

The Commission recommends that USIA give increasing consideration to the outside contract in accomplishing its programs and purposes. On at least two levels.

The first is the more familiar: bringing in outstanding talent from the private sector to supplement USIA's own resources in producing media materials. This activity should be encouraged and expanded, not only in this country, but also (by USIS) overseas as the Agency shifts from centralized to regional and country-by-country production.

The second is a more ambitious use of the contract prin-

ciple: to place entire programs in the hands of outside, private sector specialists. The Director and his staff associates should give careful consideration to those areas of USIA operation which may be candidates for this type of treatment. The prospect is one they will want to approach with caution, but also one, in our view, that can be considered with promise. While recognizing both hazards and difficulties in such operations, so also do we see the potential yields.

Foreign Journalists

There is an increasing opportunity for USIA to serve an important segment of worldwide opinion making without leaving our shores. There are now almost 800 foreign journalists in New York and Washington (a recent count showed 610 in New York, 160 in Washington), each reporting America back to his homeland by various media, with varying frequency and from disparate points of view. The United States has not kept pace with their sharply increasing numbers (up from about 200 after World War II). It has failed to adequately service, support and facilitate their work.

This responsibility has fallen between the Department of State and USIA, and neither is fulfilling it. State is preoccupied with the American press corps, USIA with newsmen overseas. (USIA does maintain a Foreign Journalists Center in New York, with adequate facilities but an insufficient staff complement.) Not only have the needs of these foreign correspondents been allowed to languish, but a number of missions report that such handling as has been provided has often been inept.

The Government should devise better procedures for facilitating travel, appointments, contacts and backgrounding for those already here, and should seek to persuade others to come to the States. Their accommodation should be the business of personnel who have the experience and ability to bring them into mutually productive contact with both public and private America.

Voice of America

USIA's Voice of America has served this country with conspicuous success for more than 25 years. Its signal strength has improved, its facilities have been strengthened, and its programming, recently revamped, remains constantly under review. USIA's policy of radio program placement on local stations overseas has met with unusual success in many parts of the world. Perhaps just in time.

For the Voice must depend less on short-wave, which has been the mainstay of its past, than on its ability to find local couriers for the future. We do not say that it is time to leave the old behind—VOA must continue to rely on its own facilities to reach the third of the world represented by Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R. and Communist China—but that the new must increasingly be tried. The reason, of course, is the transistor revolution which has put low-cost, highly mobile radio sets within reach of large populations hitherto incapable of receiving radio signals. And where the transistor leaves off, the integrated circuit stands in line to take over. Technologically speaking, the VOA must be geared for change.

And in other ways. Two come immediately to mind.

First. While news from America will always remain in demand—a verity demonstrated repeatedly during periods of international crisis—it will not be VOA's only staple for the future. Rather, the satisfaction of foreign interest in American education, science, technology, culture and the arts will occupy a growing part of the Voice's attention.

Second. The reader will not need the testimony of this Commission to know the impact of the young on the world's society and politics. It is at once immediate and potential: today in new vogues of fashion and thought, tomorrow on all fronts as they assume leadership from their palsied elders. He who would speak to today's young people, in their idiom and their frame of reference, has not only a new world, but a new world of music to take into account. It will be difficult for VOA to be

too contemporary in this regard, and increasingly easy to slip behind the tastes of its audience.

The Commission is pleased to note that the highly successful "Music USA" program has been strengthened in 1967. The ban on the formation of new "Music USA Clubs"—frozen formerly at 1,300—was lifted with the immediate result that, after only two announcements, approximately 300 new clubs were organized around the world. They are tangible evidence of involved listening, and should be encouraged and enlarged.

International Exhibitions

The United States is offered unique opportunities to put its best foot forward before millions in (1) a particular country and (2) the rest of the world through the medium of international exhibitions. Such was Canada's EXPO '67 in Montreal. The Commission commends USIA for the skill with which it made the best of its chance—an opinion shared not only by an overwhelming consensus of international criticism but by most of our countrymen who attended the exposition: an independent survey, conducted in behalf of this Advisory Commission by the Gallup International research organization, showed that approximately four million American adults (3.2 percent of the population 21 years or older) attended EXPO '67, and that among that number more than a third rated the U.S. pavilion "excellent" while another third ranked it "good."

We commend, too, the decision to participate in Japan's upcoming EXPO '70 in Osaka—the first international exposition in the Orient, and a rare opportunity to showcase America in a part of the world which will exercise an increasingly large claim on our future.

Not all international exhibitions call for so ambitious a participation as have the two EXPO's, but many offer similar benefits on smaller scales. Wherever the United States has participated in such activities around the world its efforts have been greeted with both interest and enthusiasm. The costs are

significant, but so also are the rewards. They reach far beyond the immediate boundaries of a particular fairground.

Management

The direction and management of USIA require men with knowledge, ability and experience in public affairs and communications, in foreign policy and international relations, and in executive and administrative skills. No one man will likely have them all. We conclude, therefore, that if the Directorship is filled by a person with substantive knowledge of foreign affairs and communication, he should be supplemented by a deputy with experience in directing operations and administering programs.

The Commission recommends further that there be a deputy in charge of operations to supply continuity and provide top leadership with a source of cumulative experience. Such a deputy—who would be in all cases a career officer but not necessarily the *same* career officer—would free the Director and his first deputy for top level counseling with the executive establishment, for more continuous representation before the Congress, and for trips to the field.

The Commission recognizes the difficulty in coordinating the media and producing multi-media projects and campaigns, in coordinating what the media are doing with what the areas need, and in establishing procedures for communicating more effectively within the Agency in Washington and between headquarters and the field. This is a management problem of the first order. Communications need to be improved up and down the line in order that Agency policy and purpose be shared by all. Because of the size of the organization and the worldwide range of its operations, a gulf often separates top management from the rest of the organization. An agency expert in fostering the communication of ideas among the nations of the world should be adept in exchanging ideas and suggestions among its own.

The Commission is concerned about the swollen staff in

headquarters. There is danger, as a previous Commission said, that USIA Washington is becoming a bureaucracy with so many unexamined routines, controls, restrictions and clearances, and with so much paper production, that administrative arteries have begun to clog and ossification to set in. A deliberate effort should be made to break down the compartmentalization that has characterized headquarters operation. As a relatively small agency, USIA still has an opportunity to prevent the entrenchment of excessive bureaucracy.

Research

The Commission reiterates its view, first advanced at the program's inception in 1948 and continuing until today, that most of the U.S. foreign information programs and policies have not been based on research. Seldom during the past two decades have they been tested by or derived from research inquiries, surveys and investigations. Research continues to be one of the weakest and least supported elements in USIA.

One of the major contributions of the Program Planning and Budgeting System exercise has been in exposing the paucity of Agency research data available for assisting evaluations of programs and activities—for determining whether they are operationally effective and economical. The plain fact is that in too many cases the Agency does not know why it is doing what it is doing. A patchwork research program, together with a lack of appreciation of the importance and usefulness of research in the difficult psychological dimension of foreign opinion and attitudes, remains a principal weakness of the program.

PPBS

In its last report to Congress, the Commission supported the efforts to introduce a Program Planning and Budgeting System in USIA. The intervening months have given no cause to retreat from that position, but they have given rise to some cautions.

These were expressed by a member of the Commission in a letter to the Director:

"The essential requirement of cost-effectiveness studies is that they have a statistical base. With few exceptions, no overseas USIS has that kind of data, nor can it be expected to develop it within existing sources, program priorities and governmental restrictions.

"In many countries research is forbidden.

"USIS is required to produce PPBS results with or without the essential data required. The Agency then proceeds to base policy-making decisions on such results without recognition of their flimsy base. Action precepts, therefore, do not come from data based on facts. The result is neither scientific nor realistic.

"Even in the case of Agency-derived data there is question whether accuracy justifies confidence in the results. Cost per contact, for example, has been figured on a totally different base in the case of VOA programs than IMV [motion picture and television] productions. Criteria shifted from medium to medium, making a program contact mean one thing in one place and something else in another. The result is all too often a guess crossed with a spot of wishful thinking.

"It's highly uncertain whether PPBS provides a valid basis for program decisions in the information field. The time lag in PPBS paper work often makes a valid decision invalid by the time it is formalized. . . . There is primary need in USIA operations to make tomorrow's decisions not later than today. The decision-making process must not be frozen with a formula that imposes a delay in reaction.

"There is a real question whether cost-effectiveness studies can be as valuable in assessing the methods of converting men as they may be in evaluating methods of killing him. . . . The influences that alter attitudes

are less easily evaluated. A man's attitude changes slowly—perhaps repeatedly—and what produces these changes may never be measured.

"While the basic validity of PPBS may be theoretically acceptable, its practical application in the area in which USIS operates may prove to be uneconomical and unwise."

Training

There has been encouraging improvement in the training program in the last year.

The need will continue for courses in communications and executive management for prospective PAO's. Additionally, a sophisticated course in communications should be constructed for prospective Ambassadors. The Commission hopes that experience in foreign information, educational or cultural activities will be given high consideration in the selection of future Ambassadors. More should be done in orienting Ambassadors and political officers in communications and public affairs capability. USIS should consider organizing two- or three-day programs to give the Ambassador and Embassy executive officers thorough exposure to USIA resources, facilities and organizational capability.

Outgoing USIS press attaches should arrange brief training periods in the Department of State Office of Public Affairs, where they can observe senior departmental spokesmen and meet with journalists from newspapers, radio and television.

More use should be made of those experienced officers coming to the end of their careers who, instead of being urged into immediate retirement, could be used in gaming exercises and in emulating realistic situations with junior officer trainees (JOT's). Nor should their accumulated knowledge and insights be lost as they retire. One suggestion is that three- to four-week terminal interviews be held with retiring PAO's, giving them the opportunity to leave much of their experience behind them.

The exchange program also could benefit from a codifying and systematizing of past experience. As Embassy Seoul reported:

"Successful solutions to recurring problems should be more systematically disseminated. After more than two decades of exchanges, a body of experience has accumulated which should be shared among cultural officers. For instance, useful ways of minimizing the language barrier; examples of especially adroit seminar staging; imaginative financial management in binational commissions, and new "follow-up techniques."

The Commission recommends that procedures be designed to tap these accumulated insights and experience and store them as a "corporate memory." Too many PAO's and CAO's take on new responsibilities without knowing about the successes or failures that preceded them.

Finally, the Commission stresses the importance of training mid-career Foreign Service Information Officers about America itself, and affording them periodic opportunity to replant their feet on American soil and regain their feel for the United States.

Personnel

One foreign service officer reports that "The biggest problem during my 25 years was not in finding the right thing to do but in finding the right people to do it." His experience is not unique.

On an overall basis USIA personnel have become increasingly professional during the past 20 years. This professionalism consists of creative and technical skills, an ability to operate among and communicate with foreigners abroad, refinement of the art of persuasion, and an expertise in negotiating the sometimes confining elements and surroundings of an Embassy, in the face of attitudes and conditions which too often have relegated USIS personnel to second-class citizenship.

But many key people, veterans of the information service, are approaching retirement, and there is a need to build a reservoir of new young people. The junior officer trainee program inaugurated in 1954 and the junior management program (JMP) were both designed to recruit and train promising young people. Both have been successful despite the fact that many have resigned (178 of 525 JOT's, 26 of 67 JMP's as of August 1967). Although many of the recruits have been superb, they often suffer a lack of experience which should be remedied by brief tours in U.S. media. There is no substitute for professional training and experience in newspapers, television, press, radio or the academic world. Wherever possible, future JOT's should be sought among those with one or two years of professional experience.

If the Commission's view on the increasing importance of personal contact is sustained by future trends, there will be increasing need for broad-gauged officers able to meet foreign peoples in every walk of life. The specialist will still be needed, but in lesser numbers.

There is need for greater interchange between Department of State and USIA foreign service officers—whose reciprocal tours of service might include time on the policy planning staff, in the media, in the geographic areas and on the research staffs. Too few of State's FSO's look forward to tours of duty in USIA; too many feel this experience does not aid their service record and is not considered important when promotions and advancement are being considered. The conditions which create these attitudes should be corrected.

There is also need for greater interchange of personnel between the media and in the areas—and, in our view, especially important that area personnel have experience in the media.

Response

There is an urgent need in USIA Washington for modernization of its communications system to respond more quickly to special demands for information from around the world. At the

same time, there is a need to reduce the flow of irrelevant material.

The Agency must take cognizance of the extended day in which it operates. Both Europe and the Far East operate hours ahead of us in this regard; Europe from five to eight hours, Australia, for example, up to fifteen hours. While all elements at headquarters cannot operate around the clock, the Agency must be staffed appropriately to see that information and responses reach the field when they are needed. One Ambassador emphasizes that the best of guidance may do no good if it arrives too late for the purpose—a comment underscored by the PAO who termed USIA “still an ox-cart communications operation” in this regard.

But while urgent information seems slow in coming, certain less urgent materials arrive all too quickly—those which ought not appear at all. Many overseas posts, and especially the smaller ones, find the constant internal communications bombardment unending and inundating. The ironic result—many officers are tied to their in-baskets. Both paper and paperwork need to be reduced, less the main task go undone. As one PAO reports:

“The problem of paperwork is really one of quantity. . . . We have just made a three-month survey which shows that five thousand [communications per month] is a minimal average. It is not only the communications from Washington, but there are the letters from the host country nationals, which average about 43% of the total.

“If the post's main job is communicating to the nationals of the host country, which implies a certain amount of guidance or information about the resources from Washington, then it is time that the Agency took drastic steps to curtail the quantity of pieces of paper which the average post must, if not handle, at least move from the in-basket to the out-basket—or the waste paper basket.”

A Career Service

An event of signal importance to the future of United States public affairs efforts abroad occurred in 1967. The Senate passed S. 633, establishing "a category of officers of the United States Information Agency . . . to be known as Foreign Service information officers." That legislation noted further that it was mandating a "permanent career service" for officers of the USIA who would henceforth be accorded "the same rights and perquisites and [be subject to] the same stringent judgment of performance as Foreign Service officers employed under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended."

The premature termination of promising careers in the U.S. information, educational and cultural program abroad must not be allowed to grow chronic. The dedicated men and women who have served their country with neither perquisites nor assurance of a career system should no longer be denied what they have for so long deserved. This Commission urges the House of Representatives to take the necessary second step to bring this legislation to the desk of the President.

Domestic Availability

The Commission believes that the American people have a right to know—and their government an obligation to tell them—how the USIA is posturing America before the rest of the world. The 22d Report to the Congress recommended that legislative sanction be given to appropriate inspection of USIA materials on specific request by parties with a legitimate interest—their own or the public's.

The Commission's recommendation became the subject of a Senate amendment sponsored by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, which, in the words of a subsequent Committee report, sought "to meet this problem [of reconciling inspection of USIA materials with prohibiting USIA from becoming a domestic propaganda agency] by expressly prohib-

iting dissemination of USIA materials, but at the same time providing that such materials shall be maintained in English in a central file which shall be open to public inspection and, on request, made available to Members of Congress."

The amendment failed of passage, but not of contributing importantly to the legislative history on this point. On April 25, 1967, the Chairman of this Commission told the Foreign Relations Committee:

"You would protect the American people from any Government instrument of thought control or coercion. So would we. We would have the American people know how their Government postures itself before the rest of the world. So, I believe, would you. Our difference is on whether these goals are irreconcilable. I am persuaded they are not. And while I would not presume to suggest the language to reconcile them, I do offer my conviction that we can find a common ground."

"Second, it is a paradox that, come face to face with freedom, we so often build walls around it."

"Much of my adult life has been spent in the pursuit of freedom of information, and the defense of it. I hope you will accept my testimony that both missions are difficult ones, and that they can only be secured through a steadfast, unswerving dedication to principle. Thus we cannot say 'We are for freedom, but. . . .' We can only say 'We are for freedom.' So too with freedom of information. We would have you tear down old walls, not build new ones."

"Third, ours is an opportunity to serve the truth."

"Advocacy of the American view is a legitimate instrument of Government policy. But the truth is also an instrument of Government policy, and our country's information program must always be servant to that truth. Someone has said, 'If it is truth, what does it

matter who says it?" To which I would add, 'If it is truth, what does it matter who hears it?'

"Fourth, ours is an opportunity to buttress the Nation's information policy.

"Freedom of information is perhaps the most obvious effect of our recommendation, but it is by no means the only one, nor, in the long run, necessarily the most important. We believe there can be a new candor between nations. More and more, we see the wisdom in addressing a real world rather than one of preconceived slogans, conditioned reflexes and doctrinaire attitudes. The question is, will we step over the threshold? Are we prepared to say to the world, 'Here we are, warts and all. There you are, warts and all. How can we deal with each other?' We believe the Commission's recommendation will help us take that step."

We remain committed to that belief.

The Advisory Commission is on record with a draft amendment to PL 402 designed to accomplish the intent of this recommendation. It follows:

"Section 501 of such Act [PL 402] is amended by striking out the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'The Director of the United States Information Agency shall maintain a complete file in the English language of all such materials in current distribution abroad in the name of the United States Government, which file shall be open to public inspection, and upon request made available to citizens and Members of Congress subject to the following: (1) That all such materials made available within the United States shall be prominently identified as financed and/or prepared by the United States Information Agency, or such other organization of the

Government as may have been responsible for such financing and/or preparation, and shall state that subject materials are intended for distribution overseas; (2) That such materials may not be used for domestic political purposes nor in political campaigns, and (3) That all materials made available under the foregoing shall be subject to fees sufficient to recover incremental costs of production and administrative handling. Further, Any commercially produced book, periodical, pamphlet, reprint, or motion picture, or other material, which has been prepared and/or financed in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, with United States Government funds, shall not be offered for sale, showing, or other distribution within the United States unless conspicuously labelled to disclose the fact of United States Government preparation and/or financing. Further, Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit the United States Information Agency to promote distribution of product within the United States, nor to prepare information product for direction to or distribution among the people of the United States, which activity is expressly prohibited.'"

Additionally, the Commission offers its opinion that the public file which would be authorized by its proposed amendment might appropriately be maintained at schools of international relations or foreign affairs at selected universities about the United States.

Twenty Years Later

It has been the continuing purpose of the Advisory Commission to report critically and constructively to Presidents and the Congress on the information, educational and cultural programs over which it was to keep watch. It has been our particular purpose in this report, twenty years after creation of those pro-

grams, to take a long step back from the trees and a searching look at the forest.

Yet we could not do all that we set out to do; too much lay beyond our resources. We did confirm that it ought to be done—a view not ours alone. The Sprague Committee⁴, which

⁴ Officially, the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad, under the chairmanship of Mansfield D. Sprague. This was the last of three major overviews of the programs now administered by USIA. The first was conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950-52 (the Fulbright-Hickenlooper hearings). The second was conducted by the President's Committee on International Information Activities—the Jackson Committee, chaired by William Jackson—in 1953. Additionally, USIA has come under consideration by the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements as part of a larger investigation concluded in 1967.

conducted the last full-scale review devoted principally to USIA activities, concluded that “The Committee . . . believes that more frequent independent reviews of the overall balance, interrelations and effectiveness of United States information activities is desirable, perhaps not less than once every three years.” That was eight years ago.

It is our earnest recommendation that it be done now. Moreover, we urge that it be done not by an *ad hoc* committee of either legislative or executive origin, but under contract with an organization beyond the government. What should be sought is not only an in-depth critique of what USIA does well and what poorly, but of what it ought to be doing and how best it might approach it.

We say it is time to examine assumptions.

Is the United States Information Agency to be but an agent of American “propaganda”? Should it be more than an arm of foreign policy? Are information, educational and cultural objectives compatible within one agency? Were they consolidated

outside of the Department of State, should that body have Cabinet rank? Or should the reins be drawn together within a restructured Department of State⁵? Does the responsibility of

⁵ The Brookings Institution, in a study (“The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy”) released in 1960, offered the model for a reorganized Department of Foreign Affairs comprising three component departments, each with Cabinet rank: the Department of State, the Department of Foreign Economic Operations and the Department of Information and Cultural Affairs.

those who create the foreign policy of the United States go beyond its declaration? Should they have charge of its promulgation as well? Should USIA have a hand in information dispersal for Government agencies beyond the Department of State? Should it play a role in the influence of policy as well as in its execution? Should it help support those private organizations whose overseas activities had been subsidized covertly in the past by the federal government and whose future funding is under study by a committee chaired by the Secretary of State? Do we really intend that USIA work toward “mutual understanding”; is it to help us understand them as well as to help them understand us?

We presume to pose the questions, but not to propound their answers. Our earnest hope is that others will join in the seeking after them.

Finally, we call to the attention of Congress the reality that this Commission, like USIA, is itself 20 years after the fact. The incumbent members feel it timely to suggest that the Congress give similar overview to the role of this body in discharging Congressional intent, and to the question of whether, indeed, it has fulfilled its mission. We submit respectfully to that question.

APPENDIX

I. About the Commission

The United States Advisory Commission on Information is a citizens' commission created by the Congress in 1948, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate to conduct a continuing, independent overview of the United States Information Agency. Its members are Sigurd S. Larmon (1954-), former chairman of the board and president of Young & Rubicam, New York; M. S. Novik (1962-), radio-television consultant, New York; Frank Stanton (Chairman, 1964-), president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, New York; Palmer Hoyt (1965-), editor and publisher of *The Denver Post*, and Thomas Vail (1967-), editor and publisher of *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland.

Commission business during the past year included a luncheon with members of the Senate and dinner with members of the House. These meetings gave the Commission an opportunity to exchange views with Senators and Representatives on the recommendations contained in the 22d Report to Congress. As a follow-up to the Report's section on freedom of information and the domestic availability of USIA materials, Dr. Stanton appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to testify in support of this recommendation. The Commission also discussed the foreign information program further with Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming and with Representative Dante Fascell of Florida.

The Commission met with President Lyndon B. Johnson for the purpose of discussing the 22d report.

On March 17, 1967, President Johnson announced the appointment of Thomas Vail, editor and publisher of *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler.

During calendar 1967 members of the Commission and its Staff Director visited U.S. Information Service posts in 20 countries. Mr. Larmon inspected the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO) in Saigon and USIS operations in Vietnam; he also examined USIS in Thailand, Israel and Venezuela. Mr. Novik attended the Latin American Cultural Affairs Officers Conference in Costa Rica and visited USIS posts in Italy and Israel. Mr. Hoyt inspected the USIS facility in Jamaica. Mr. Vail visited Great Britain and Italy. And Dr. Stanton visited Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Congo, Zambia, Italy, France and Great Britain.

The Staff Director attended the European Public Affairs Officers Conference in Belgium. He subsequently interviewed Public Affairs Officers in Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland (the U.S. mission to the UN, Geneva), Germany, Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain.

There were 11 meetings of the Commission in 1967—8 in Washington, 2 in New York, and 1 in Ottawa, Canada. At these meetings the Commission continued its practice of consulting with the USIA Director, discussing programs and policies with Ambassadors, USIA officers, Public Affairs Officers and other staff personnel and screening motion picture and TV product to keep abreast of USIA's operations and output both at headquarters and in the field.

The meeting in Canada was the first the Commission has held outside the United States. In Ottawa the Commission examined the country program in detail and received briefings on it by USIS personnel from Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. The Minister and Embassy staff officers briefed the group on current political and economic problems in Canada. From Ottawa the Commission proceeded to Montreal where it previewed the American pavilion in EXPO '67.

The Commission, also for the first time, conducted a review of the USIA program in Mexico. The Public Affairs Officer, the State Department's Country Director and a representative of the Cultural Relations Bureau in the State Department met with the Commission in New York for this purpose.

II. The Exchange Program

The following examples of foreign service officer comment from India, the United Kingdom, Austria, Paraguay and Kenya illustrate the usefulness of the exchange program and demonstrate how it helps open new channels for the United States:

"One of the cumulative effects of all exchange efforts in the past ten years has been to broaden and deepen Indian understanding and appreciation of the United States. American universities are now well respected in India and by far the largest number of Indians who study abroad go to the U.S.

"There is now a large number of Indian journalists who have visited the U.S. When controversial issues develop, they write about the U.S. position with improved understanding. This does not necessarily mean that our policies are supported, but there are usually many comments which reflect an understanding of the con-

text in which our policy has developed and an appreciation of our motives and objectives."

* * *

"Interest in Americanology increases constantly. The following give brief clues to the areas of American life which British scholars, political and opinion-moulding leaders wish to study in the United States under the exchange of persons program:

- 1. More and better schooling, particularly on the secondary school level. More consolidated schools?*
- 2. More progress toward integration. The British press and political leaders have been calm and 'understanding' about Detroit and Newark. They feel that similar incidents can occur in Liverpool and Nottinghill Gate . . . and almost anywhere here.*
- 3. More studies of suburbanization or reurbanization. The British are pioneers in slum clearance and rehousing, but they do wish to know what the U.S. is doing.*
- 4. Full employment. Modernized industry. Mobile manpower. The British know we have our problems in these areas, but they do wish to know how we tackle these problems.*
- 5. The 'peaceful' Americans. And, if that is true, why does it seem that the Americans are so frequently on firing lines in Korea or Vietnam or Santo Domingo or . . . But the British do believe that we are peaceful, or at least peace loving. But still their MP's and political scientists would like to discover why we behave like Americans. And, during 1967-68, because of our national and state and municipal and town elections, they are particularly interested.*

"In brief, in Britain, almost invariably, when a university, a city, an industry, a country is confronted with a problem, the question immediately arises: 'How do the Americans solve it? Or approach it?'"

"Yet as the interest grows, our exchange of persons budget is reduced."

* * *

"Austria, although a neutral country, is unquestionably Western in philosophy, culture, and institutions. The older generation continues to express its gratitude for American post-war recovery aid and political support, and this feeling is manifest in an essentially pro-American attitude. Austrian youth, however, which has

only a dim recollection of the post-war years, is on occasion critical of aspects of U.S. foreign and domestic policies. The increased American involvement in Africa and Asia is often regarded as a sign that the U.S. is turning its back on Europe. The philosophy and standards of American education, and the workings of American economic, social, and political institutions are not always fully understood.

"The educational and cultural exchange programs are an important part of the Post's effort to deal with these doubts and misconceptions. The formerly wide-spread under-evaluation of American cultural achievements has been largely dispelled by the high quality of sponsored cultural presentations in the performing and visual arts. In addition to sponsored programs, the great number of American artists appearing privately in Vienna year after year have further made a significant favorable impression of America's cultural achievement. Educational exchanges of professors, teachers, and students under the Fulbright program have made, and continue to make, long-range contributions to the understanding and reputation of American education. American specialists have been particularly effective in explaining American economic, social, and political institutions and policies. The Austrian leader grantees are in important positions in government, labor, communications, and the arts. Upon returning to Austria they have been most effective in communicating their sympathy and enthusiasm for America to their countrymen. The returnee program perpetuates the reality of the experience in America and nurtures a continuing sympathetic interest in American affairs."

* * *

"Although, on balance, Paraguayans have a favorable attitude towards the United States, a great many of them still harbor many misconceptions about its political and economic systems, its institutions, and its people. While most of the educated Paraguayans admire the American technological and economic progress which has been made during the last half century, some still contend that the United States lags behind in social and cultural development.

"It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of the exchange of persons program over a short period. It is a program of far reaching results, some of which cannot be assessed until several years after the grantees have returned. There are indications, however, that the exchange program is making a significant con-

tribution toward better understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Paraguay. It is believed that it is also acting as a stimulant to the recent increased momentum in the interest in education, cultural and social development and a desire for a higher standard of living for the masses.

"Because Paraguay is a developing country, the International Visitors Program with its 'leader' and 'educational travel' grants is, perhaps, having a more visible impact at this particular time. It permits a greater number of leaders to have first-hand experience in the United States, and although their visits are brief, they often leave lasting impressions. It is notable that most grantees return with the desire to stimulate improvements within their areas of activities.

"For example, one of the strongest impressions shared by returned grantees is the one made by the 'hard-working' Americans. This first-hand experience in the United States helps to dispel the notion held by many uninformed Paraguayans that the United States' economic progress and the high standard of living enjoyed by most of its people are solely results of favorable geographic factors.

"Grantees in all fields of specialization return cognizant of the social and cultural development which has taken place in the United States during the past fifty years. They come back strongly impressed by busy men's interest and participation in community activities, the volunteer workers' role in community development, the American public's interest in the arts, the large number of well attended musical events and the numerous visitors seen at museums."

* * *

"Aside from any technical skills which may have resulted from an exchange program, one can say that a basic result has been the development of a reservoir of goodwill among the Kenyans who have traveled to the United States. The ramifications of this result are obvious to those working in the field and in constant contact with Kenyans, both civilian and in government. The program, in its intent, has focused on those in key decision-making positions and the results are clearly demonstrated in the cooperation shown in developing projects in Kenya which benefit the image of the United States.

"The most valuable aspect of the cultural and educational exchange program in relation to the Post's objectives is sending

Kenyans to the United States . . . many suspicions are removed and many of the false or distorted images found in local media reports receive new interpretations; the standard of living is immediately admired; the freedom of speech and the right to criticize are recognized; the hopes of the government in the area of civil rights are directly felt, and the industrial development resulting from scientific knowledge and hard work are deeply impressive. Thus, along with the technical skills and project ideas a Permanent Secretary, for example, brings back with him, he also carries with him a new image of America, one that he has developed and seen for himself. The basic result, therefore, is improved relations with members of the American Mission which in turn results in increased cooperation in day-to-day operations in the field."

III. The Director's Letter

The USIA's response to the recommendations of the Advisory Commission is conveyed each year by letter from the Director to the Chairman, and is incorporated into the Commission's subsequent annual report. The following represents the Agency's position on recommendations advanced in the 22d Report, issued February 1967:

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

Washington, D.C.

September 1, 1967

Dr. Frank Stanton, Chairman
U.S. Advisory Commission on Information

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:

During the past several months, I have given considerable attention to the recommendations in the Twenty-second Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information. Each of the recommendations made by the Commission has been studied in detail by the sections affected and reviewed by me.

At the outset, I want the Commission to know that I am heartened by your praise of our efforts and gratified at your recognition of the need for an explanation of the existing program service. I want to assure you that we are aware of the importance of our mission and the heavy responsibility which we bear in attempting to relate American domestic and foreign policy to overseas audiences.

Now, I would like to offer the following comments on the specific points made by your Commission:

1. You recommend the appointment of a permanent Deputy Director chosen from within the career Civil Service or Foreign Service to provide a continuity of management as high-level personnel change periodically.

In 1964 Congress provided for two Deputy Directors—one appointed by the President and the other a career officer. These are permanent positions and have been filled by the type of individual which you describe.

From the time the legislation was passed in 1964 to date, there have been only two Deputy Directors—one held the position for four and one-half years and the present incumbent for two years.

Moreover, the Deputy for Policy and Plans has always been a career officer and incumbents have held the position for substantial periods of time.

It is my opinion that these two positions meet your objectives. Accordingly, I do not share your view that there should be any additional officer assigned for management responsibility.

2. You also refer to the past practice of assigning Foreign Service Officers to geographic areas with which they have limited knowledge. During my term of office, I have attempted to build up a corps who would specialize in particular areas such as you describe—an Arabic corps, a Slavik corps, an African corps, an Asian corps, a European corps, a Latin American corps. Wherever possible we are now assigning officers to those areas in which they have developed a particular expertise and where their language aptitudes can be used profitably. Because of the need for rotation of officers and transfer to the United States at periodic intervals, it is not always possible to assign personnel to areas in which they have developed particular expertise. Nevertheless, I agree with your concept, support your objectives and am attempting to fulfill them.

3. You recommend the production of information materials tailored to fit local needs. This is a concept with which I thoroughly agree. We strive to meet this requirement and have made great progress in this direction.

Currently, we are publishing 66 magazines for specific countries. For example, in India *Span* has a circulation of approximately 100,000 and the *American Reporter* has a circulation of 400,000 solely within that country. We also produce *American Review*, directed to the Indian cultural and intellectual community. Similarly, in Russia, we publish *America* magazine directed to the Russian audience, and another edition of that publication for the Polish audience. Our activities in other countries are directed along the same lines; the effort to meet local needs will be continued.

4. I share your enthusiasm for our program of English Teaching. Last year, about 300,000 persons studied English through USIS-sponsored pro-

grams. In addition, a large audience had the opportunity to study the English language through radio programs broadcast by the Voice of America or over local stations through VOA-supplied tapes. Three series of television programs, "Let's Learn English," "Let's Speak English," and "Adventures in English" have been distributed in 63 countries. It is my objective to emphasize this aspect of our activity in all under-developed areas.

5. Similarly, I share your enthusiasm for recruiting and training Women's Affairs Officers to serve in countries where women's groups are actively participating in society or in emerging societies where this trend is now evident. We have under consideration at this time the addition of a Women's Affairs Officer in several countries.

6. I note you suggest that we consider a publication which would "deal with democracy, modernization and nation building" as a companion publication to *Problems of Communism*, which you commend so highly.

It is my view that these subjects are treated constantly in various USIA publications and that a single publication devoted to these subjects would not be as effective as the placement of specific articles in many publications which would reach a much larger audience. A specialized publication would have a very restricted appeal and could only reach a limited audience. You can see that our present system enables us to reach many more people with significant information on these vital topics.

7. You point out the necessity of providing opinion-forming groups with information on the free labor movement in the United States and on the progress of free labor organizations around the world. I support this objective.

We have at present a full-time Labor Information Officer in the Office of Policy, and similar officers in our posts in Japan, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Bogota, Montevideo and Caracas. I have stressed the importance of disseminating labor information and the need for highly-trained officers to carry out the mission. Currently, I am in the process of recruiting an additional Labor Information Officer and will seek others as opportunities arise and our budget permits.

8. I share your enthusiasm for the work being carried on by the Binational Centers, particularly in Latin America as referred to by Ambassador Charles W. Cole in his report to me from which you quote.

To encourage the development of these institutions, last year I authorized the expenditure of \$332,000 to assist in the improvement of physical facilities in seven countries. This year I have requested an authorization of \$1 million for this purpose.

To assist in the recruitment of qualified persons as directors of these centers, I am converting these positions from contract status to that of regular employees. I believe that this action will attract more able young

people and will keep in our service those who have recently been recruited and who have performed so admirably.

9. You comment on our libraries and recommend that the percentage of books in the language of the host country be at least 50% and preferably 75%. It has not been possible in the past to reach this level but we are currently adding to our library shelves more books in the languages of the country. Progress is slow since there are not enough suitable books available in translation. For the most part we are dependent upon the translations we sponsor ourselves.

Moreover, I have recently created a committee of distinguished scholars to recommend 250 or more titles of "Great American Classics" so that all of our libraries and reading rooms may have this basic collection. I am confident that it will prove of great value throughout the world and will lift the level of reading material for these scholars who are seeking a wider knowledge of American history, social and political science, culture, drama, and scientific accomplishments.

During the past year we have also completed a program of displaying classic American art in all of our libraries through the use of high quality lithographs. At this date, approximately 100 libraries in 76 countries have participated in the program.

10. I note your comments about the need for a vigorous information program in Western Europe and for an expansion of our European programs for youth which should be centered around libraries.

I have previously reported to your Commission my desire to expand our information effort in Western Europe. In a recent appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee, I placed these views in the *Record* and testified to the need. In our budget request for Fiscal 1969 an expansion of this program will be sought.

11. You advocate the installation of equipment which would become "a corporate memory." A program of this nature has been started and a computer has been installed for our administrative records. We plan on an expansion of this computer service to include substantive material such as you describe.

12. I concur in your suggestion that our training program is basic to the Agency's operations. You note that I have appointed a new Director of Training and have given him full support for a drastic revision in this effort. Although insufficient time has elapsed to note the full effect of such changes, I am heartened by the progress which has been made.

13. You recommend that the Agency "renew its contacts with the academic community, rekindle its interest and invite its suggestions, reviews and commentaries." I subscribe to this philosophy and have constantly endeavored to achieve this result.

14. You suggest that the inspection program be broadened to include civilian review of Agency operations. Towards this end, I have appointed prominent private individuals as Public Members of inspection teams. Between now and the end of the year, five additional Public Members will be assigned to inspection teams. We have received numerous benefits from such individual appraisals. The program will be expanded as conditions permit.

15. You suggest a formulation of a ten-year program culminating in the celebration of the American Bicentennial in 1976. I have not yet done so because of more urgent and immediate problems. Hopefully, I can give serious consideration to this suggestion next year.

The above comments on the principal suggestions made in the chapters of your report entitled, "*Recommendations for Action by the USIA.*"

In addition, you propose to Congress that legislation be adopted for a career service for the U.S. Information Agency. I continue to advocate such legislation and am currently awaiting hearings on Administration-sponsored legislation for this purpose.

Finally, you also suggest that Public Law 402 be amended so that the "American taxpayer should no longer be prohibited from seeing and studying the product a government agency produces with public funds for overseas audiences." I have testified before congressional committees that:

1. I have no objection to making any of our products available for inspection. We have nothing to hide and are indeed proud of our efforts.
2. However, I do not wish to take the initiative in requesting any funds for the dissemination to *United States citizens* of books, pamphlets, films or radio broadcasts prepared under our auspices. If Congress should authorize such, we shall gladly cooperate.

In the concluding portion of your report you recommend to Congress and the President that additional funds be allocated for future Agency operations. I concur and as previously stated will request such in our submission to the Bureau of the Budget for Fiscal 1969.

These comments are designed to acquaint you with my thinking on the very significant problems which you have outlined and to report on specific projects which are underway to meet the objectives that you have so ably described. Our principal officers and I have greatly benefited from the careful consideration which your Commission gives to our program. We welcome the close relationship which exists and will strive to maintain and justify your confidence in our program.

Sincerely,

LEONARD H. MARKS
Director