

To the Congress of the United States



THE TWENTY-SECOND REPORT
OF THE

United States
Advisory Commission
on Information



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THE COMMISSION

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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.

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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.

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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 Airlie 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.

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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:

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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 USIA 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 or 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