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Room No.—Bldg.

Executive Secretary

Phone No.

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Executive Security 17 Sept
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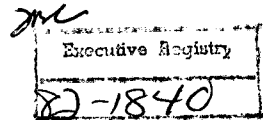
Tom;

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United States Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy

Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of the Chairman

July 16, 1982

The Honorable
William J. Casey
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
McLean, Virginia 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy is an independent, bipartisan citizens commission created by Congress to conduct a continuing overview of the U.S. International Communication Agency.

As the U.S. Government's public affairs representative worldwide, the Agency, which includes the Voice of America, is responsible for explaining American policies, institutions and culture overseas and for administering the government's educational exchange activities.

The enclosed report was recently submitted to President Reagan and to the Congress. The Commission believes that international communication and educational exchange activities are as important to America's national security as traditional diplomacy or military programs and should be treated with the same urgency and concern.

We hope that the views set forth in this report will be considered by both public officials responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs and by Americans interested in our country's public diplomacy.

Sincerely,



Leonard L. Silverstein
Chairman

L272

Report of

THE UNITED STATES
ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

1982



Americans have traditionally accepted the moral imperative of the Declaration of Independence to show "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Diplomats, no less than elected officials, are aware of the power of public attitudes. How well American foreign policies succeed depends to a large degree on how our actions and intentions are perceived by the rest of the world. We must make clear where we stand on the major issues of our time, and we must affirm the ideals and aspirations underlying our national purposes. We must also understand the attitudes and aspirations of the other nations and peoples of our global community. This is the substance of public diplomacy and the task of the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA).

The International Communication Agency engages in public diplomacy:

- *When the Voice of America, despite jamming efforts by the Soviet Union, brings accurate news to millions of people subject to martial law in Poland;*
- *When an American Fulbright scholar teaches economics in Honduras;*
- *When USICA telecasts Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's interview with West German journalists live by satellite to 8 million viewers in West Germany;*
- *When a noted American foreign policy scholar speaks to a select group of Japanese government officials;*
- *When USICA representatives in Panama publicly refute Soviet propaganda efforts to blame the United States for the death of former president General Omar Torrijos;*
- *When Parisians visit the USICA-sponsored exhibit of American Impressionists which is touring Europe;*
- *When USICA presents the National Security Council with public opinion polls of West European attitudes on NATO defense issues;*
- *When Egyptians read Al-Majal, a USICA monthly magazine in Arabic;*
- *When USICA representatives assist foreign journalists at the Cancun Economic Summit in Mexico;*
- *When Equadorian students learn English at the Binational Center in Quito;*
- *When senior government officials brief foreign journalists on Administration policies at USICA's Foreign Press Centers in New York and Washington.*

These are just a few examples of the many things USICA does to foster a better understanding of the United States, its people and its policies. By creating an atmosphere of greater mutual understanding, it directly contributes to the success of American diplomatic efforts in the cause of peace and security.

To the Congress and to the President of the United States

In accordance with the requirements of Section 8, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977, and Public Law 96-60, the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy submits herewith its second report on the U.S. International communication Agency.

Respectfully submitted,



Leonard L. Silverstein, Chairman
Attorney; Partner, Silverstein & Mullens
President, National Symphony Orchestra Association
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Tom C. Korologos
Vice President and Director
of Legislative Affairs
Timmons and Company, Inc.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Olin Robison
Professor of Political Science
President, Middlebury College
VERMONT

Lewis Manilow
Attorney
Former President, Chicago Museum of
Contemporary Art
ILLINOIS

Neil Sherburne
Chairman, Association of Governing Boards of
Universities and Colleges
Secretary-Treasurer,
Minnesota AFL-CIO (Retired)
MINNESOTA

Jean McKee
Director, Government Relations
General Mills Restaurant Group
NEW YORK

Mae Sue Talley
Retired Business Executive,
Publisher, and Civic Leader
ARIZONA

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

When this Commission began its work nearly three years ago, it was given a unique and important task by the Congress. We were asked to serve as a bipartisan public trustee for the newly-created International Communication Agency, to assess its policies and programs, and to report our findings to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, and the Director of the Agency.

The seven members of this Commission are neither diplomats nor bureaucrats, but concerned citizens. Our mandate has as its ultimate objective furthering the mission of the Agency in order to best serve the long-range interests of the United States.

As our understanding of the nature of public diplomacy developed, the Commission unanimously reached several conclusions. We believe that public diplomacy is indispensable to our national security and should be accorded the same urgency and priority we give to traditional government-to-government diplomacy or to military programs. We also believe that the significance of public diplomacy — indeed, the fact that it is carried on at all — has been inadequately understood and therefore inadequately supported by the American people. This has relegated the Agency to a secondary role within the government, thus limiting the Agency's capacity to meet the full range of its capabilities and responsibilities.

These convictions provided the focus of the Commission's first report. As an immediate priority, we urged the Congress and the President to increase substantially the resources this nation commits to the conduct of public diplomacy. We further recommended that the Agency's position within the government be enhanced to ensure that our government adequately understands foreign opinion and culture for policy-making purposes. Finally, we recommended that the Office of Research, which assesses foreign public opinion, be given increased funds and the responsibility for evaluating the effectiveness of the Agency's programs.

We are pleased to note that Congress has approved additional funds for the Agency for FY 1982, and we hope that the Administration's request for FY 1983 will be approved. We regret, however, that the resources provided for research were not increased but instead have been reduced. While we recognize with satisfaction that the Agency is better positioned and currently plays a more active role within the foreign affairs community than it has for many years, it still lacks the structural base that would make the present relationships permanent and independent of changes in personnel and administration. We address this problem in our report.

In the year and a half since our last report, the Commission has met almost every month and has reviewed the major functions and programs of the Agency. We have met regularly with the Director and senior officers of the Agency, and we have consulted with officials in the Departments of State and Defense, the National Security Council, and members of both houses of Congress. The Commission has also met with members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships and received testimony from various organizations that are funded by the Agency and whose work with international visitors and educational exchanges supports the public diplomacy efforts of our government. Several members of the Commission have traveled abroad to assess the Agency's overseas operations. This report records the results of these efforts.

There is much yet to be done. For example, constant changes in communications technology require that the Agency carefully and regularly assess the internal allocation of its resources to assure maximum impact. Ways must be found to reverse the decline in America's overseas libraries, book translation and English teaching programs. Long-range Agency planning is needed to meet future personnel and space needs.

I believe that the Commission must also concern itself with the Agency's public image, both national and international. Given the ambiguous distinction between "propaganda" and "information" or "truth," confusion exists in the public mind about the proper role of the Agency. The Agency must explain United States policies and tell the story of America both candidly and affirmatively, yet avoid being labeled propagandistic. Much more public awareness of the Agency's function is needed, and both the Agency and this Commission must actively contribute to this process.

The report which follows reflects the Commission's principal concerns over the past year. We have kept in mind our continuing obligation to assess both the appropriateness and effectiveness of specific Agency actions and programs.

We know that how the U.S. is viewed by other countries may determine their policies and affect the success of our own. It is the responsibility of this Commission to see that the communication tools of public diplomacy are used with skill to ensure that the unique ideals for which our nation stands are understood.

In the long run, this is our best hope for security and peace. And it is to this end that we submit this report.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Leonard L. Silverstein". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Leonard L. Silverstein
Chairman

CONTENTS

Letter of Transmittal	i
Message from the Chairman	ii
I. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS	1
II. THE AGENCY: What It Is and What It Does	
A. Mission	3
B. Origins and Authority	4
C. Personnel and Budget	5
D. Means of Communication	6
E. Organization Chart	9
III. RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISCUSSION	
A. Public Diplomacy and National Security	11
B. Structural Relationships: The Position of USICA within the Foreign Affairs Community	13
C. Voice of America	16
D. Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs	21
E. Television	29
F. Project Truth	31
G. Research	34
H. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy	36
IV. APPENDIX	39

I. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

- *The International Communication Agency is little known within the United States and often overlooked, yet its role is vital to our national interest and the conduct of our foreign policy. Public diplomacy is as indispensable to our national security as military preparedness, and the Commission strongly urges that it be treated with the same urgency and concern. (pp. 11-12)*

STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

- *The Commission recommends that USICA's role in the foreign affairs community be institutionalized to ensure the regular participation of the Agency in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. It urges that a Presidential Directive be issued implementing Congressional intent that the Director of USICA serve as a statutory advisor to the National Security Council and as the principal advisor to the President on foreign public opinion and the conduct of public diplomacy. (pp. 13-15)*

VOICE OF AMERICA

- *The Commission recommends that USICA take greater care to avoid actions and policies that can be easily misinterpreted and cast doubt on VOA's commitment to accuracy and objectivity. (pp. 16-18)*
- *The Commission welcomes the high priority USICA is giving to the expansion of VOA's worldwide transmitter network and to the modernization of its Washington facilities. It recommends that these initiatives be given appropriate support. (pp. 19-20)*
- *The Commission supports USICA's efforts to examine the most effective means of communicating with successor generation audiences. It recommends that this examination consider the cost, potential audience levels, and technical difficulties involved in medium wave broadcasting to Western Europe as well as the relative advantages and disadvantages of other media. (p. 19)*

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

- *The Commission regards USICA's educational exchange and international visitors programs as among the most effective tools of public diplomacy and recommends that they be materially strengthened. (pp. 21-27)*
- *In view of the size of the East-West Center's budget and its potential for creating better understanding among the nations of East and West, the Commission recommends that the Center be comprehensively evaluated by an experienced team of professionals selected from the fields of higher education and cross-cultural communication. (p. 28)*

TELEVISION ● *The Commission welcomes increased cooperation between USICA and the private sector, but it opposes private funding of major programs, particularly those articulating U.S. foreign policy. (pp.29-30)*

● *The Commission recommends that USICA undertake a major study, drawing on the expertise of government and non-government specialists, to ensure that the Agency realizes the full potential of television programming and remains completely abreast of technological advances. (p. 30)*

PROJECT TRUTH ● *The Commission is pleased to note the extensive interagency cooperation and coordination supporting this-project and recommends that such coordination become the rule rather than the exception for U.S. public diplomacy efforts. (pp. 31-32)*

● *The Commission is concerned about the connotations of the name "Project Truth" and recommends that the Agency not utilize terminology that gives rise to suspicions that USICA is engaging in "propaganda." (pp. 32-33)*

RESEARCH ● *The Commission recommends that the staff and budget of the Office of Research be increased to provide the research capability required for national security and foreign policy needs. It should also have the resources to carry out regular and methodical evaluation of Agency programs and products. (pp. 34-35)*

**U.S. ADVISORY
COMMISSION ON
PUBLIC
DIPLOMACY** ● *The Commission recommends that the President and the Congress ensure that appointments to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy are made so as to protect the independence, continuity, genuine bipartisan character, and broad professional composition of the Commission. (pp. 36-37)*

II. THE AGENCY: What It Is and What It Does

- A. MISSION** The mission of the International Communication Agency was set forth in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for FY 1979¹ as follows:

“Sec. 202. The mission of the International Communication Agency shall be to further the national interest by improving United States relations with other countries and peoples through the broadest possible sharing of ideas, information, and educational and cultural activities. In carrying out this mission, the International Communication Agency shall, among other activities —

- (1) conduct Government-sponsored information, educational, and cultural activities designed —
 - (A) to provide other peoples with a better understanding of the policies, values, institutions, and culture of the United States; and*
 - (B) within the statutory limits governing domestic activities of the Agency, to enhance understanding on the part of the Government and people of the United States of the history, culture, attitudes, perceptions, and aspirations of others;**
- (2) encourage private institutions in the United States to develop their own exchange activities, and provide assistance for those exchange activities which are in the broadest national interest;*
- (3) coordinate international informational, educational, or cultural activities conducted or planned by departments and agencies of the United States Government;*
- (4) assist in the development of a comprehensive national policy on international communications; and*
- (5) promote United States participation in international events relevant to the mission of the Agency.”*

In the four years since this statement of mission was enacted, there has been much discussion and confusion and relatively little action concerning Sec. 202(1)(B) of the Act referred to as the “Second Mandate” which authorizes USICA to tell the American people about other countries and cultures. As the General Accounting Office has pointed out,² USICA’s overseas posts are uncertain as to what is expected of them. The Agency has not defined with any precision who its American audience is or how it is to be reached beyond the exposure of a limited number of Americans to foreign exchange scholars and international visitors. It is also evident that the Agency does not have the resources or staff to conduct anything more than a token program. As a result, little has been done to carry out the “Second Mandate.”

¹ Public Law 95-426, October 7, 1978.

² “U.S. International Communication Agency’s Overseas Programs: Some More Useful than Others,” Report by the General Accounting Office, February 11, 1982.

**B. ORIGINS AND
AUTHORITY**

Although the U.S. Government officially has engaged in public diplomacy for many years, the present Agency is little more than four years old. Its origins, however, go back to World War I when the Committee on Public Information (known as the Creel Committee) was created in 1917 to make U.S. war aims known throughout the world. This first official U.S. information program was abolished in 1919 when the war ended.

The first comprehensive efforts in cultural relations began in 1938 in Latin America and were conducted by the Division of Cultural Cooperation in the Department of State. There was no comparable press or information program. With World War II, large-scale information activities directed at enemy and occupied areas were undertaken by the Office of War Information and in Latin America by the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs. When the war ended many of these programs were continued by the Department of State.

But locating these programs within the State Department proved unsatisfactory to some officials, and in 1953 another reorganization took place. President Eisenhower's Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 created the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) separate from the State Department but under its policy direction. The cultural and educational exchange program was retained within the Department, although overseas it was administered by USIA cultural affairs officers who consequently reported to both State and their own Agency. The legislative mandate for the exchange programs was significantly strengthened in 1961 by the Fulbright-Hays Act, which provided for increasing "mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries."



This divided structure survived for 25 years, although several panels and studies recommended that it be reorganized.³ On October 12, 1977, President Carter submitted to Congress his Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977, which consolidated the functions of USIA and the State Department's Bureau of Cultural Affairs into one agency. The U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA) came into being on April 1, 1978. Under the Plan, two previous advisory commissions, one for USIA and one for the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, were replaced by this Commission.⁴

Lech Walesa enjoys the explanation given by a guide at a USICA agricultural exhibit in Poland.



C. PERSONNEL AND BUDGET

USICA is now authorized a staff of 8,184, of which 4,416 are Americans and 3,768 are non-Americans hired locally in foreign countries. There are 992 Americans assigned overseas at 202 posts in 124 countries, and 3,424 are based in the United States, principally in Washington, D.C. The latter work at the Voice of America, coordinate the educational and cultural exchange programs, maintain centers to assist foreign journalists in the U.S., produce Agency publications, films, exhibits and other support materials for field posts, recruit speakers to lecture abroad, and provide central program direction, management and administrative services for the Agency as a whole.

USICA's budget, under a continuing resolution for FY 1982, is \$488,966,000. For FY 1983, the Administration is requesting \$644 million for the Agency, an increase of \$155 million. Approximately two-thirds of the increase has been earmarked for the construction of radio transmission facilities.

³ Of particular importance was the 1975 report of the Panel on International Information, Education, and Cultural Relations, chaired by former CBS President Frank Stanton.

⁴ Executive Order 12048, March 27, 1978.

D. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

The International Communication Agency utilizes the following means of communication to carry out its mission:

Overseas Operations:

Foremost among USICA's means of communication is personal contact — direct and substantive personal links with influential foreign leaders. The Agency's principal representatives abroad are the Public Affairs Officers, who are responsible for planning and coordinating all of USICA's public diplomacy efforts in their respective countries.⁵ American experts engage in lectures and seminars with foreign leaders on American politics, society, economy, and other topics, all with the goal of creating greater mutual understanding and enhancing foreign perceptions of the United States.

Libraries, Binational Centers, and Books:

In 1981, USICA maintained 131 American libraries and 15 binational centers in 86 countries. The Agency's libraries in 1981 held 828,255 books and were visited by more than 3.5 million foreign citizens; USICA itself translated and published 255,000 books. In 1981, the Agency's posts and binational centers also provided English-language classes for 201,000 foreign citizens.

Dr. Rutherford Rogers, Director of Yale University Libraries, reviews library plans with Chinese workshop participants at Beijing University in a program organized by USICA.



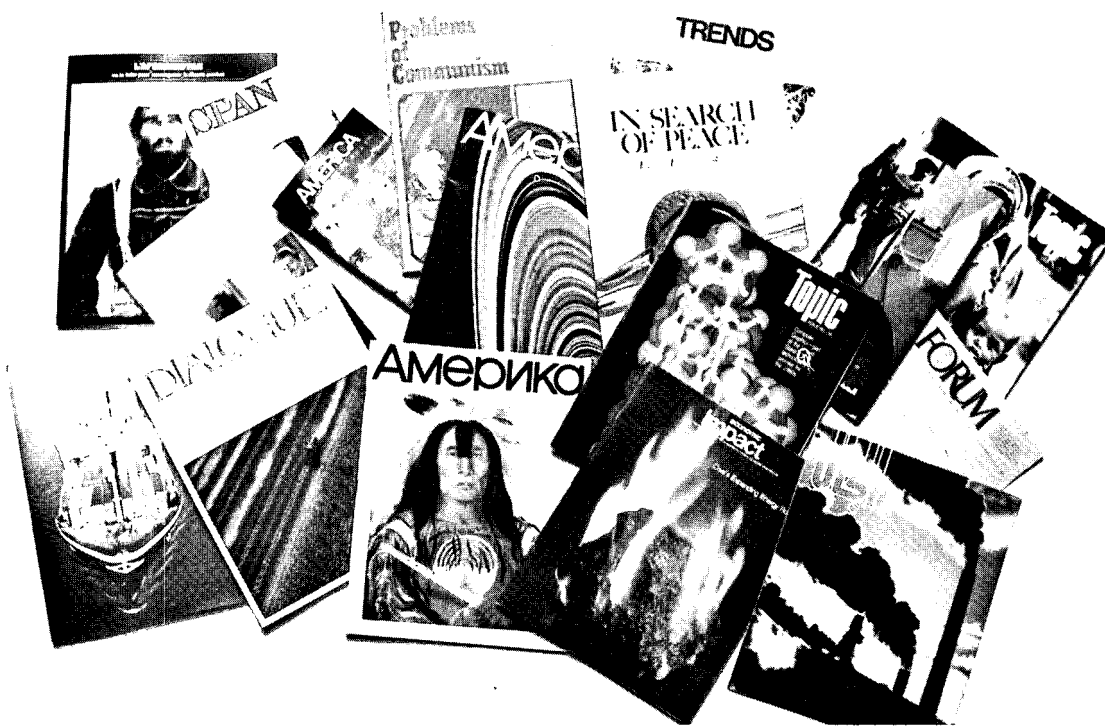
⁵ For an in-depth report on USICA's overseas operations, see the previously cited Report of the U.S. General Accounting Office.

**Radio, Television,
and Films:**

The Voice of America, USICA's radio arm, broadcasts about 950 hours a week in 39 languages to an estimated 104 million listeners. Its FY 1982 operating budget is \$109 million. VOA broadcasts news, news analysis, foreign policy commentary, and programs that portray various aspects of American culture and society. USICA also acquires and produces films and television programs for viewing by both general and selected audiences. In 1981, 91 programs were produced by USICA and 210 were acquired from outside sources. Live television programming by satellite is a promising new USICA initiative.

**Press and
Publications:**

The Agency's radioteletype network called the Wireless File sends five regional transmissions, five days a week, in English and four foreign languages to 159 posts overseas. Consisting primarily of policy statements and interpretive materials, the Wireless File is used for media placement, distribution to foreign leaders, and background information for U.S. Mission personnel abroad. USICA publishes nine magazines and occasional pamphlets in 20 languages.⁶ The contents consist of reprints from American periodicals as well as staff-written and commissioned articles.



⁶ The principal publications originating in Washington are the following: AMERICA ILLUSTRATED, a monthly magazine in Russian distributed in the USSR; TOPIC, published bi-monthly in English and French for Sub-Saharan Africa; AL-MAJAL, a monthly published in Arabic for Near East and North African countries; DIALOGUE, a quarterly journal of American thought and culture published in several languages; ECONOMIC IMPACT, a quarterly in English and Spanish; and PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, a scholarly bi-monthly magazine in English.

***Cultural and Fine
Arts Exhibitions:***

The Agency produces an average of 13 major exhibitions a year, including solo exhibits, participation in international trade fairs and special international promotions. These events annually provide more than 2 million foreign citizens with perhaps their only public exposure to American culture. USICA produces and distributes approximately nine smaller displays a year in multiple copies to posts in more than 100 countries. Under the Arts America Program, the Agency sends approximately 25 fine arts exhibitions abroad annually. In conjunction with the National Endowment for the Arts, the Agency also assists qualified artists and performing arts groups in arranging private tours overseas.

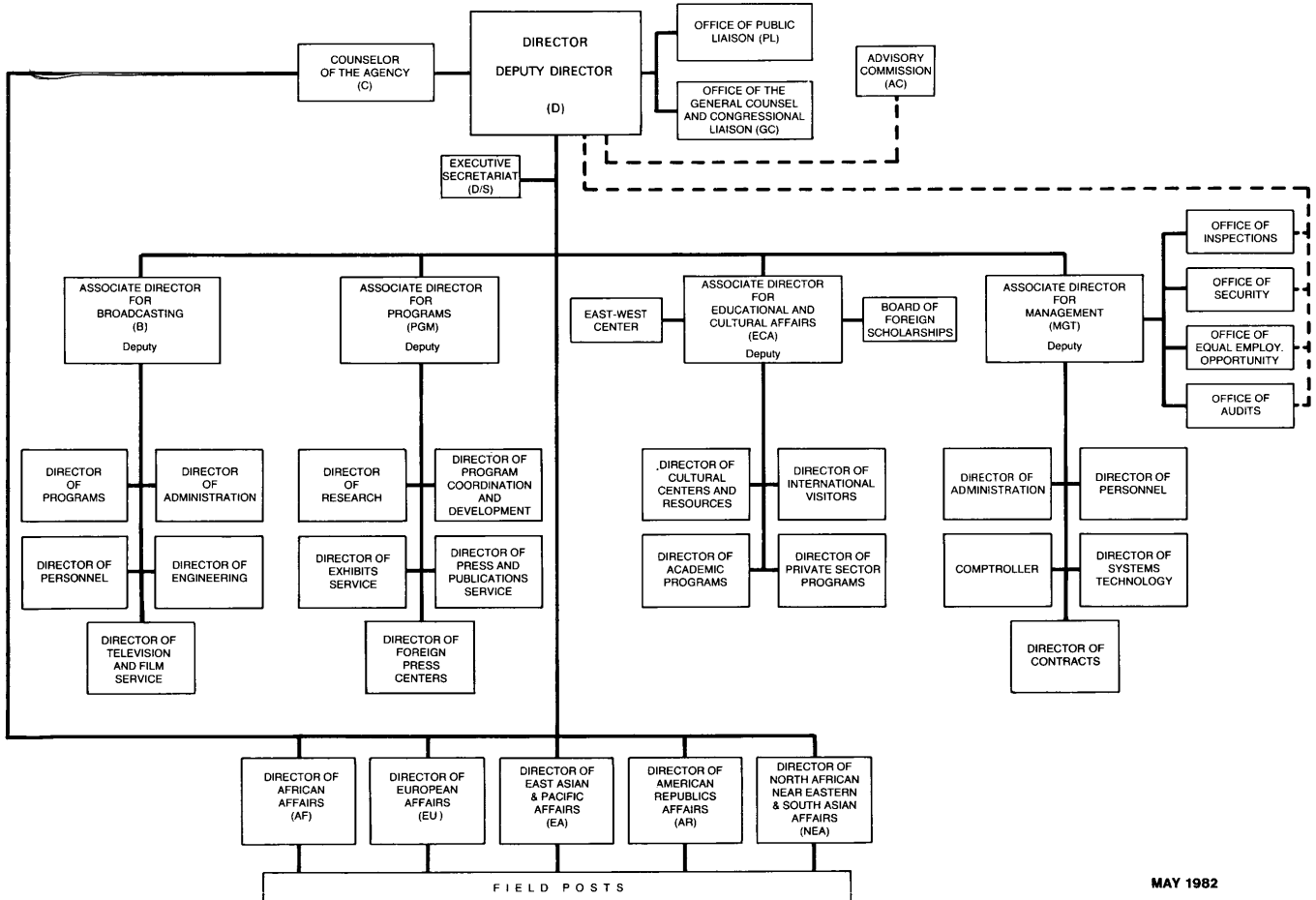
***Educational and
Cultural Activities:***

USICA's educational and cultural exchange programs provide citizens of other countries with a better understanding of the United States. The Agency has allocated approximately \$70.6 million in FY 1982 for these activities which include the Fulbright Academic Exchange Program, the International Visitors (IV) Program, the Humphrey Fellowship Program, and financial support for some non-government exchange programs. The Fulbright Program involves the annual exchange of approximately 3,800 U.S. and foreign pre-doctoral students, professors, and senior researchers. The IV Program annually extends invitations to approximately 1,500 foreign leaders for short-term visits to the United States. USICA is providing an estimated \$16.9 million in FY 1982 for the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West in Hawaii.

*Mexican President Lopez
Portillo views a USICA-
sponsored fine arts exhibit.*



INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY (USICA)



III. RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISCUSSION

A. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Recommendation • *The International Communication Agency is little known within the United States and often overlooked, yet its role is vital to our national interests and the conduct of our foreign policy. Public diplomacy is as indispensable to our national security as military preparedness, and the Commission strongly urges that it be treated with the same urgency and concern.*

In FY 1983 the United States proposes to spend more than \$221 **billion** for national defense. The proposed FY 1983 operating budget for USICA is \$548 **million** — approximately 0.25 percent of our military spending.

The Commission does not question the need for strong military forces to assure the nation's defense. National security, however, does not derive only from military strength. A recent report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee stated, "ICA's product is an important element in the U.S. national defense ... (Yet) the Soviet Union presently outspends the United States by about 7 to 1 in international broadcasting and information efforts around the world."¹ We also rank well below some of our Western allies in funds spent for international information and cultural programs and in broadcast hours around the world.²

History has repeatedly shown the power of ideas. Who can question that the strength of our country derives in large measure from the ideas it represents? It is precisely the task of USICA to present and explain these ideas to a sometimes skeptical world, and to help ensure that foreign perceptions of the United States are accurate and that misinformation and misunderstandings are corrected. Wisely used, public diplomacy can lessen the possibility of military conflict.

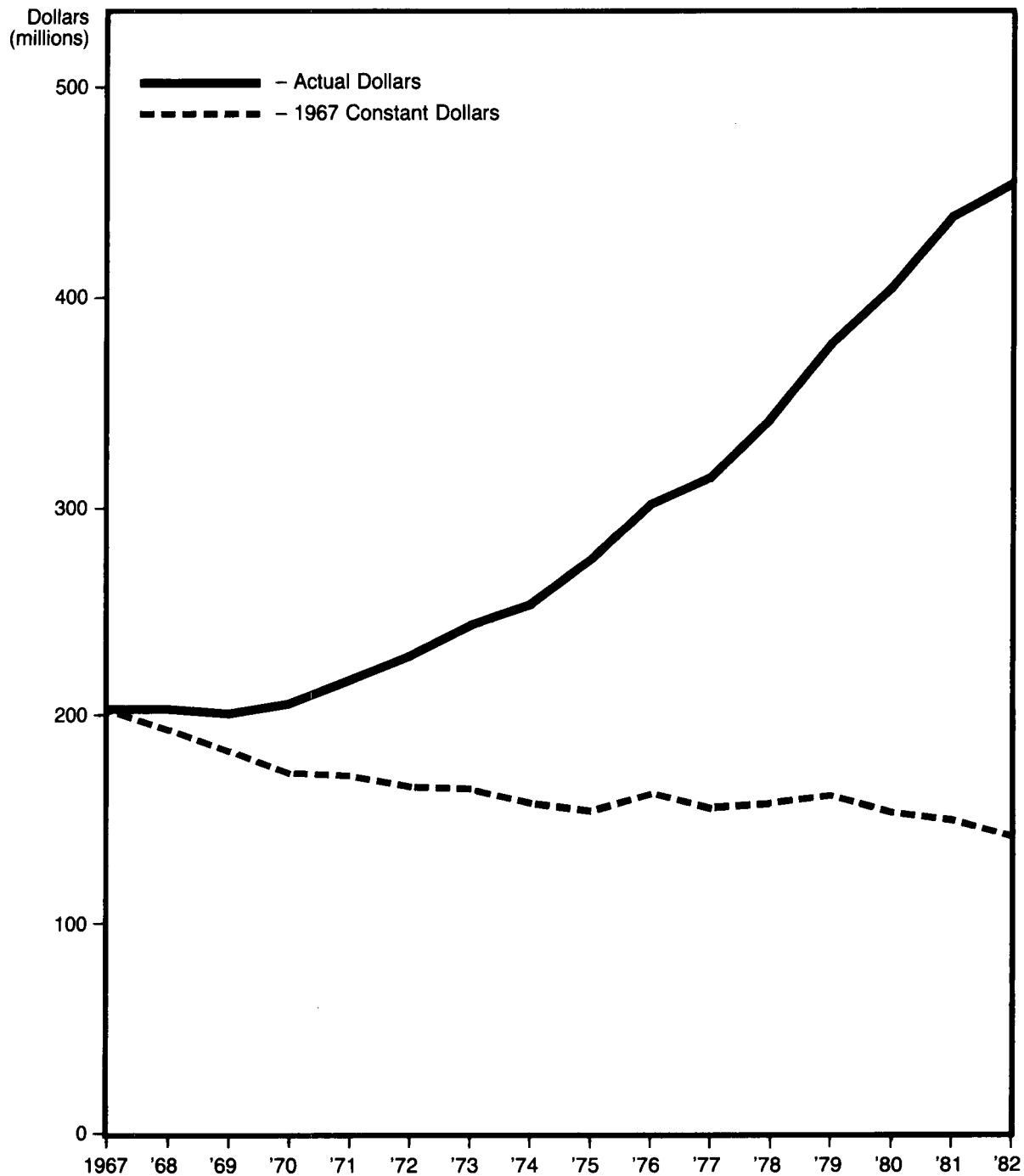
What is needed is a greater sense of commitment by our government to this vital function. The level of support accorded public diplomacy by the U.S. always has been woefully inadequate, and in real terms has been declining steadily for many years. As this Commission pointed out in its first report, the Agency "has been forced to spread too far, with too little, for too long."

¹ Report No. 97-480 of April 2, 1982. The Chief Negotiator for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), General Edward Rowny, also has stated: "I hope that we remember in the future that the U.S. Information program is a part of the defense effort and has to be treated with the same urgency as our other national security efforts." Quoted in "The Telling of America," THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, Winter 1982, p. 144.

² See pp. 21-22 of this report.

Central to this report is our conviction that public diplomacy must be treated with the same urgency and concern that we give to military preparedness. The Commission strongly urges that USICA be given the priority and resources that its responsibilities and our national needs require.

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY APPROPRIATIONS
SALARIES AND EXPENSES, 1967-1982**



B. STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIPS: THE POSITION OF USICA WITHIN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMUNITY

- Recommendation** • *The Commission recommends that USICA's role in the foreign affairs community be institutionalized to ensure the regular participation of the Agency in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. It urges that a Presidential Directive be issued implementing Congressional intent that the Director of USICA serve as a statutory advisor to the National Security Council and as the principal advisor to the President on foreign public opinion and the conduct of public diplomacy.*

The present level, breadth, and frequency of contacts between USICA, the State Department, the National Security Council and the other foreign affairs agencies are probably greater now than at any time in the past. USICA's Director or Deputy Director regularly attends the daily morning staff meeting of the Secretary of State. The Counselor of the Agency regularly meets with the Under Secretary for Political Affairs. USICA's Area Directors meet weekly with the Assistant Secretaries for their regions at the Department, and desk officers are in constant contact with their counterparts. In addition, there are numerous functional ties between USICA and State, including the interagency Project Truth working group, State's press spokesman, and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

Relations with the National Security Council are less institutionalized than those with the State Department, but the Director and Deputy Director consult regularly with the National Security Advisor. Two Agency officers are now assigned to the NSC staff.

All this, of course, is enormously useful. It greatly increases the likelihood that foreign public opinion and communications issues will be taken into consideration when foreign policies are being developed and implemented. It also ensures that the Agency's programs are coordinated with those policies, and that USICA has the support and cooperation of other foreign affairs agencies.

The close relationships and high level entree now enjoyed by USICA are, however, largely due to the personalities involved. There is no reason to assume that the present situation will continue beyond the tenure of the current Administration. USICA's role in the foreign affairs community must be institutionalized to ensure the regular participation of USICA in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy in the future.

To achieve this, the Commission recommended in its first report that the Director of USICA be assigned a permanent seat on the National Security Council. The need for regular Agency participation on the NSC is not a new idea. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, a predecessor to this Commission, the Comptroller General, Members of Congress, and several ad hoc task forces appointed by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy have made similar recommendations.

Legislation would be required to make the Director of USICA a member of the NSC, since membership on the Council is limited by law to the President, the Vice President, and the Secretaries of State and Defense. After careful review, the Commission has concluded that new legislation making the Director of USICA a permanent member of the NSC is not an appropriate basis on which to formalize USICA's relationship with the Council. USICA is not a policy-making body; its role is advisory.

The Commission strongly believes, however, that USICA already has by law a responsibility to serve as an advisor to the National Security Council. It is a responsibility that needs only to be recognized and fully carried out.

The legislation that created the National Security Council provided that the Council would have both members and advisors. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency were designated statutory advisors. Historically, as a result, both have regularly participated in the meetings of the NSC and its interagency working groups.

The Commission is convinced that under the legislation that created the International Communication Agency, the Director of USICA has NSC status equivalent to the Director of CIA and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977 provides:

"The Agency shall be headed by the Director ... who shall serve as the principal advisor to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of State on the functions vested in the Director."

Moreover, Congressional intent is clear. In its report on Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977, the House of Representatives stated:

"What the President intends to accomplish through this consolidation is to enhance significantly the management of the Nation's public diplomacy. By establishing one agency under the guidance of a director who, according to the plan, will 'serve as the principal advisor to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of State' in public diplomacy matters, the object in mind is to increase the independence, enhance the prestige, and thus expand the impact of the new agency's role in this vital field."¹

The Commission is persuaded that there are good reasons for speedily carrying out the will of Congress in this matter.

¹ House Report No. 95-818, 95th Cong., November 18, 1977.

- America's experiences in Vietnam, Iran, and now in Europe and Latin America show clearly that foreign cultures, attitudes, and opinions must routinely be taken seriously into account in formulating U.S. foreign policy. As a regular participant on the NSC, the Agency could provide special knowledge of such matters and ensure that they were given due consideration in the decision-making process.
- As a statutory advisor, the Agency could perform a valuable and much-needed service by advising the government on the public presentation of its foreign policies and by actively participating in the coordination of administration statements announcing or explaining U.S. policies.
- Formal acceptance of USICA's advisory role would provide a permanence not based on personal relationships or transient events.

Public diplomacy is a vital element in our national security. To this Commission the implications are clear and compelling. USICA should be recognized as an essential partner with other foreign affairs agencies in the policy councils of the Executive Branch.

Treasury Secretary Donald Regan and White House Chief of Staff James Baker brief the media at the USICA Press Center at the Cancun Summit.

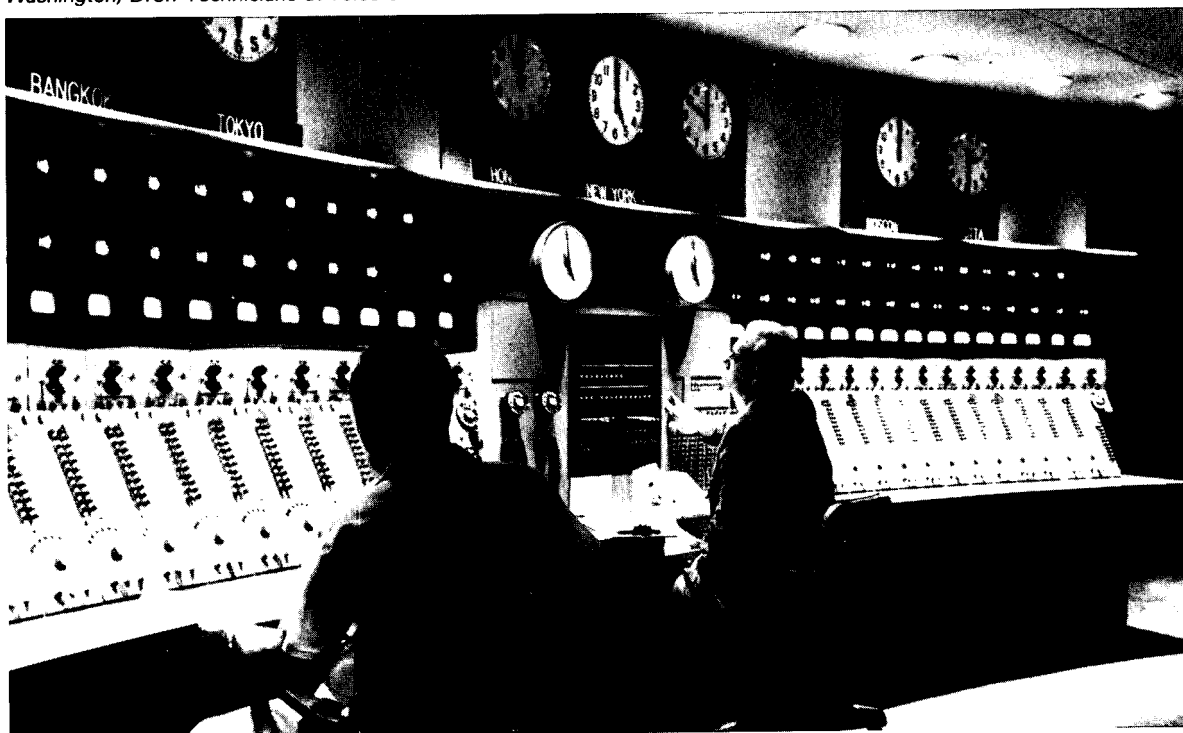


C. VOICE OF AMERICA

- Recommendations**
- *The Commission recommends that USICA take greater care to avoid actions and policies that can be easily misinterpreted and cast doubt on VOA's commitment to accuracy and objectivity.*
 - *The Commission welcomes the high priority USICA is giving to the expansion of VOA's worldwide transmitter network and to the modernization of its Washington facilities. It recommends that these initiatives be given appropriate support.*
 - *The Commission supports USICA's efforts to examine the most effective means of communicating with successor generation audiences. It recommends that this examination consider the cost, potential audience levels, and technical difficulties involved in medium wave broadcasting to Western Europe as well as the relative advantages and disadvantages of other media.*

The Voice of America celebrates its fortieth anniversary this year as the overseas broadcasting arm of the U.S. Government. Broadcasting approximately 950 hours a week in 39 languages to a weekly worldwide audience of more than 100 million, the Voice commands more than a quarter of USICA's personnel and fiscal resources. In many societies where the flow of information and ideas is restricted, VOA is America's principal means of communication.

Washington, D.C.: Technicians at Voice of America master control board.



VOA's size, its role as an international news organization, and its ability to reach large audiences directly make it the best known part of the Agency to most Americans. Its unique place at the "crossroads of journalism and diplomacy" has also made it the focus of considerable public debate. In recent months this debate has intensified.

Some observers have expressed concern that the integrity of VOA's news programs has been undercut by more strident programming policies and a series of recent senior management changes which have received national media attention.¹ Others have suggested that VOA's coverage of world events is unbalanced and even at times inimical to the best interests of the United States. Still others believe that the Voice should be more hard hitting and aggressively propagandistic as a foreign policy instrument.²

*VOA Correspondent interviews
Salvadoran Army Commander
near the border with Honduras.
The VOA interview, conducted
in Spanish, was broadcast on
the popular morning news
program "Buenos Dias,
America".*



¹ These management changes include the resignation of the Deputy Director of VOA in November 1981 and his replacement by a senior career Foreign Service Officer. Additional attention grew from the resignation of the Chief of VOA's News Division after nineteen years service to take a position in the private sector. In March 1982, VOA Director James Conkling resigned to return to private life, and John Hughes, Pulitzer Prize winner and former editor of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, was nominated to replace him.

² See Murrey Marder, "Propaganda Role Urged by Voice of America," WASHINGTON POST, November 13, 1982; Murrey Marder, "Appointment of 'Propaganda' Advocate Defended by VOA Chief," WASHINGTON POST, November 14, 1981; Curtis Wilke, "Guerrilla War at Voice of America," BOSTON GLOBE, November 16, 1981; Barbara Crossette, "VOA Loses Key Staffer: News Division Director Quits Amid Turmoil Over Commentary Function," NEW YORK TIMES, December 22, 1981; Barbara Crossette, "There is a Voice of America but Its Tone is in Dispute," NEW YORK TIMES, March 28, 1982.

The Commission has considered these views with care, and apart from occasional rhetorical excess, it welcomes public debate on the Voice of America. VOA's credibility is its most precious asset. Credibility, however, is a fragile thing. Actions and policies which are easily misinterpreted and cast doubt on the organization's commitment to truth can seriously damage it. VOA news must not only be accurate and objective, it must also be perceived as such. The Commission recommends that USICA take particular care to ensure that public perceptions of the Voice of America not erode the high standing it now has in international broadcasting.

The principles governing the operations of the Voice were enacted by the Congress and signed into law by President Gerald Ford in 1976. They are the product of much thoughtful deliberation in both the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government and in the Commission's view bear repeating here.

"The long range interests of the United States are served by communicating directly with the people of the world by radio. To be effective, the Voice of America ... must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will therefore govern Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts:

" (1) VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.

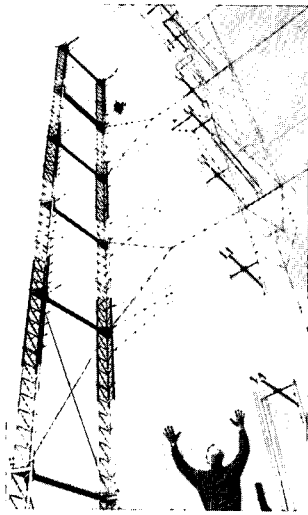
" (2) VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.

" (3) VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies."³

At this time, neither information brought to the Commission's attention nor its own inquiries suggest that VOA's policy of broadcasting the news in as accurate and objective a manner as possible has been compromised. This policy, which flows not only from legislative mandate but from VOA's role as a proud institution in a free society, is essential to its credibility and success. The Commission will continue to exercise its oversight responsibilities in this area.

At the same time, VOA is an agency of the U.S. Government, and this Administration, like every administration, has a right and an obligation to enunciate and explain its policies through clearly identified Voice of America commentaries. Such policy commentary should be persuasive, thoroughly professional, and accurate in its assertions.

³ P.L. 94-350.



Greenville, North Carolina:
Antenna field of Voice of
America relay station, one of
the largest shortwave facilities
in the world.

Direct VOA broadcasting to Western Europe was discontinued in 1955 — a decision based on an assessment that there was no longer a significant audience for shortwave broadcasts in that area. With VOA's first priority accorded to reaching other regions, little effort was made to explore the feasibility or usefulness of medium wave broadcasts to Western Europe. The Commission believes that a fundamental reassessment of this policy is needed.

The importance and attitudes of the European successor generation and its influence on the foreign policies of the West European democracies suggest the need for a bold new programming approach. The Commission welcomes the initiative taken by the Agency to develop a comprehensive and coherent regional program which would utilize all appropriate communications media.

During the past year USICA has conducted a research study to assess potential listening among elite audiences in Western Europe. The Commission welcomes this step and encourages the Agency to give high priority to the careful examination of the costs, potential audience levels, optimum program formats for mass and elite audiences, and the technical difficulties involved in medium wave broadcasting to Europe. Other media should also be included in this examination to determine the most effective means of communicating with successor generation audiences.

The Commission's first report noted that much of the Voice of America's technical equipment, some of it a generation old, needs to be replaced, improved, and in many cases augmented. The previously mentioned report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee put the matter well: "*Though U.S. arsenals of defense are stocked with state-of-the-art weaponry, the United States has neglected the technology of broadcasting and has relayed this Nation's message on transmitters which were 'state-of-the-art' in 1938.*"⁴

We are encouraged by the Administration's request for \$115 million in budget authority in FY 1983 for the acquisition and construction of radio facilities.⁵ The Commission is aware that this request is a significant increase of \$96 million over the Agency's FY 1982 estimate. We find the reasons for this increase compelling.

1. Proposed construction of a network of medium wave stations in the Caribbean Basin will permit the United States to state and explain its policies at all levels of Caribbean society and to counteract Cuban and Soviet efforts in the area.

⁴ Report No. 97-480 of April 2, 1982.

⁵ See Appendix I.

2. Completion of the construction of new high powered transmitting facilities in Sri Lanka and Botswana will greatly enhance VOA's coverage in Soviet Central Asia, Western China, and East and South Africa.
3. Replacement of an aging and underpowered World War II vintage RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) transmitter in Berlin will permit continued broadcasting to an estimated 40 percent of the East German population.
4. Antiquated and in some cases dangerous equipment in VOA's Washington studios and power distribution system needs to be modernized. Funds are also needed for construction of a domestic satellite interconnection system.
5. Basic engineering research by VOA is needed to assure a reliable and competitive worldwide signal in the future. Uncertainties in Liberia, Greece, and the Philippines suggest the vulnerability of VOA's terrestrial relay station network. Worldwide searches for alternative relay station sites and thorough investigation of the feasibility of direct broadcasting by satellite are in the national interest.

The Commission believes these expansion plans are justified and recommends that they be given appropriate support.

Chief Justice Warren Burger explains the American judicial system to VOA audiences.



D. EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

- Recommendations**
- *The Commission regards USICA's educational exchange and international visitors programs as among the most effective tools of public diplomacy and recommends that they be materially strengthened.*
 - *In view of the size of the East-West Center's budget and its potential for creating better understanding among the nations of East and West, the Commission recommends that the Center be comprehensively evaluated by an experienced team of professionals selected from the fields of higher education and cross-cultural communication.*

A Comparative Look: The Commission is deeply concerned by the reduction that has taken place over the last several years in the resources provided for public diplomacy. The decline has been most acute in U.S. Government educational exchange and international visitors programs, but the problem affects all aspects of the Agency's educational and cultural affairs activities.¹

American Public Diplomacy Resource Levels

It is clear that the United States has failed to accord the same significance to public diplomacy as have both its allies and adversaries. According to the House Foreign Affairs Committee Report previously cited, the Soviet Union spends approximately seven times as much as the United States for international educational, cultural, and information activities. The United States ranks below its major European allies and Japan in the percentage of its national budget allocated to public diplomacy efforts.²

Country	Expenditures for Public Diplomacy, FY 1981, in 1976 Constant Dollars (in millions)	Percentage of National Budget
France*	\$678.9	0.9%
West Germany	\$565.0	0.8%
Britain	\$196.3	0.2%
United States**	\$348.1	0.09%

* French figures are for FY 1980.

** Includes USICA, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

¹ Declining resources are evident in several of the Agency's important cultural activities, such as libraries, binational centers, English language teaching, and book translation programs. For graphic representations, see Appendix II, Charts 1-4.

² See Appendix II, Chart 5.

For the period 1976-81, West Germany increased its real expenditures for these activities by \$150 million, Japan \$60 million, and Britain \$11 million. By contrast, American real appropriations for this period decreased by \$59 million.

France and West Germany both believe that public diplomacy, exchange programs in particular, represents the "third pillar" of foreign relations with commerce and politics. The French, who have recently reorganized their cultural and information programs, often consider cultural relations to be even more important than politics and trade to certain key national interests.

Thai students learn English at the Binational Center in Bangkok.



The Decline of Exchange Programs

The Commission recognizes the Administration's budget constraints and consequently is all the more pleased by the recent substantial restoration of funds for international educational and cultural exchange programs. These programs are as indispensable to the effective conduct of public diplomacy as media efforts, and the Commission does not believe that a strong information arm should be achieved at the expense of weakened educational and cultural exchange programs. Indeed, they represent one of the most valuable tools in the long-term conduct of American foreign policy.

The relatively low priority accorded these programs is a matter of concern to the Commission. A look at the record is instructive.

In FY 1980, the U.S. spent some \$600 million to sponsor more than 58,000 grantees on scientific, military, educational, and cultural exchange programs.³ Military training grants alone account for 16.5% of the total U.S. Government grants and 61.4% of the total cost. By contrast, academic exchanges account for less than 6% of the total number and 5% of the total cost. U.S. Government educational and cultural exchange programs are presently operating in real dollar terms at 60% of their 1965 levels.

The Fulbright Program is the principal academic exchange program of the U.S. Government. Since 1948, there have been more than 130,000 Fulbright grantees, about 45,000 from the U.S. and 85,000 from abroad. The U.S. has appropriated more than \$600 million to the 33-year-old program, but in recent years the relative American contribution has decreased.⁴ For example, in 1980, the West German Government paid 77% of the \$4.3 million required to support German-American Fulbright exchanges. The number of American Fulbright grantees has plummeted from a high of 904 in 1966-67 to 364 in 1980-81.⁵ The number of French grantees has likewise fallen from 309 to 63 per year in the past decade.

The number of Fulbright alumni that can be found in positions of leadership throughout the world provide ample evidence of the value of the program. They include economist James Tobin, Ambassador Arthur A. Hartman, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, British Social Democratic Party leader Shirley Williams, Japanese Ambassador Yoshio Ohkamura, and Shumugan Jayakumar, Ambassador of Singapore to the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference.

USICA's International Visitors (IV) Program brings young foreign leaders on short-term visits to the United States to learn about American government, institutions, and society. The number of annual IV grantees has dropped from a high of 2,171 in 1978 to 1,579 in 1981.⁶ Allocations for the IV Program have stagnated at slightly more than \$9 million in 1974 constant dollars, while costs have risen dramatically.

Many ambassadors and other observers have expressed to members of this Commission their belief that the IV Program provides American taxpayers with the best return on their dollar in the foreign policy field. Former IV

³ For a breakdown of the principal U.S. Government exchange programs, see Appendix II, Chart 6.

⁴ The American contribution in 1972 constant dollars dropped from \$29.4 million in 1959 to \$19.7 million in 1980 while foreign contributions increased. In FY 1981, the \$77.3 million Fulbright Program received 65% of its funds from the U.S. Government, 20% from foreign sources, and 15% from the American private sector. For further information on the U.S. Fulbright contribution, see Appendix II, Chart 7.

⁵ See Appendix II, Chart 8.

⁶ See Appendix II, Chart 9.

grantees that have risen to national leadership include the late Anwar Sadat, Helmut Schmidt, Julius Nyerere, Indira Gandhi, and Margaret Thatcher. Within the French Cabinet and National Assembly, there are 54 members who have visited the United States on IV grants. The same level of success has been achieved in several less developed countries as well. For example, in Zimbabwe, former IV grantees include President Canaan Banana, 5 cabinet members, 3 members of parliament, 2 ambassadors, and more than 50 government officials.

The Commission welcomes President Reagan's recently announced plans, in connection with the Versailles Summit, to initiate a cooperative program between the United States and its leading allies aimed at expanding international exchanges of young people. The objectives of this effort, which will rely heavily on private sector support, are laudable. If well-designed and properly funded, this initiative could make a significant contribution to the development of mutual understanding among the pre-university successor generation youth of the "Versailles Seven" and eventually with other nations as well. The Commission will follow the work of the President's Committee on International Youth Exchange with great interest.

A Texas farmer greets International Visitors selected by USICA from Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Hospitality in private homes and similar personal contacts are arranged by a nation-wide network of local volunteer organizations affiliated with the National Council for International Visitors.



A Comparison: U.S. and Soviet Academic Exchange Programs

An overall picture of educational exchanges is interesting but somewhat misleading. The Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc nations hosted 63,170 foreign students in 1980, of whom more than half (35,195) were in the USSR. Virtually all of the foreign students in the Soviet Union are supported by government grants. In comparison, of the 312,000 foreign students attending American universities in 1980-81, the U.S. Government supported less than 2 percent, and government support funds continue to decline rapidly.⁷ In short, in 1980-81, the Soviet Union spent \$175 million to host 35,195 foreign students, while the U.S. officially sponsored 3,455 foreign graduate students at a cost of less than \$30 million.⁸

Regional comparisons of American and Soviet Bloc educational exchange activities are enlightening.⁹ In 1980-81, Soviet Bloc grants to Sub-Saharan Africans amounted to 26,995, while U.S. Government grants totaled 1,398.¹⁰ Soviet Bloc grants were available to 40 of the 44 Sub-Saharan nations; USICA's were limited to 18 of the 44. USICA sponsored 12 Kenyan students and AID 87; the Soviet Bloc that same year funded 805 Kenyans. Francophone Rwanda and Congo have no U.S. Government-sponsored students, while the Soviet Bloc supports 1,650. The disparities remain wide in every region of the world except East Asia. In El Salvador, there are 105 Soviet Bloc grants to only 18 offered by the U.S. In India, Soviet Bloc grants outnumber U.S. Government grants 1,140 to 7. The differences appear to be greatest in those regions that are among the most sensitive and important to U.S. national security interests, such as the Middle East, Southern Europe, and the Caribbean Basin.¹¹

⁷ Of the 312,000 foreign students in the U.S., 64% are financially independent and pay with personal funds, 18% are sponsored by foreign governments, 10% by American universities, 6% by international organizations and private American sources, and less than 2% are sponsored by the U.S. Government.

⁸ USICA sponsored 1,680 foreign students at less than \$9 million, while AID sponsored 1,775 at a cost of some \$21 million; AID also sponsored 662 other graduate students for technical training.

⁹ As seen in Appendix II, Chart 10, approximately 43% of the students trained in the Soviet Union are from Sub-Saharan Africa, 22% from South Asia, 19% from the Middle East, and 10% from Latin America. On the other hand, the U.S. Government sponsors 34% of its students from Sub-Saharan Africa, 21% from Latin America, 15% from Western Europe, 12% from East Asia, and 9% from the Middle East.

¹⁰ In 1980-81, there was a total of 30,870 Sub-Saharan African students in the United States. If the students from the petro-dollar nation of Nigeria are subtracted from this figure, the number falls to 13,520.

¹¹ In the Middle East, the Soviet Bloc offers forty times more government academic grants than does the U.S. In Southern Europe, the heart of NATO's "Southern Flank," Soviet Bloc grants outnumber U.S. Government grants thirteen times. In the Caribbean Basin in 1980-81, the Soviet Bloc nations selected almost 5,000 students compared to the U.S. Government's 748 (USICA's 14 and AID's 734).

*Prime Minister Indira Ganhvi
visits the World Book Fair held in
New Delhi, February 1982.*



***Private Sector
Involvement***

With more than 300,000 foreign students in the United States, it may be fairly questioned whether U.S. Government academic grants are necessary. The foremost importance of the U.S. Government programs is their symbolic value — the statement they make domestically and internationally about the nature of American society. Unlike private sector grants, government-sponsored scholarships directly serve American national interests. Promising grantees are selected who otherwise might not be able to come to the United States. Whereas more than half of the foreign students attending American universities come from the industrialized West and certain petro-dollar countries, government grants place more emphasis on students from the less developed countries. These programs, which are principally funded by USICA and AID,¹² serve an integral role in America's public diplomacy efforts.

The Commission recognizes that support from the private sector is indispensable to the success of the IV Program and government exchanges.

The National Council for International Visitors (NCIV) includes some 725,000 individuals across the United States who are active in more than 90 non-profit, privately-supported organizations which seek to improve the quality of the experience of short-term visitors to the United States. NCIV community organizations, through their citizen volunteers, provide the visitor with professional, community, and family experiences which offer insights into all aspects of life in the United States. The Commission applauds this private sector participation which so well exemplifies the best tradition of American hospitality and volunteerism.

¹² USICA's grants are generally in the liberal arts, such as political science and economics, while AID's grants are usually in the more technical developmental fields, such as engineering and agriculture.

Successful implementation of USICA's educational exchange programs requires close cooperation between the participating governments and their respective academic communities. Indeed, the Fulbright Program and other exchange activities would not be possible without the symbiotic relationship between American universities, private program agencies, and the United States Government that has characterized the exchange programs for more than a generation.

The Commission believes this to be a healthy relationship which benefits both the national interest and higher education. However, in the Commission's view it is important that foreign grantees and visitors know that their participation in these programs is funded by the American people through tax dollars rather than by the private organizations that may schedule or otherwise assist them.

Program Integrity

The Commission has a statutory obligation to include in its reports to the Congress "*assessments of the degree to which the scholarly integrity and nonpolitical character of the educational and cultural exchange programs vested in the Director*" of USICA have been maintained. The Commission is further required to assess the attitudes of foreign scholars and governments regarding these activities.¹³

In carrying out this responsibility, the Commission in 1979 wrote to the Chairmen of some 42 binational Fulbright commissions abroad as well as to mission Cultural Affairs Officers in the approximately 75 countries where there is no binational commission. In 1980, the Commission sent questionnaires to approximately 6,000 members of the Fulbright Alumni Association. The Commission has met each year with members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, with career officers in USICA, and with representatives of U.S. organizations outside the Federal Government engaged in the administration of USICA's exchange programs.

The results of these inquiries indicate that to date the scholarly integrity and nonpolitical character of the peer review process and other procedures by which academic exchange program grants are awarded is being maintained.¹⁴

The Commission believes, however, that actions which are perceived — rightly or wrongly — to bring the integrity of these programs into question can also be harmful. Particular care should be taken to ensure that appointees to the Board of Foreign Scholarships as well as to policy and exchange program management positions in USICA have the highest professional qualifications.

¹³ Section 8, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977.

¹⁴ This assessment extends only to USICA's academic exchange programs. It does not include the American Participant Program through which the Agency sends approximately 500 Americans abroad each year to explain U.S. policies and society to overseas audiences. Nor does it include the administration of the International Visitors Program. The Commission will exercise its oversight responsibility in this area.

Students in the American Library in Manila.



East-West Center

The Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West was established in 1960 by the Congress to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research. The Center is a separate account in USICA's budget. In FY 1983 the Agency is requesting \$18.2 million for the Center's federal appropriation, which comprises approximately 80 percent of its budget.

The Commission believes that the federal appropriation continues to be disproportionately large in comparison with the 20 percent of its budget received from the private sector and other governments. In FY 1981 approximately \$4 million was received from a variety of individual, corporate, and U.S. Government grants. Asian governments contributed approximately \$0.5 million.

In view of the size of the Center's budget and its potential for creating better understanding among the nations of East and West, the Commission recommends that the Center be comprehensively evaluated by an experienced team of professionals selected from the fields of higher education and cross-cultural communication. We suggest that USICA coordinate this evaluation, using the paradigm of university accreditation. A small evaluation team should be given sufficient funds, and its members should be selected jointly by the Chairman of this Commission and the Director of USICA. It should be given a year to complete its findings and report to USICA, the Congress, and this Commission.

Conclusion

It is clear that the United States has allowed its official educational and cultural exchange programs to erode. As this Commission has stated previously, the resources needed for American public diplomacy greatly exceed those available. While the goal should not necessarily be to catch up to the Soviets, the Commission feels that the United States has been underinvesting in an extremely important field that yields both short-term and long-term benefits. In order to avoid being misunderstood as a nation and as a people, the United States should strengthen its official educational and cultural exchange efforts.

E. TELEVISION

- Recommendations**
- *The Commission welcomes increased cooperation between USICA and the private sector, but it opposes private funding of major programs, particularly those articulating U.S. foreign policy.*
 - *The Commission recommends that USICA undertake a major study, drawing on the expertise of government and non-government specialists, to ensure that the Agency realize the full potential of television programming and remains completely abreast of technological advances.*

Television, of all the media available to USICA, is perhaps the most complex and powerful means of communicating with foreign audiences when it is used wisely and well. In the Commission's view, the Agency has not yet realized the exciting potential of this medium through consistent professional programming that can compete for time in the increasingly sophisticated world of international television broadcasting.

The Commission is encouraged, however, by recent Agency efforts to use television effectively for programming purposes.

The unprecedented global satellite telecast, "Let Poland Be Poland," was impressive as a technical achievement. USICA estimates that more than 184 million people saw 30 minutes or more of the program in 46 countries. In addition, 165 million heard an audio version on the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. The participation of 13 foreign heads of government was an exceptional expression of allied cooperation.

An extraordinarily complex program to produce, the 90-minute telecast was completed within three weeks at minimum cost to the Agency. In response to USICA's solicitations, the business community, foundations and private individuals contributed nearly \$500,000 — about 90 percent of the cost of production and satellite transmission.

The Commission encourages increased cooperation between the private sector and USICA where such efforts contribute to the achievement of mutual objectives in public diplomacy. We are concerned, however, that the funding methods used for "Let Poland Be Poland" not become a precedent. In the Commission's view, Agency programs and products, particularly those used to articulate major statements of U.S. foreign policy, ought to be financed with appropriated funds. The possibility that such products could be improperly influenced motivates our concern. Moreover, if undertaken on a routine basis, such solicitation of funds could detract from the time that top USICA officials would normally devote to issues of higher priority.

"Let Poland Be Poland" predictably received mixed reviews: harsh criticism from the Soviet Union and its allies, negative to relatively favorable comment from other foreign and domestic press. The Commission is pleased that much of the foreign reaction, rather than rejecting future such telecasts out of hand, centers on how they can be improved through cooperative planning and production. Improvements are needed, and USICA has

learned a great deal from this first experience in global television broadcasting. We are aware of the short deadline USICA was working under to complete the show, but the Agency should not expect foreign television officials, especially in developed countries, to accept programs without first being able to screen them. Furthermore, it is evident that cooperative productions offer the most promising way of getting on overseas television. However, we commend the Agency for its initiative in this creative use of television as a vehicle for public diplomacy.

USICA has made other significant uses of satellite television during the past year. President Reagan's State of the Union message, the "zero option" nuclear arms speech, and the President's Caribbean Basin Initiative address are among a number of major foreign policy statements given worldwide television coverage by USICA in recent months.

USICA has also experimented effectively with live satellite television transmission of foreign press interviews with senior government officials. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger initiated the first such "video dialogue" with Germany and Japan late in 1981 to estimated audiences of eight million viewers in each country. Similar telecasts with other Cabinet level officials have since been undertaken in this imaginative use of the medium.

The Commission welcomes these promising developments. At the same time, the Commission believes that USICA must take additional steps to achieve the full potential of television technology. Greater use of cooperative productions with domestic and foreign producers, systematic evaluation of field use of acquired and produced video programs, fuller use of USICA's in-house television studios, and the recruitment of a senior level professional to direct its Television and Film Service are steps that are urgently needed.

Finally, the Commission recommends that USICA undertake a major study of the use of television in cross-cultural communication drawing on the expertise of the best available specialists in and out of government. The study should address both programming and technical issues to ensure that the Agency remains current with the state-of-the-art in this significant medium.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig prepares for a live international telecast with foreign journalists in USICA's television studios.



F. PROJECT TRUTH

- Recommendations**
- *The Commission is pleased to note the extensive interagency cooperation and coordination supporting this project and recommends that such coordination become the rule rather than the exception for U.S. public diplomacy efforts.*
 - *The Commission is concerned about the connotations of the name "Project Truth" and recommends that the Agency not utilize terminology that gives rise to suspicions that USICA is engaging in "propaganda."*

An important development in USICA's information policy and programming was initiated last year, with the authorization of President Reagan, under the name Project Truth. The President's directive of September 9, 1981 charges USICA with coordinating a vigorous campaign outside the U.S. to project an accurate image of the United States and its foreign policy.

Conceived at a time when the U.S. was the target of well-organized demonstrations across Western Europe protesting against nuclear weapons for NATO forces, Project Truth is a major U.S. Government information effort. It is designed to underscore the Soviet threat to the stability and security of the world and to refute misleading Soviet propaganda and misinformation. This program also seeks to convey an understanding of American goals, ideals, and achievements, and to reaffirm the common political and cultural values that bind the U.S. and its friends and allies.

The President's directive instructs other government agencies to cooperate with USICA and to declassify and make available material pertinent to the campaign. A coordinating committee chaired by USICA includes high-level representatives from the Departments of State and Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Several interagency working groups have been set up to focus on specific topics for what is a many-faceted campaign.

*Navy Air Commander briefs
Asian newsmen during a
USICA-arranged visit to the 7th
Fleet carrier Coral Sea.*





Beijing University Vice President Wang Xuezheng shows actor Kirk Douglas around the university campus. During his USICA-sponsored visit to China, Mr. Douglas spoke to Chinese students at Beijing University and other schools.

The Commission has reviewed this new project and has concluded that it is a well-coordinated inter-governmental information program that accurately reflects and supports the Administration's foreign policy.

Project Truth appears to contain four new elements. All USICA posts abroad now receive or have available three new resources:

1. "Soviet Propaganda Alert," a monthly analysis of major trends and themes of Soviet propaganda.¹
2. A fast response service providing the posts with the facts to refute specific Soviet misstatements or instances of Soviet disinformation.
3. A news and feature service, "Dateline America," which provides articles on various positive aspects of life in the U.S.
4. Equally new and perhaps even more significant is the extensive inter-agency cooperation and coordination that this project enjoys. The Commission welcomes this development and urges that it become the rule rather than the exception for U.S. public diplomacy efforts.

The Commission is concerned, however, about the connotations of the name "Project Truth." The name itself and the announced aim of refuting Soviet disinformation caught the attention of the press and created apprehension and misunderstanding. Fears were expressed by some media observers that Project Truth marked a return to the stridency and propaganda tactics of the Cold War.² This, along with press reports of changes at the Voice of America, appearing more or less simultaneously, did nothing to dissuade skeptics at home and abroad that USICA was being transformed into a propaganda agency. This impression, which the Commission believes to be false, is detrimental to the Agency's reputation for seriousness and truthfulness. It makes vastly more difficult the work of USICA officers abroad, for they are bound to encounter greater skepticism and resistance to their efforts to explain American motives and policies.

The lesson to be drawn from this is that USICA must not only be dedicated to the truth, but it must also exercise great care to do nothing that might conceivably allow any other impression.

¹ The first "Soviet Propaganda Alert" was issued October 15, 1981. For a brief description of Soviet propaganda themes and examples of disinformation, see Appendix III.

² See "U.S. Starts 'Project Truth' in a Move to Counter Soviet," *NEW YORK TIMES*, November 4, 1981; Murrey Marder, "U.S. Sharpening Information Policy Overseas," *WASHINGTON POST*, November 10, 1981; "A Hot New Cold War in ICA," *NEWSWEEK*, November 16, 1981; "A Propaganda War," *U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT*, January 11, 1982.

Some examples of the useful things that have been and are being done under this project:

- USICA telecast by satellite to Europe Defense Secretary Weinberger's September 1981 press conference announcing the declassification of materials documenting the Soviet arms buildup. Ninety European journalists in Brussels watched the conference over a special hookup and received copies of the booklet "Soviet Military Power" based on the documents. Some 6,000 copies of the booklet were distributed as well as foreign language summaries.
- The Agency gave wide distribution to a State Department report on Soviet disinformation activities entitled "Active Measures." An inter-agency briefing team visited European and Asian capitals to provide additional facts to officials.
- A new pamphlet on Afghanistan, with versions in English, Arabic, French and Spanish, vividly portrays life in that country since the Soviet invasion of December 1979 through photographs and firsthand accounts.
- Project Truth employs all the Agency's media, particularly the VOA and the Wireless File. VOA broadcasts carry statements of U.S. officials and commentaries to an audience of millions worldwide. Similar coverage in print of official speeches, statements and analyses on project-related items goes daily on the Wireless File to 159 USICA posts for distribution to opinion leaders.



G. RESEARCH

- Recommendation** • *The Commission recommends the staff and budget of the Office of Research be increased to provide the research capability required for national security and foreign policy needs. It should also have the resources to carry out regular and methodical evaluation of Agency programs and products.*

USICA has an obligation "to ensure that our government adequately understands foreign opinion and culture for policy-making purposes."¹ To do this, the Agency's Office of Research must regularly assess foreign public opinion on specific important issues and Administration policies, and it must evaluate possible options. It is equally important that perceptions and attitudes of influential groups in other countries toward the U.S. be identified and understood.

Clearly, USICA's policy research capability can and should be a vital contributor to the nation's security. The insights gained from such research should play an integral role in both Executive and Congressional deliberations on foreign policies.

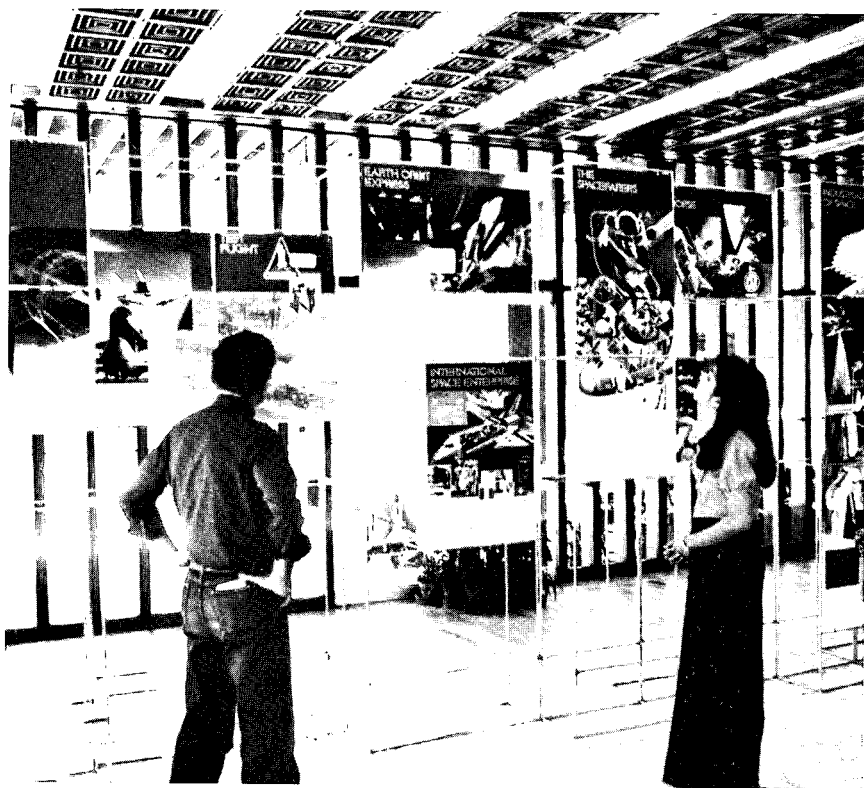
To the extent that its limited resources permit, the Office of Research does conduct valuable surveys and analyses of foreign public opinion to carry out this function.²

In its last report, the Commission recommended that the Office of Research be made responsible for evaluating the effectiveness of Agency programs and products in addition to its policy-oriented opinion studies. The Commission notes that the Office of Research conducts surveys of VOA listeners in various foreign countries to determine both audience size and preferences. It has undertaken a study to help determine whether or not medium wave broadcasts in English to Western Europe would be justified. It also has made studies of communication/media habits in a few key countries that should be of considerable value in developing future program plans. We understand that it is also now undertaking evaluations of a number of Agency programs and products. This is all highly useful and commendable, but more should be done. Regrettably, the shortage of staff and funds limits the Agency's research activities.

¹ Presidential Memorandum of March 13, 1978.

² For a list of recent research reports, see Appendix IV.

The Commission previously recommended a substantial increase in the research budget and believes that recommendation is still valid. It notes with regret that for FY 1983 funds for the Office of Research have instead been cut by approximately 16 percent from the FY 1981 level. If USICA is to have the research capability that our national security needs require and that the Agency needs to make its own programming more efficient, present staff and funding levels are clearly inadequate and should be increased.³



³ The Office of Research has a total staff of 88, including library personnel and those in media reaction. Forty-nine are engaged in research, a decrease of 11 positions since the end of FY 1980. Funds for research studies in FY 1982 are estimated at \$581,716, down from \$697,509 in FY 1981.

H. THE U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

- Recommendation**
- *The Commission recommends that the President and the Congress ensure that appointments to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy are made so as to protect the independence, continuity, genuine bipartisan character, and broad professional composition of the Commission.*

This Commission and its predecessors have not normally discussed their own role as public trustees in reports to the President and to the Congress. In view of this Administration's interest in the greater involvement of the private sector in matters of public policy, we believe discussion of the role and purpose of the Commission is warranted.

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy was established in 1978 as the successor to two advisory bodies to USICA's predecessor organizations — the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information for the U.S. Information Agency and the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for the former Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State.¹ This Commission carries out the functions of its predecessors as well as additional responsibilities set forth in the reorganization plan that created the International Communication Agency.²

In fulfilling its statutory responsibilities the Commission:

- Recommends policies and programs to carry out the functions of USICA;
- Appraises the effectiveness of the Agency's policies and programs;
- Reports to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, the Director of USICA, and the public on the programs and activities carried out by USICA; and
- Assesses the degree to which the scholarly integrity and non-political character of USICA's educational and cultural exchange activities have been maintained, and assesses the attitudes of foreign scholars and governments regarding such activities.

¹ For a list of the past members of these advisory bodies, see Appendix V.

² Section 8, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1977.

The Commission is convinced that these independent advisory bodies historically have contributed to the improvement of America's public diplomacy. Through their reports, and in other ways, they have sought to meet and reconcile the interests of Congress and the Executive Branch. They have helped to legitimize and build a public constituency for the functions of public diplomacy as well as to provide a check on them. Their members, non-governmental experts in a cross section of professions, have brought insight and expertise to bear on the needs of the agencies that carry out public diplomacy. And they have protected the public interest through genuine oversight and evaluation of the programs of public diplomacy.

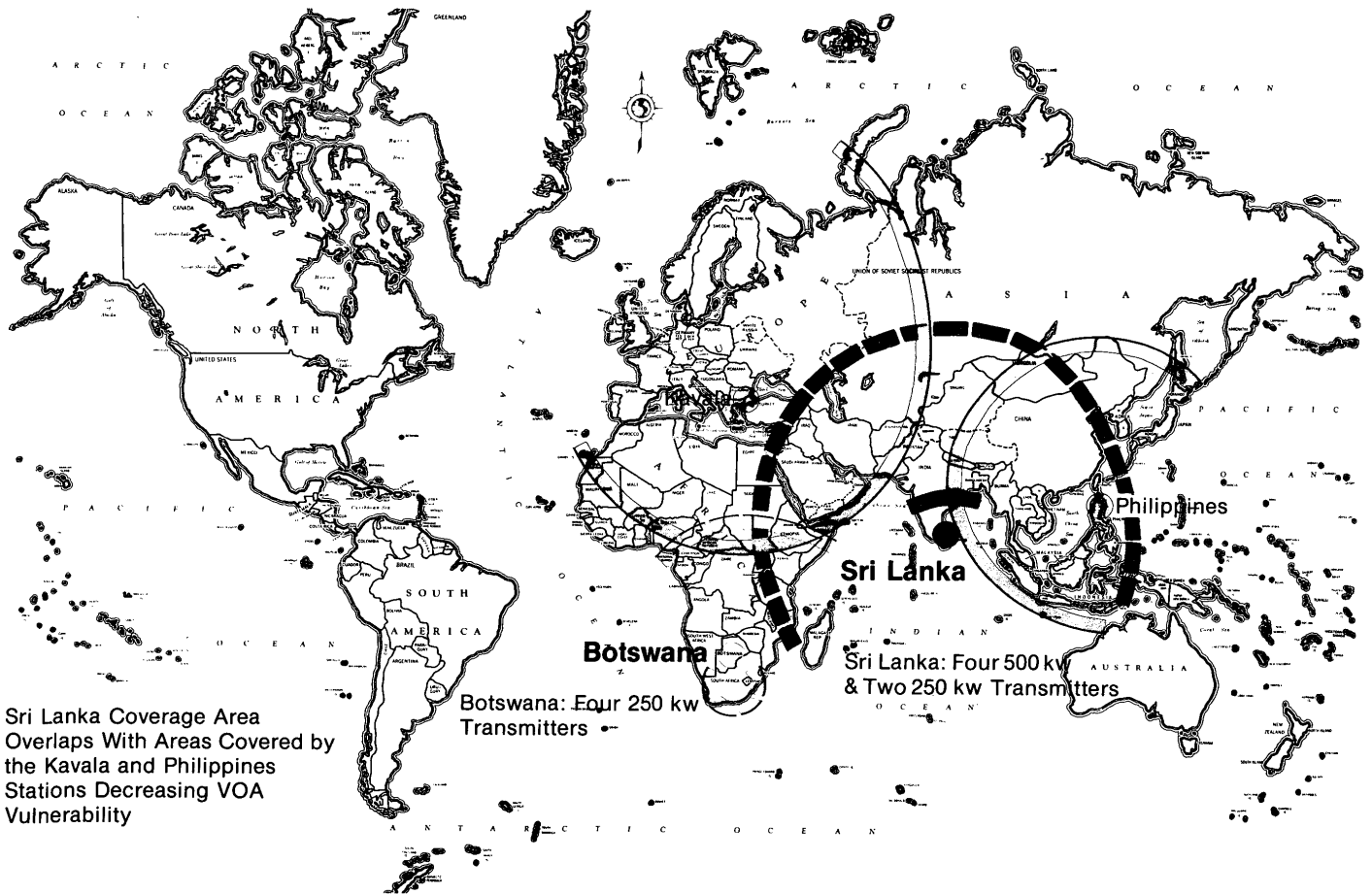
For more than a generation Congress has wisely insisted that the Commission be structured to permit informed and independent judgment. First, by law, the Commission's terms must be staggered so as to preserve continuity and experience. Second, the Commission must be genuinely bipartisan. Third, the Commission must be an independent body with its own statutory responsibilities. Its members are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate — a rarity among advisory commissions. Fourth, its members must represent the public interest and be selected from a broad cross section of educational, communications, cultural, scientific, technical, public service, labor, business, and professional backgrounds.

This Commission strongly believes that advisory bodies can only have as much integrity as their members. Our role is a delicate balancing act between USICA, the White House, and the Congress. In order to retain credibility and maintain the confidence of all three, the Commission urges the Congress and the President to ensure that future appointments are made so as to protect the independence, continuity, genuinely bipartisan character, and broad cross section of professional backgrounds that are required by law.

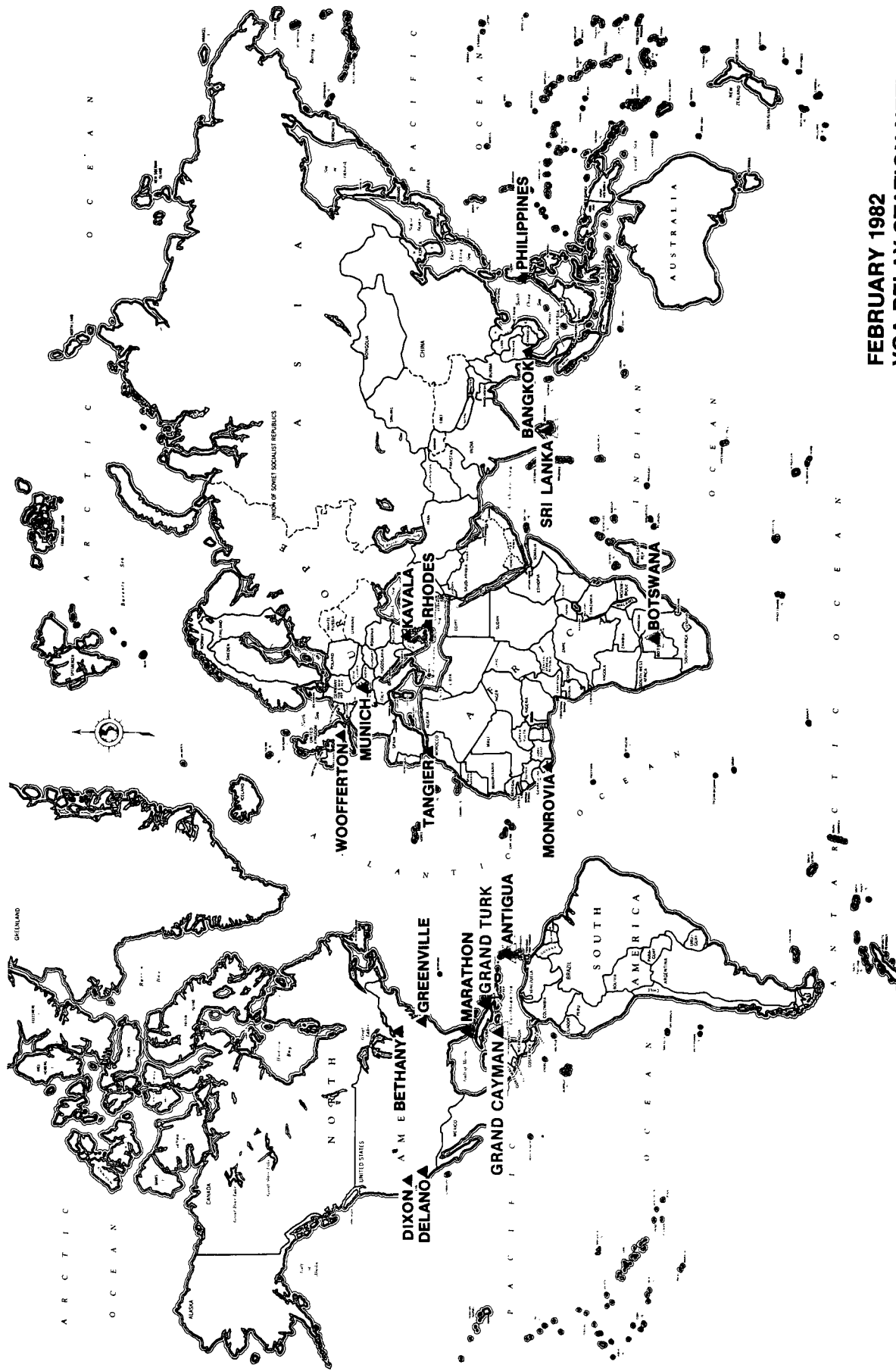
IV. APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Proposed VOA Relay Stations

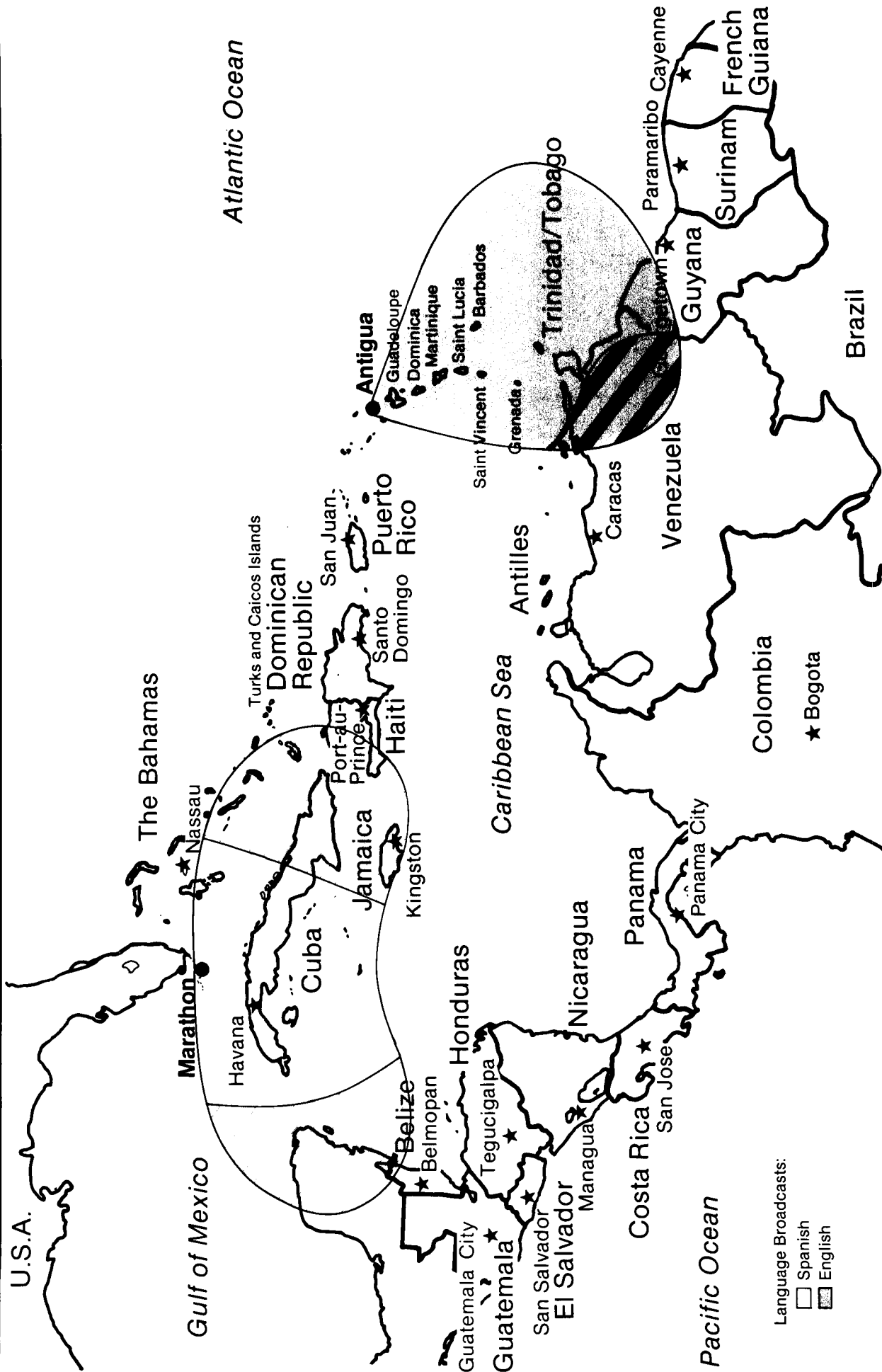


Voice of America: FY 82/83 Construction Projects

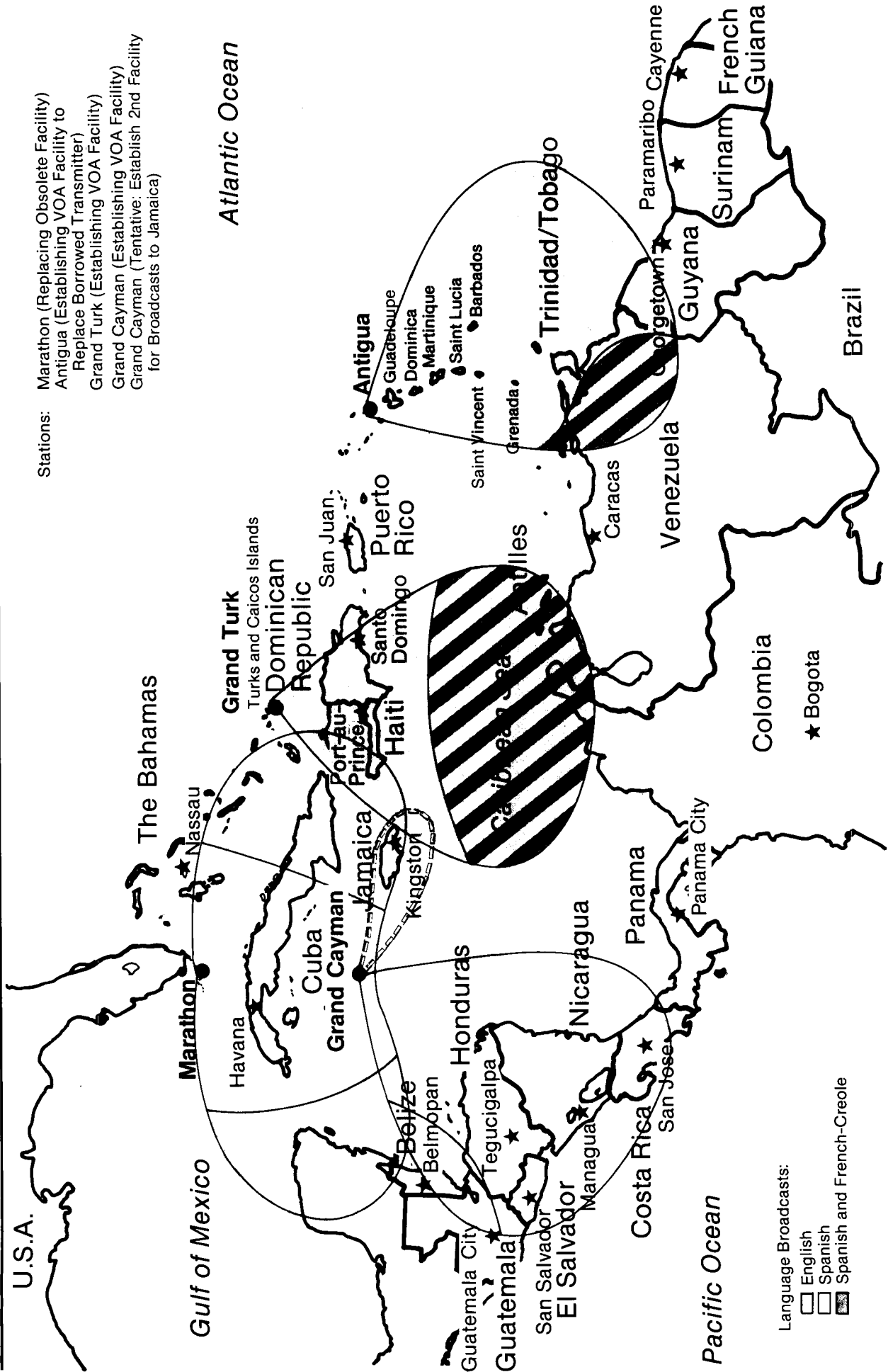


FEBRUARY 1982
VOA RELAY STATION NETWORK

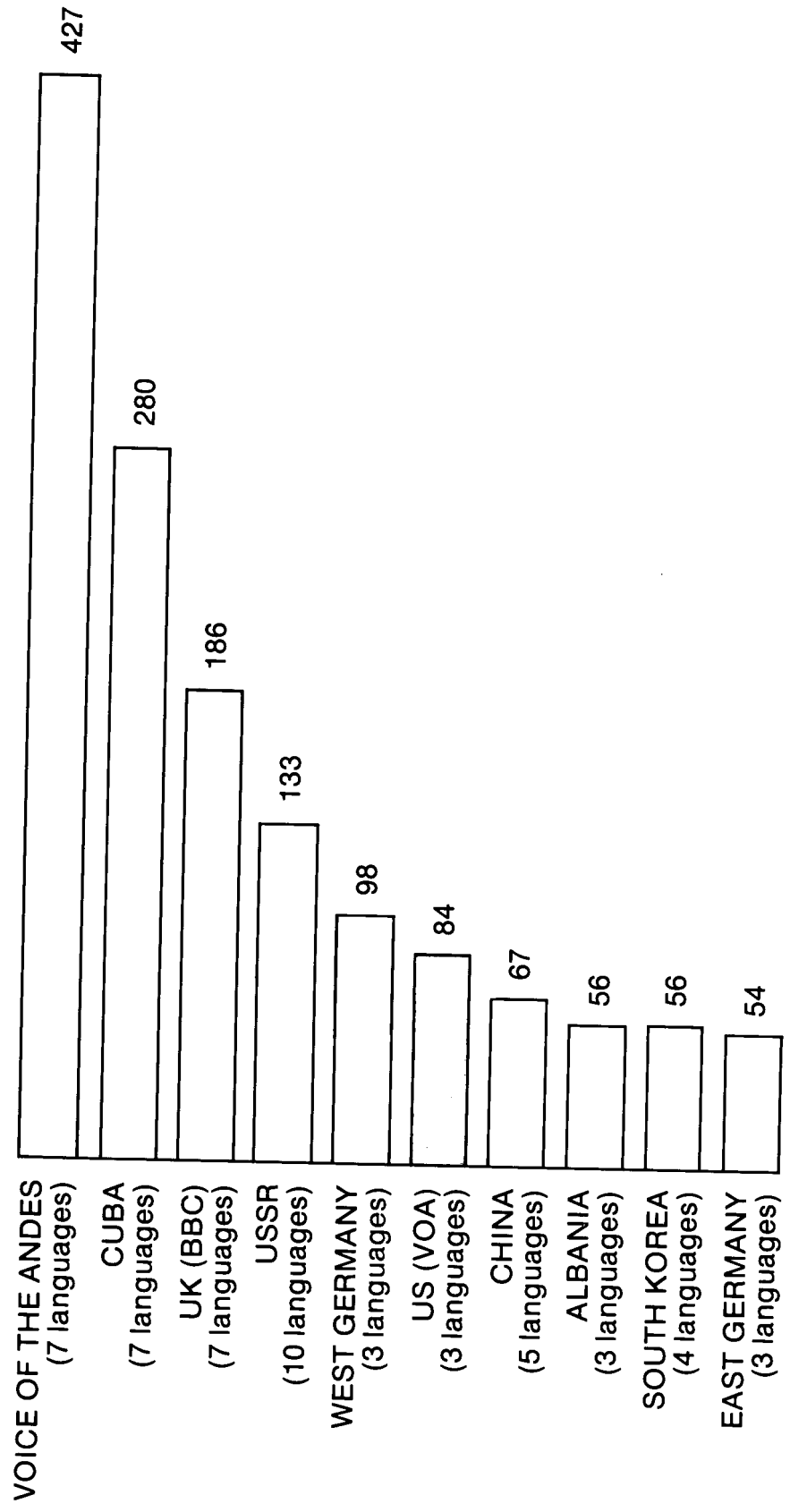
Voice of America Existing Medium Wave Transmission Coverage Caribbean Basin



Voice of America Expanded Medium Wave Transmission Coverage Caribbean Basin



Caribbean and Latin America Languages and Broadcast Hours Per Week - 1981



FEBRUARY 1982

**DISTRIBUTION OF 500 KILOWATT TRANSMITTERS
AMONG MAJOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTERS**

500 KW OWNERS	500 KW TRANSMITTERS IN USE	500 KW TRANSMITTERS UNDER CONSTRUCTION
1. Albania	1	-
2. Bulgaria	2	-
3. France	8	3
4. West Germany (FRG)	9	-
5. East Germany (GDR)	2	1
6. Luxembourg	1	-
7. USSR	29	8
8. Switzerland	1	-
9. Yugoslavia	-	4
10. Austria	-	3
11. Denmark	-	2
12. Holland	-	4
13. United Kingdom (BBC)	2	6
14. Sweden	3	-
15. Algeria	1	-
16. Gabon	4	-
17. Libya	4	-
18. Nigeria	2	-
19. South Africa	2	-
20. China	5	-
21. Ecuador	1	-
22. Iraq	2	-
23. Kuwait	4	-
24. Vatican	2	? (Eight 250's & 500's under const.)
25. Radio Liberty (Spain)	2	-
26. USA (12 250 KW transmitters at Greenville have been combined to operate at six 500's)	6	-
TOTALS	93	31

APPENDIX II

CHART 1 USICA LIBRARIES

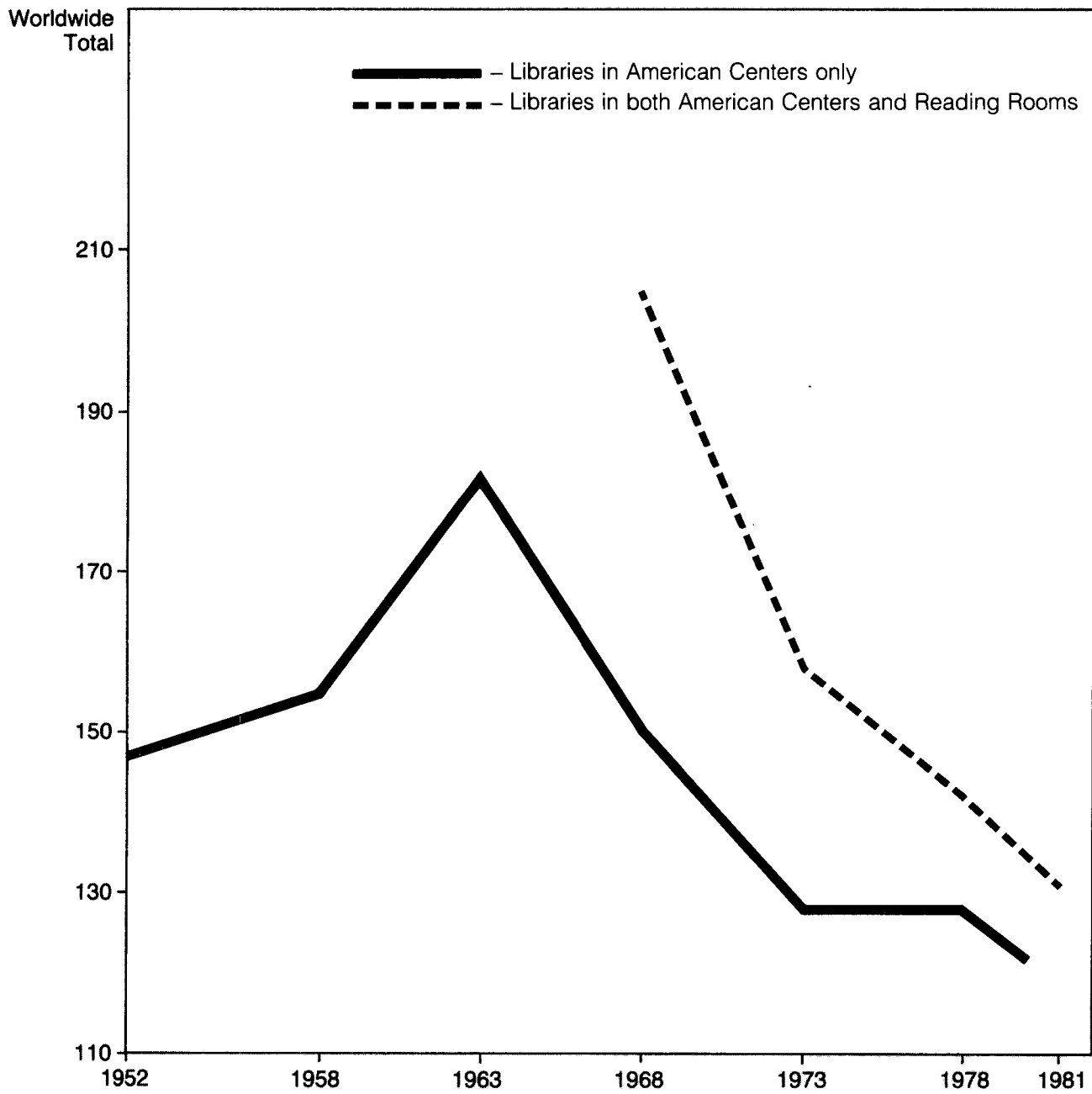
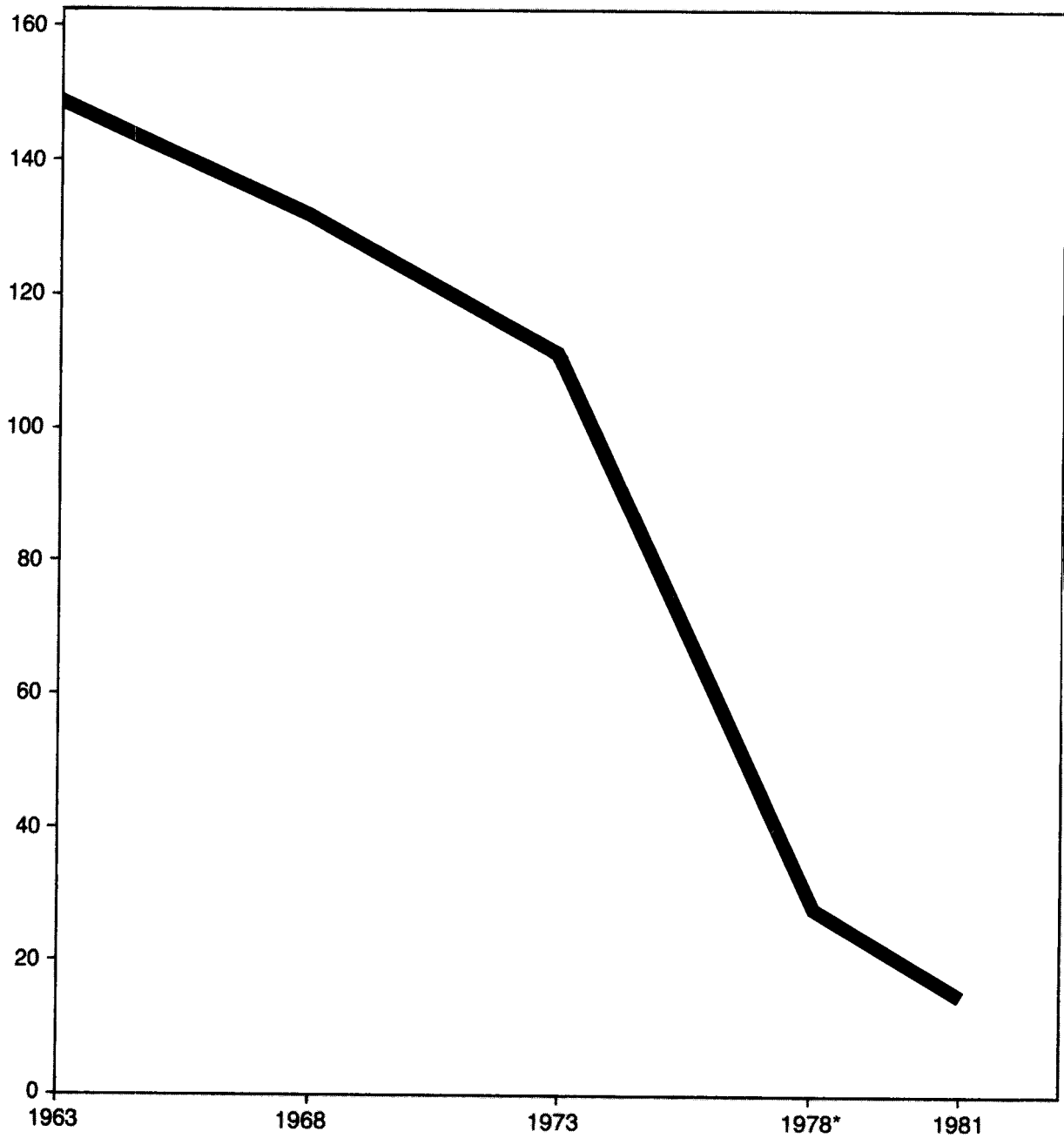


CHART 2 USICA BINATIONAL CENTERS



* From 1978, USICA included only those binational centers which had an Agency officer.

CHART 3 USICA ENGLISH TEACHING

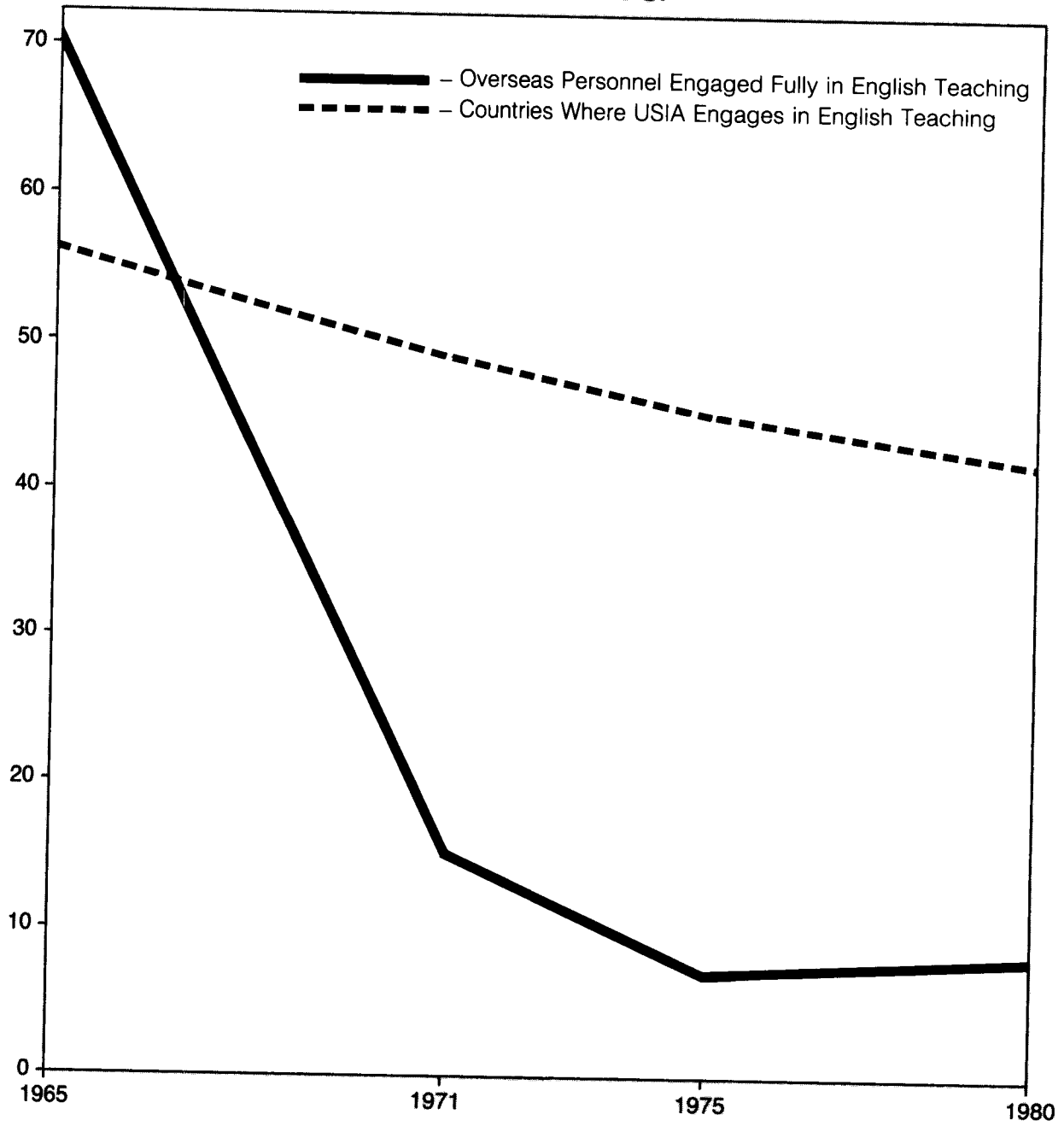


CHART 4 USICA BOOK TRANSLATION PROGRAM VOLUMES PUBLISHED, 1953-1981

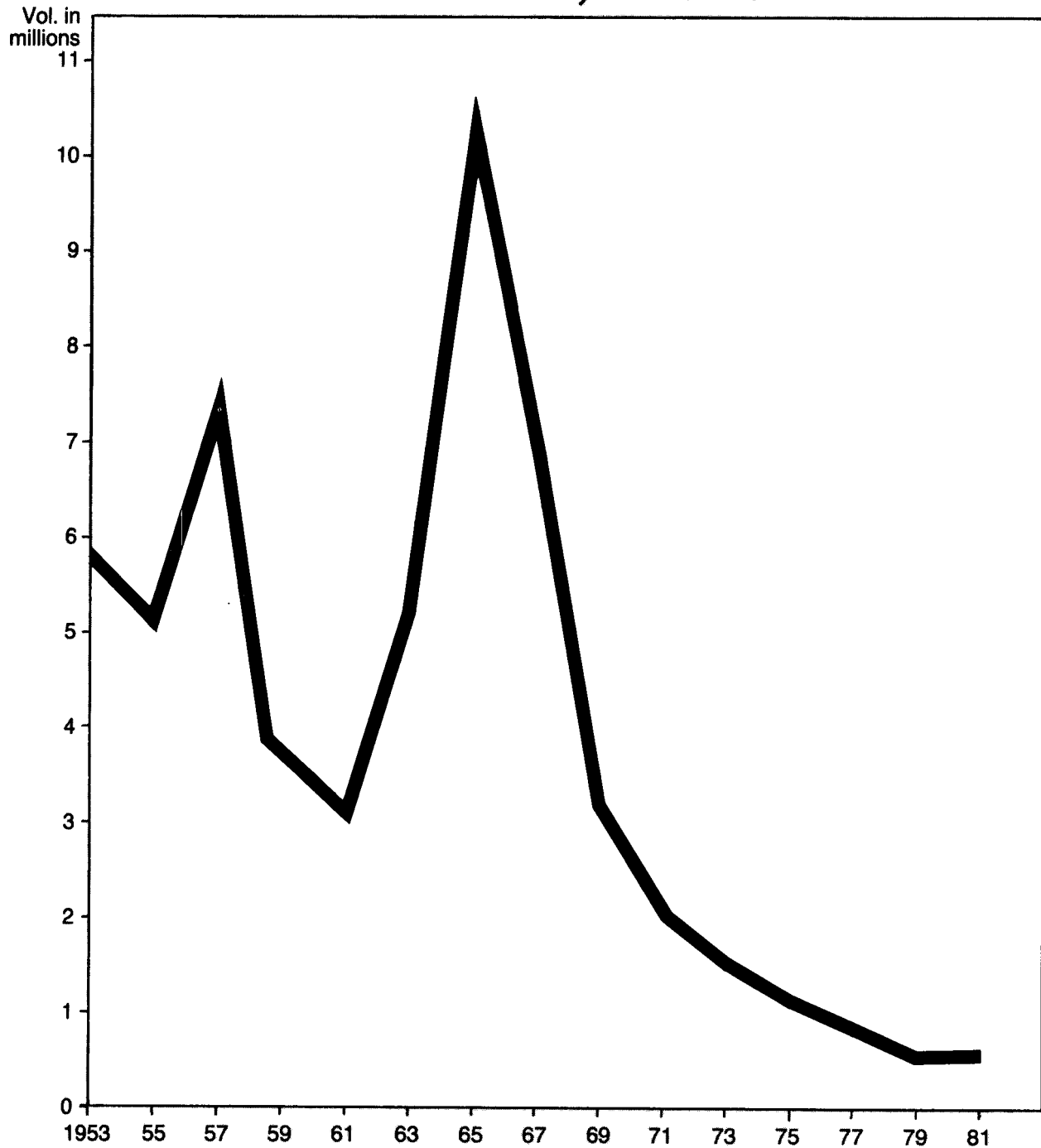
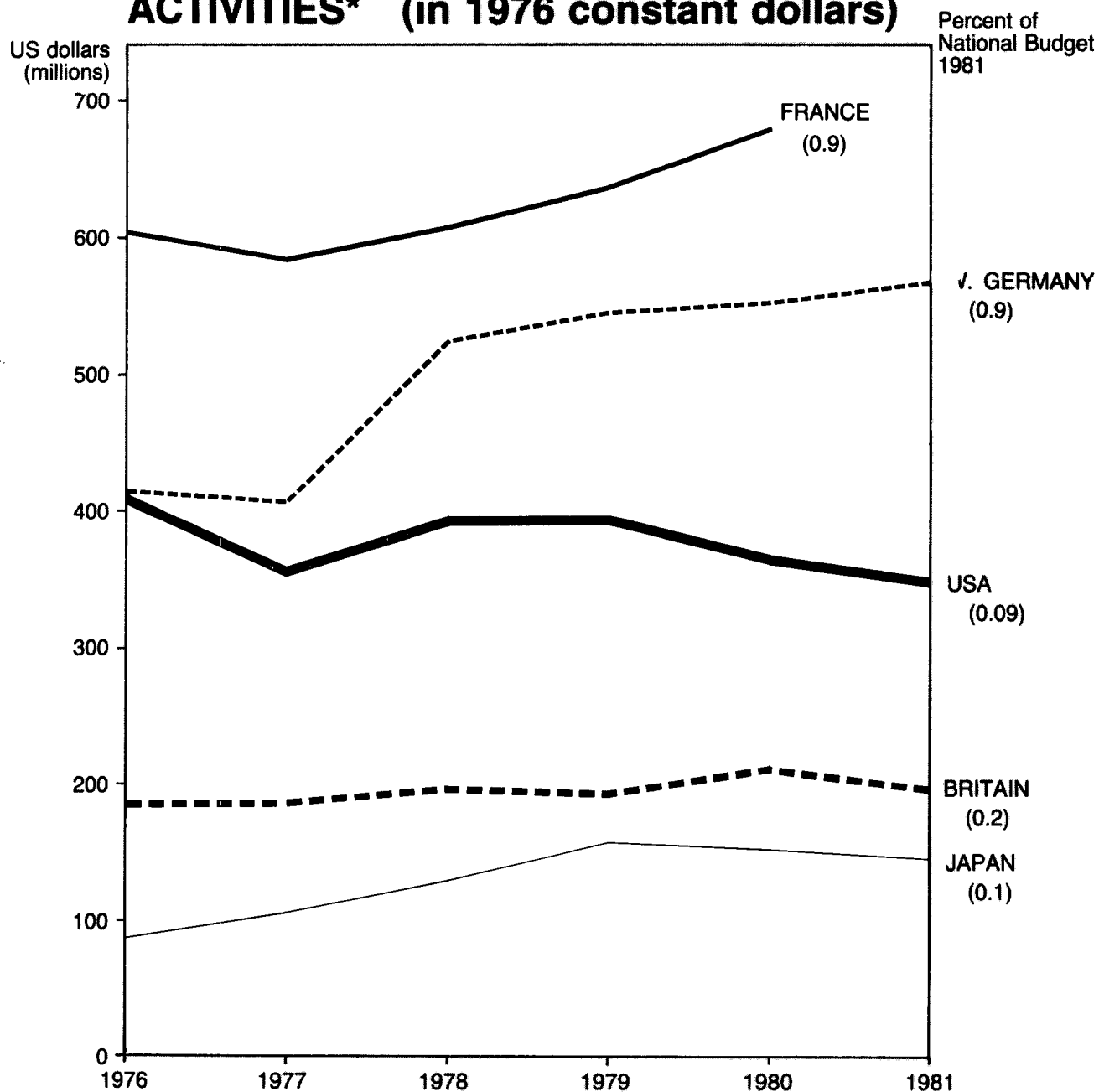


CHART 5 EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND INFORMATION ACTIVITIES* (in 1976 constant dollars)



* includes USICA, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

CHART 6 PRINCIPAL U.S. GOVERNMENT INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

	Fiscal Year 1976		Fiscal Year 1977		Fiscal Year 1978		Fiscal Year 1979		Fiscal Year 1980	
	Dollars (in millions)	Partici- pants	Dollars (in millions)	Partici- pants	Dollars (in millions)	Partici- pants	Dollars (in millions)	Partici- pants	Dollars (in millions)	Partici- pants
ACTION:										
Peace Corps	81.3	5,825	80.0	5,590	65.4	6,017	73.5	5,723	74.5	4,928
AID:										
Office of International Training (Participant Training Program)	28.0	6,835	41.8	6,822	29.0	7,379	50.0	6,944	50.0	6,647
DOD:										
International Military Education and Training Program (IMETP)	23.0	6,280	25.1	5,012	31.5	4,542	28.0	2,002	25.0	1,986
Foreign Military Sales Program (PMS)	404.6	18,033	435.0	13,476	540.3	6,793	387.9	8,843	343.2	7,612
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION:										
Education-Sponsored Fulbright- Hays Programs Abroad and Specific Currency	4.8	2,720	5.0	2,645	5.2	2,586	5.4	2,900	4.3	2,637
Health & Human Resources	12.2	996	13.8	1,109	10.2	862	12.1	899	18.2	3,731
USICA	39.2	5,202	42.5	5,087	51.5	5,957	59.3	6,183	70.4	8,747*
NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION	11.0	3,000	11.06	3,086	10.4	3,668	10.8	3,400	11.9	3,400
TOTAL PROGRAMS	604.1	48,891	654.26	42,827	743.5	37,804	627.0	36,894	597.5	39,688

* While the absolute number of USICA grantees appears to have increased, the total figure for FY 1980 includes, for the first time, 2,976 Private Sector and Cooperating Private Institution (CPI) grants.

CHART 7 FULBRIGHT EXCHANGE PROGRAM FISCAL YEAR OBLIGATIONS, USICA 1960 TO 1980

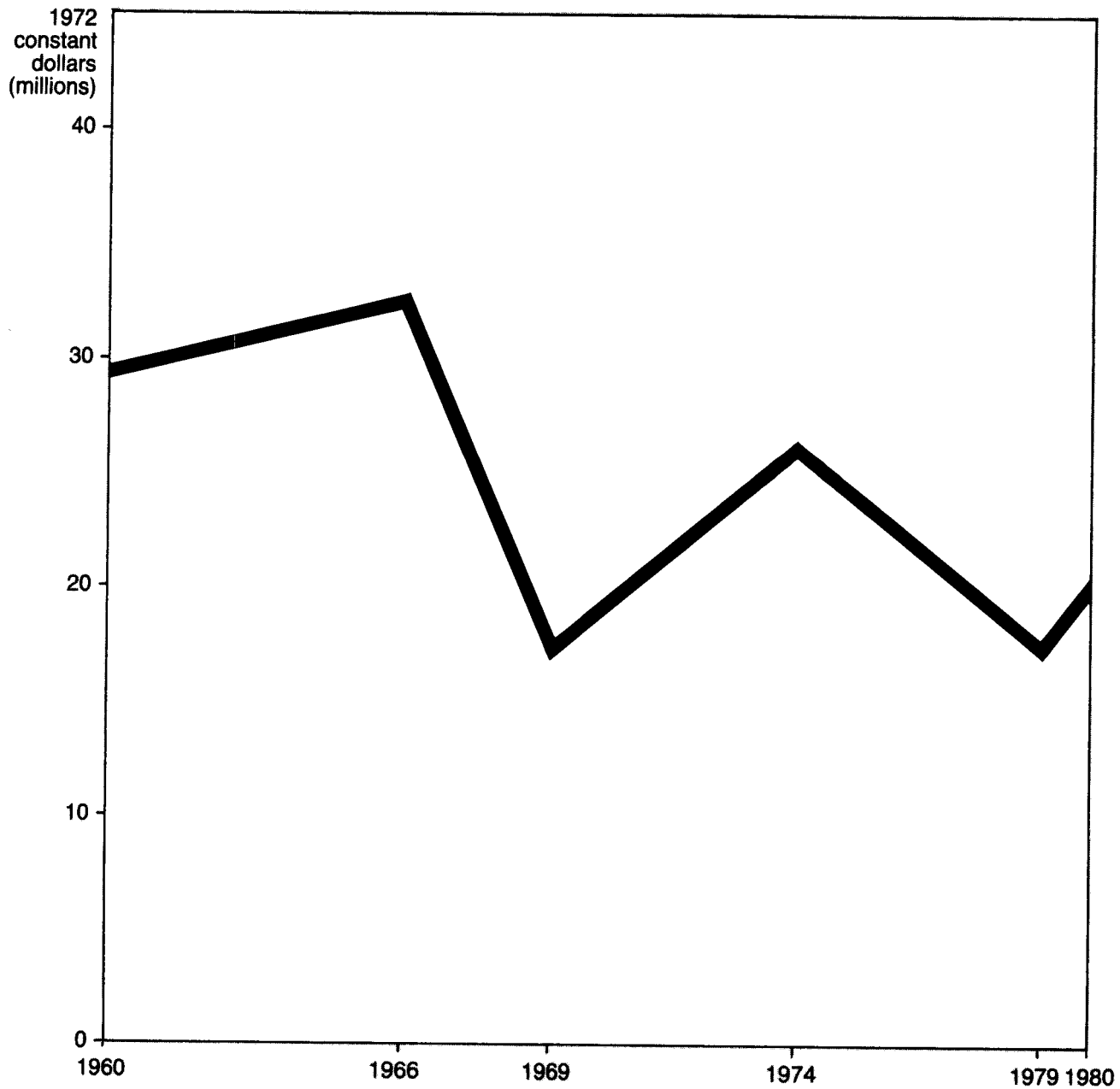
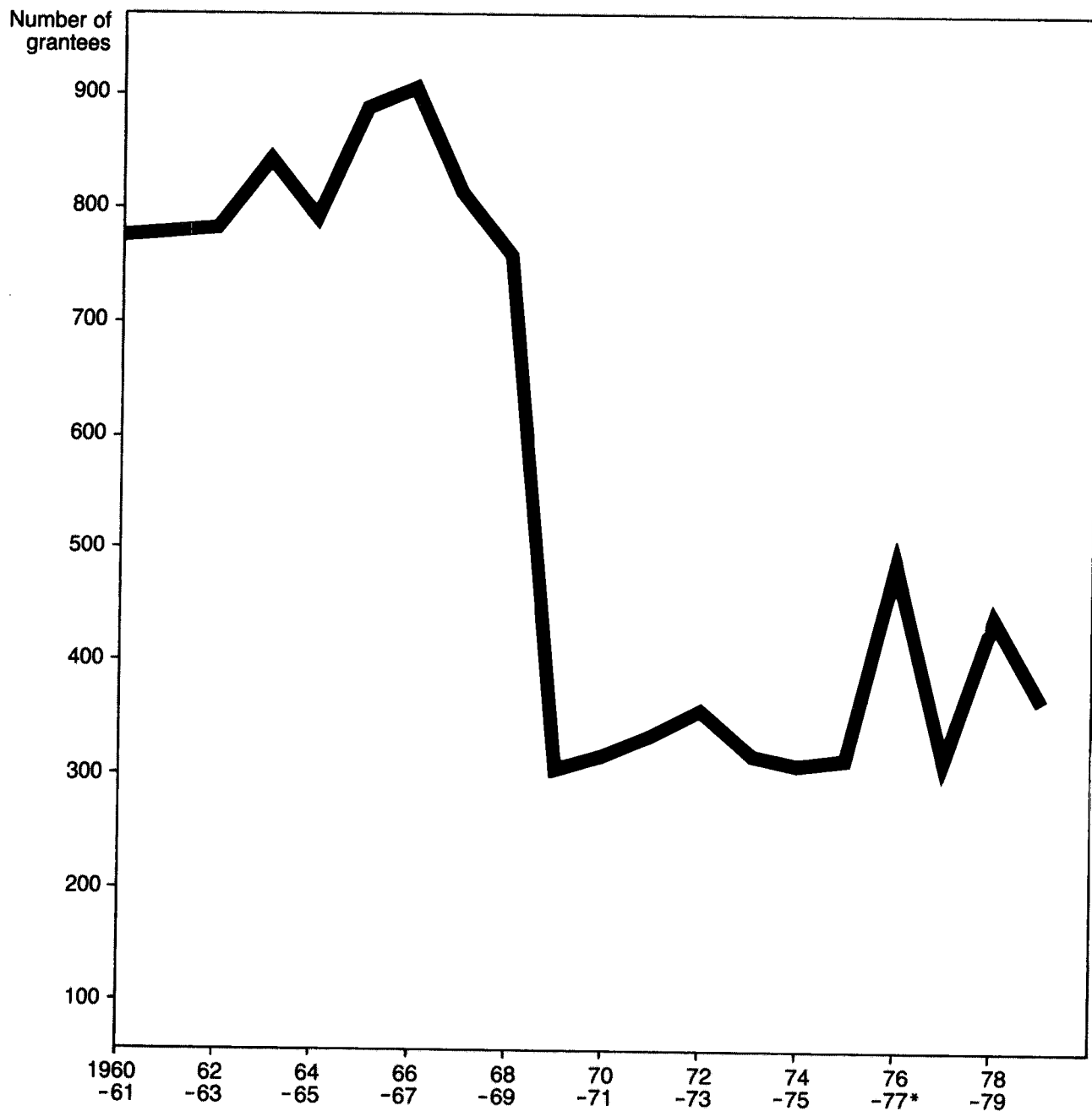


CHART 8 FULBRIGHT AMERICAN STUDENT GRANTEES 1961-1980



*15-month transition year when USG changed fiscal year.

CHART 9 INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

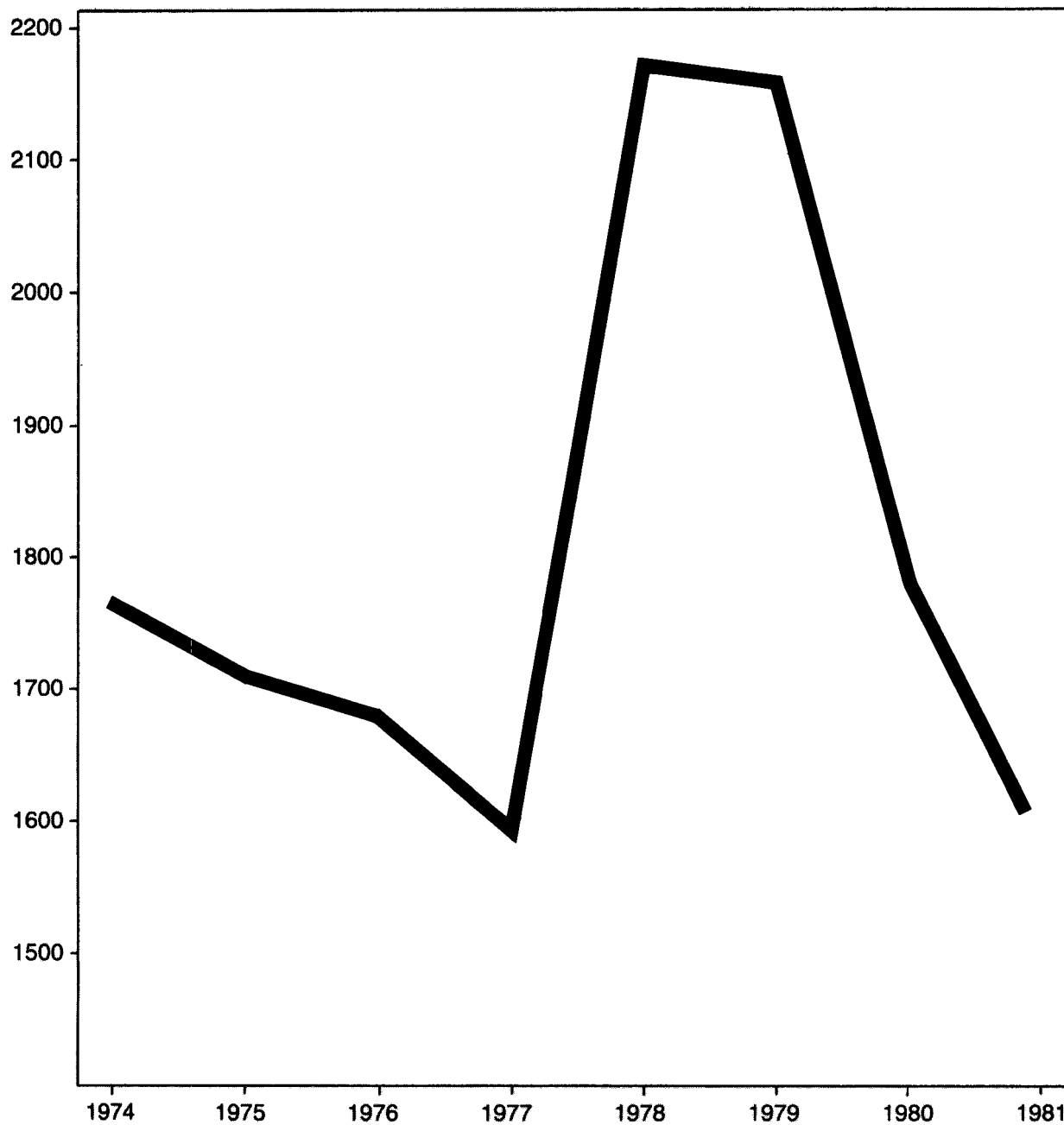


CHART 10
FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES,
SOVIET UNION, AND SOVIET BLOC
FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1980-1981

REGION	STUDENTS IN THE USSR	STUDENTS IN SOVIET BLOC	STUDENTS IN USA FUNDED BY USICA AND AID	TOTAL STUDENTS IN USA
Latin America	3,445	5,690	854	49,810
North Africa	2,015	3,575	152	7,310
Sub-Saharan Africa	15,055	26,700	1,398	30,870
Middle East	6,685	14,350	357	84,710
South Asia	7,470	11,070	224	42,990
East Asia	0	25	512	51,650
Europe	500	1,355	620	25,330
TOTAL	35,170	62,760	4,117*	311,800**

SELECTED COUNTRIES***

Panama	500	640	47	1,300
Dominican Rep.	215	295	35	
Equador	285	820	62	1,210
Nicaragua	135	230	42	1,150
El Salvador	30	105	18	1,450
Algeria	950	1,950	0	1,100
Libya	55	115	0	3,080
Angola	625	1,485	3	
Congo	800	1,360	0	
Central African Rep.	210	460	2	
Madagascar	1,190	1,375	2	
Mozambique	300	525	0	
Ivory Coast	240	940	47	
Zimbabwe	180	275	0	
Jordan	2,000	5,525	60	6,140
North Yemen	560	660	105	
India	975	1,140	7	9,250
Iraq	250	1,540	0	1,460
Afghanistan	4,850	7,825	25	
Pakistan	125	195	23	2,990
Cyprus	475	1,175	10	

* This figure includes USICA's 1680 academic grants, AID's 1775 academic grants, and 662 AID grants for technical training.

** This figure also includes Canadian and stateless students.

*** Countries with total figure omitted have less than 1,000 students in the USA.

APPENDIX III

SOVIET PROPAGANDA

USICA's "Soviet Propaganda Alert," states that Soviet external propaganda has two principal purposes:

- To represent the Soviet Union as dedicated to peace and detente; and
- To show the Soviet Union as a just, fair, and progressive society, worthy of admiration and emulation.

For these purposes, according to the Agency's analysis, Soviet propagandists follow several basic principles. The first of these is a systematic denigration of the U.S., its culture, society, political system, and belief structures. The U.S. is portrayed as an unattractive, vicious, exploitative society which has outlived its time. The Soviet Union presents itself as the only alternative: the near-perfect society which has found the answers to the many challenges of modern society. A second key feature of Soviet propaganda is the argument that the U.S. and the West, doomed in their historical decline, present a dangerous threat to the world order. The U.S. is said to be escalating the arms race, provoking conflict, and trying to counter Soviet influence in its effort to regain the military-strategic superiority it once possessed. On the other hand, the Soviet Union is presented as entirely dedicated to the struggle for peace, and its military might is intended only to defend itself and its allies.

Soviet propagandists employ a vast array of techniques, both crude and sophisticated.

- **Disinformation** is a widespread technique and is usually very difficult to detect. One form is the revelation of false information, usually in a foreign source not directly related to the Soviet Union. Another form is to draw attention to past covert CIA operations and imply American complicity in more recent events.
- The technique of **indirection** includes the inaccurate citation of foreign sources and the citation of Western and other non-Soviet sources in an item planted by the Soviets and in support of the Soviet position on a certain issue.
- The most effective technique is **imputing false motives** to U.S. policy. The Soviets point out adverse consequences and offensive features to the countries affected by U.S. actions.
- **Diversion** is used to blunt attacks on the Soviet Union. When the U.S.S.R. is criticized, Soviet propaganda responds with countercharges in an attempt to turn the accusation against the accusers themselves.

The following is an example of the wide variety of recent Soviet propaganda attacks on the United States:

- Charges of CIA complicity in and responsibility for the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II.
- Charges of U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Poland, by, among other things, provocative radio broadcasts, "inhumane" economic sanctions, "slandorous" declarations, and CIA plotting.

- Charges of CIA-Red Brigade complicity in the kidnapping of U.S. NATO General James Dozier, arguing that the kidnapping would hurt the image of the anti-NATO peace movement while creating sympathy for NATO.
- Charges of “undoubted participation of Washington” in the November 25, 1981 attempt to overthrow the government of the Seychelles.
- Charges of CIA involvement in the August 1, 1981 plane crash that killed General Omar Torrijos, the former Panamanian national leader.

APPENDIX IV

SELECTED USIA RESEARCH REPORTS, 1980-82

Soviet Elite Perceptions of the U.S.

West European Opinion on Security Issues

Trends in Perception of U.S. Strength and Leadership in Western Europe and Japan

Alliance Study: West German Elites View on Security Issues

Alliance Study: Italian Elite Views on Security Issues

TV Overtakes Newspapers and Radio as the Dominant Medium in Bangkok

Japanese Perceptions of Defense Issues: A Study of "Defense Influentials"

British Public Largely Opposes Continued EC Membership

French Public Opinion on the Eve of the Venice Summit

Canadian Public Opinion on U.S.-Canadian Issues

Public Opinion in Major Industrial Democracies on Selected Venice Summit Issues

Soviet Historians' Views of U.S. Foreign Affairs

Some Europeans Favor Olympic Boycott

Canadians Want Close Relations but See U.S. Inattentive

Visit of FRG Chancellor Schmidt: West German Public Opinion on Major Issues

Alliance Study: Italians Generally Show Limited Concern Over Soviet Threat, View American Role in World Affairs Positively

Chinese Knowledge of the United States as Reflected in Mass Communication

A Profile of West European "Nuclear Pacifism"

Opposition to INF Increases in Britain, West Germany, and the Netherlands

Over 50 Million in Three NATO Countries See at Least Excerpts of President's Nuclear Arms Address

French and West Germans Have Markedly Different Views from Americans on East-West Relations

The USSR Generally Seen as Promoting Terrorism

APPENDIX V

FORMER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Homer Daniels Babbidge, Jr.
President, University of Connecticut
Connecticut

Eva T. H. Brann
St. Johns College
Maryland

Richard T. Burress
Associate Director
Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace
California

Leo D. Cherne
Executive Director
Research Institute of America
New York

Thomas B. Curtis
Vice President and General Counsel
Encyclopedia Britannica
Missouri

David R. Derge
President, Southern Illinois University
Illinois

Harry S. Flemming
President, Inverness Capital Corporation
Former Special Assistant to the President
Virginia

Luther H. Foster
President, Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

John W. Gardner
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York
New York

Lawrence Goldberg
Vice President, Brandeis University
Massachusetts

Rufus C. Harris
President, Mercer University
Georgia

Rita E. Hauser
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Stroock & Stroock & Lavan
New York

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh
President, University of Notre Dame
Indiana

Walter Johnson
Professor, University of Chicago
Illinois

Jewel Lafontant
Attorney at Law
Stradford, Lafontant, Gibson,
Fisher and Corrigan
Illinois

Roy E. Larsen
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Time and Life Building
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Iowa

Leonard H. Marks
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Former Director, United States
Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Beryl B. Milburn
Vice Chairwoman,
Texas Constitutional Revision Committee
Texas

Wayland P. Moody
President, San Antonio College
Texas

Dortch Oldham
Retired Publisher
Chairman, Tennessee Republican Party
Tennessee

Martha L. Pate
Chairwoman of College and School Division
of the United Negro College Fund
Connecticut

Arnold M. Picker
Executive Vice President
United Artists Corporation
New York

Thomas E. Robinson
Rider College
New Jersey

Robert A. Scalapino
Professor of Political Science
University of California at Berkley
California

Joseph R. Smiley
Professor of Modern Languages
University of Texas El Paso
Texas

William French Smith
Attorney General of the United States
Washington, D.C.

Pauline Tompkins
President, Cedar Crest College
Pennsylvania

William C. Turner
President, Western Management
Consultants, Inc.
Arizona

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Columnist
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Erwin D. Canham
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Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler
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Mark E. Ethridge
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George H. Gallup
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American Institute of Public Opinion
New Jersey

Ben Hibbs
Editor, Saturday Evening Post
New York

Palmer Hoyt
Publisher and Editor,
Denver Post
Colorado

Sigurd S. Larmon
Chairman of the Board and
President, Young and Rubican
Advertising Company
New York

Hobart Lewis
Chairman of the Board
Editor-in-Chief, Reader's Digest
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Mark A. May
Professor of Psychology and Director of
Institute of Human Relations,
Yale University
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James A. Michener
Author, Novelist
Pennsylvania

Justin Miller
Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals
President, National Association of Broadcasters
California

Clark A. Mollenhoff
Columnist, Author
Washington, D.C.

Arthur C. Nielsen, Jr.
President,
A.C. Nielsen Company
Illinois

Morris S. Novik
Labor Consultant on Media, AFL-CIO
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Philip D. Reed
Chairman of the Board and President,
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J. Leonard Reinsch
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Georgia

John L. Seigenthaler
Editor, Nashville Tennessean
Tennessee

John M. Shaheen
President, Shaheen Natural Resources
Comapny, Inc.
New York

Frank Stanton
President, Columbia Broadcasting System
New York

Thomas Van Husen Vail
Publisher and Editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Ohio

**FORMER MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
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