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ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY

STAFFING AND OPERATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

APRIL 8, 1964

PART 8

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ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 1964

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY
STAFFING AND OPERATIONS,
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

[This hearing was held in executive session and subsequently ordered made public by the chairman of the committee.]

The subcommittee met at 9 a.m., pursuant to notice, in room 3112, New Senate Office Building, Senator Henry M. Jackson (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Jackson, Brewster, Javits, and Miller.

Staff members present: Dorothy Fosdick, staff director; Richard S. Page, research assistant; and Laurel A. Engberg, minority consultant.

Also present: Robert E. Lee, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

OPENING STATEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN

Senator JACKSON. The committee will come to order.

The Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations continues today its hearings on vital issues in the administration of national security.

As part of our inquiry we have been giving attention to the problems of the modern American ambassador and the support given him from Washington. We have asked a number of our ambassadors when they are back in Washington for consultation to come to our subcommittee and talk to us on the basis of their personal experience.

The subcommittee welcomes today our Ambassador to the Soviet Union, the Honorable Foy D. Kohler. Because of his special knowledge and his present post, we have asked him to discuss with us in particular the role of the American ambassador and the mission he heads in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Ambassador Kohler, a career Foreign Service officer for over 32 years, holds the rank of Career Minister. He has had a rich and varied experience in serving this country—including assignments abroad in Rumania, Hungary, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Moscow, and, at home, as a member of the Policy Planning Staff, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Chairman of the Berlin Task Force during a most critical period.

Mr. Ambassador, we are very glad you could be with us today and give us your counsel.

You may proceed in your own way. I understand that you do not have a prepared statement, and you may give your remarks in whatever way is most convenient to you. Then we will have some questions.

STATEMENT OF HON. FOY D. KOHLER, CAREER MINISTER, AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION

Ambassador KOHLER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to be with this Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations. We in the Foreign Service have had a high appreciation of your work, and are very conscious of your courtesy in sending to us copies of your studies. I think it has stimulated all of us to think about Foreign Service problems.

As you noted, I have not a prepared statement, for which I apologize, but I am glad that the committee is willing to have an informal discussion, and I hope I will be able to contribute something to your studies.

I might start out, Mr. Chairman, by saying that Embassy Moscow is a specialized operation and rather different from many of the embassy operations that you have discussed previously. We do not have an AID mission. We do not have a MAAG. We have, in fact, no separate USIA operation.

It is an integrated and very streamlined operation. The staff is relatively small and entirely specialized. We have no substantive officers who do not know the Russian language, and who have not studied Russian history and problems of the area and of the system.

A part of this we can do because we do have an effective division of labor with Washington. We do not try to do in Moscow the kind of research that can be just as well done at home. This is for reasons of efficiency. It is also a reflection of the difficulty of the housing situation and living conditions otherwise in Moscow. It is better and cheaper to have work done here than can be done here.

I might, since the setup of our embassy is different from many that you have discussed, give you a brief rundown on it.

Our total staff is 114 American officers and employees. This staff has about 140 dependents who live there. And outside of the official family in Moscow, the community is very small also. We have 17 correspondents there at the present time, and 3 teachers in our Anglo-American school, and these people have another 20 dependents, so that our total American colony in the Soviet Union is less than 300 people.

As to the breakdown of our organization in the embassy: We have in my own office myself and the Deputy Chief of Mission, who has the rank of Minister, a Staff Aide, and attached to us two security officers, so that out of our total staff, we have five officers and three clerks in my immediate environment.

In the political section, we have eight officers and three clerks. In addition to the Political Counselor, four of these officers are engaged in what we call Soviet external affairs; that is, following relationships between the Soviet Union and third countries and our own interest in the same countries, and three are engaged in following political developments inside the Soviet Union.

In our Economic Section, we have four officers and two clerks. One of these officers is, in effect, a science officer, who follows scientific developments in the Soviet Union and keeps in contact with the Academy of Sciences, and other Soviet scientific institutions.

Working with the Economic Section is the office of our Agricultural Attaché. We have an attaché and an assistant, and they have one clerk.

One of the larger sections is our Cultural Affairs Section. This is an embassy section, but staffed largely by USIA personnel, though we do also have Foreign Service officers working in this section. There we have four officers and four clerks or administrative-type employees.

A specific function in the Soviet Union that is not met everywhere is publications procurement, and we have two officers who devote full time to this function, on behalf not only of the State Department but of all Washington agencies.

The Consular Section has three officers and one clerk.

In the Administrative Section, we have eight officers and three clerks; in Communications, two officers and eight clerks. We have a Marine Guard complement of 10, and an Army Attaché, with 7 officers and 19 enlisted personnel; an Air Attaché, 6 officers and 6 enlisted personnel; a Naval Attaché, 6 officers and 1 personnel.

I may explain that not only is the State Department staff a specialized staff, but, happily, our service attachés are also highly specialized—none come who have not studied Russian and made Russian area studies.

The Army Attaché staff seems larger than the others, but it is because this staff, too, is integrated, and the Army Attaché, who is known as the executive agent, performs all the administration for the three attachés.

We are probably unique also in terms of personnel administration. Just yesterday, I was going over with personnel people in the State Department our forward plans for staffing through 1965, and this is routine. We are planning our turnover at least two years in advance.

Generally speaking, we adhere to a 2-year service rule. In principle, I am for much longer assignments, but Moscow is our only post in Russian-speaking areas, and Moscow experience is invaluable to a lot of people. Consequently, in order to keep a corps developed, we must adhere, generally speaking, to the 2-year rule.

This makes for a considerable turnover in the Embassy, but at the same time that turnover is not as difficult as it would be in many other Embassies, for the reason that we have many repeaters, and try to keep our people reasonably fresh.

The reason for maintaining such a staff is twofold, really. One is that we can contemplate the opening of additional offices in the Soviet Union, consular offices, in the future, and the second is that the demands for Soviet experts are great throughout the world, and having them both experienced in Moscow and in another area is a very valuable combination.

Let me say that generally our staff, I think, is not only streamlined, perhaps overstreamlined in some respects, but fairly well balanced. It could be said, I think, that in terms of the function and

of the production of work and of reporting, the military staffs are perhaps a little disproportionate to the total output of the Embassy.

Otherwise, I think there are no real problems here, except the need for a gradual expansion in three main respects: One, in the consular field, because of the very considerable development of tourist travel and of exchanges between the two countries; second, in the Cultural Section of the Embassy, in order to enable us to handle better the many, many exchanges that are now developing; and finally, in the Political Section, in order to enable us to expand our coverage on a global basis and maintain close contact with the expanding diplomatic corps in Moscow.

At the time when I was in Moscow after the war, there were only 20-odd missions there. Now there are over 60. And many of these, of course, represent the new countries of Asia and Africa, as well as an increase in Latin American representation.

I could comment a little further on the nature of the work that we do and will make just a few remarks. However, this might perhaps come out better in questioning from the members of the subcommittee.

I mentioned that we do not try to do any deep research there. We have people who are steeped in Soviet studies, have been for many, many years, and our main effort is to sense the atmosphere, to see as many Russians as we can and have talks with them, and to report the kind of things that are not available in published materials, which can much better be studied in Washington.

We flag the attention of the Department and other agencies to developments there, to moods and attitudes and popular opinions. We sense them and see them. And in this respect, we work very closely with the research area of the Department and other agencies in Washington.

They inform us promptly of their line of thought on given things. We can challenge this and correct it and make policy recommendations on the basis of that.

We have certainly tried to maximize the ways in which we can know more about Soviet society. We do this not only in Moscow, but by a program of constant travel in the Soviet Union, and certainly the greatest instrument that has been developed in this respect is the exchange programs with the Soviet Union. We have just concluded the fourth one now. Each has been for a 2-year period. And in each case we have been able to broaden and to increase these exchanges.

These exchanges are of mutual interest; the Russians send people here, as we send people there. I think it is just as useful one way as the other, from our point of view. When these people come, we try not only to bring them in touch with broad segments of society, but ourselves to accompany them and to have them in as guests at the Embassy residence and things like that. So that today the contacts between Russians, Soviet citizens, and Americans, are infinitely broader than they were in the days when I was there during the Stalin regime.

I think, Mr. Chairman, I will stop here.

Senator JACKSON. You mentioned 114 Americans. How many Russians do you employ?

Ambassador KOHLER. We have about 120 Russian employees, all in clerical or service functions.

I might say that the physical setup of the post is that we have one large building, which is combined offices and an apartment building for a number of the members of our staff. The substantive offices are all located far upstairs, and are purely American.

Senator JACKSON. How does the number that we have in our Embassy in Moscow compare with the Soviet Embassy staff here in Washington?

Ambassador KOHLER. At the moment, they are somewhat larger, though we have usually maintained somewhat of a balance.

I have that here.

Senator JACKSON. Approximately the same?

Ambassador KOHLER. Very close. On July 1, 1963, the Soviet Embassy here had 122.

Senator JACKSON. Do they employ any Americans?

Ambassador KOHLER. I think they do not.

Senator JACKSON. Do they force us to hire Russians?

Ambassador KOHLER. No; they do not.

Senator JACKSON. This is a voluntary decision on our part?

Ambassador KOHLER. That is right. And the Russians that we get as employees, necessarily, we get through official Soviet agencies, because there is no such thing as private employment agencies in the Soviet Union.

Senator JACKSON. You mentioned the 2-year rule of service. I assume you do make exceptions to that.

Ambassador KOHLER. Oh, yes.

Senator JACKSON. Would you indicate what percentage and what group would fall within the exception?

Ambassador KOHLER. The exception, generally speaking, will be for a functional specialist who is also a Soviet specialist, who is not immediately replaceable.

This has been true in the past, for example, in the economic field, where in the past the State Department had not prepared enough people who were both Russian language and area specialists and trained economists, so that we have kept our Economic Counselor, who is presently there, for an extra year, until we could find and develop and prepare a suitable man.

The same is true of our Agricultural Attaché. We have kept him nearly 4 years, because we are a little short on people who know both agriculture and the Russian language and area.

Otherwise, I think we now have a corps of officers who can be interchangeable and whose technical and functional knowledge, as well as their Russian language and area training, are interchangeable.

I except the Ambassador from this, because he is an appointee of the President, and in the past there has been quite a bit of continuity in this. My immediate predecessor was there nearly 5 years, Ambassador Thompson, and his predecessor, Ambassador Bohlen, was there about 4 years.

Senator JACKSON. You feel that in this area, of course being impersonal about it, it is helpful for the Ambassador to have a longer tour?

Ambassador KOHLER. Being impersonal about it, I do think so. It takes time to make contacts and to develop them in this society.

Senator JACKSON. How does your work in Moscow differ, say, from the work in other American embassies behind the Iron Curtain?

I think you were in Rumania before. Is there any country where you might wish to illustrate the difference? Czechoslovakia?

Ambassador KOHLER. I should point out that I have not been posted in the Eastern European countries since the war. That was before the war. I have, however, handled relations with those countries as Assistant Secretary here in the State Department.

I would say that the principal difference is that in Moscow we have a double-barreled operation. One is a kind of global operation, where we are dealing with the Soviet-United States relationship throughout the world, and we look at problems all the way from Southeast Asia to Germany to Latin America to Africa.

Then the other aspect is our conduct of diplomatic relations on a bilateral basis with the Soviet Union. I believe it is today reasonably accurate to say that the posts in Eastern Europe tend to concentrate on the bilateral aspect. Otherwise, the conditions of work I think are very similar, and the functions. Those embassies also tend to be specialized embassies, staffed with language officers.

Senator JACKSON. I would assume that you follow closely the relations between members of the Communist bloc and the relationship between a given bloc country and the center of power, Moscow.

Ambassador KOHLER. This we do very carefully, and in this respect we have the closest kind of working relationships with our embassies in the Eastern European countries, with a complete exchange of information.

We also have invited all our colleagues in Eastern Europe to pay us visits, and in due course, I hope to visit them.

Senator JACKSON. Do you have any "American team" concept that you apply within the bloc? In other words, is there an exchange of information between your ambassador and the other American ambassadors in the bloc area, letting them know what you are doing in Moscow? Do you have conferences from time to time?

Ambassador KOHLER. Just last October we had a meeting of the Eastern European chiefs of mission, in Bonn.

Senator JACKSON. This is a variation of the country team concept—a regional team in this case.

Ambassador KOHLER. It is. We work very closely together. And the exchange of information that is pertinent to each other's work is complete.

Senator JACKSON. I wanted to ask you: How do you handle some of these rather embarrassing encounters, where the burden of the effort on the part of the Soviet official is to try to make a monkey out of you or some other American and to embarrass you and our country?

How do you handle that kind of occasion? Do you have any general instructions for this sort of situation? I suppose it is like trying to write a directive on common sense.

Ambassador KOHLER. I think this is more a question of whether you have got good sense or whether you have had a lot of experience.

And these encounters—well, I may say they are the exception. I should say generally speaking it is a straightforward relationship even when you disagree.

There have been occasions when there have been passages between Soviet leaders and myself where I think if you simply stand up in a self-respecting way and with the knowledge of the attitude of your own Government and people, and speak your piece, you cannot be too embarrassed.

Senator JACKSON. It is pretty fundamental, then, in the relations with the Soviet Union, that you be firm but fair in stating your position. You do not get excited, but you just lay it on the line with a "here it is" attitude for the most part.

Ambassador KOHLER. I think that is exactly right. And for the most part, it is a pleasant enough relationship.

Senator JACKSON. But in general, you have to be keenly cognizant of any special situation in the world at a given time, when their demeanor, their overall behavior, might be different from the norm?

Ambassador KOHLER. I think you have stated it very well, Mr. Chairman.

Senator JACKSON. Moscow, of course, is the center of Communist power. A good many people from the President on down are concerned with American-Soviet relations. A great proportion of the time of the State Department is directed to this part of the world. What do you feel is the contribution that our ambassador to the Soviet Union can make to American foreign policy in this area, and how do you do it? How do you arrange for consultations in Washington? Do your views get a hearing? Could you just comment in general on your role in the policy process?

Ambassador KOHLER. I could.

Leaving the personality of the incumbent aside, I think the role of the ambassador in the Soviet Union is a very key one. The leadership there is rather concentrated. You get to know all of them and the opportunities to communicate with them are very frequent now.

You get from them senses of what is bothering them in a way that you do not get out of any published material in a country where there is a completely controlled press and where everything that is in the press is purposeful in one way or another.

Senator JACKSON. Just on this point, do you and your staff have adequate access to Soviet leaders so that you can get some correct estimate or feel as to their state of mind and what they are thinking outside of the doctrinaire published policy?

Ambassador KOHLER. I think one can get a good sense of it. It is not always straightforward and just coming directly to you.

An illustration would be, I think, the question of the relationship between Moscow and Peking during the past couple of years that I have been there. Officially, you could not get a Soviet leader to discuss this problem. He would say it was a family matter, and so forth. Unofficially, on social occasions and in private conversations with leading Russians, even though not officially, and in conversations which they did not regard as official, you could get indications well in advance of anything published of their great and growing concern about this problem.

Senator JACKSON. Would you follow through on that point?

Ambassador KOHLER. To go on, then: We do, of course, also follow the published material, although, as I have said, we do not try to make deep analysis of it. But combining the sense that you get of

the environment with what is published about policy for their own people, you can, on a daily basis, flag to particular attention of the State Department various things that should be studied profoundly, indicating a line of approach.

A third way, perhaps, is that we do encourage high American officials to visit us in the Soviet Union, so that they, too, can get some sense of the atmosphere, and bring them into touch with Rumanian leaders or Russian leaders, or, as the case may be, Russian intellectuals, and discuss things with them, so that when they come back then the relationship between the embassy and the home agencies is a closer one.

Of course, there is a lot of just plain work to do. I spent 46 days of very tough negotiations to conclude the new 2-year exchange agreement that we signed a couple of months ago.

The Russians, as I think is well known, are tough bargainers. But I think in this kind of thing, where you finally work out a deal that is of mutual interest, they go through with it.

We have been carrying on negotiations for some time now—since last fall—for a consular convention with the Soviet Union. This is a technical and rather complicated thing, as you know, and this has been going on steadily. I hope that after I get back, we will be able to bring this to a conclusion before too long.

Of course, we are in contact with the Russians throughout the world, notably, I would say, in East and West Germany, and we have many instances that require going back and forth in the conduct of business. As far away as Southeast Asia, we are constantly making representations to the Russians about their role or their lack of action in their capacity as co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference.

Now, to add to that: From Moscow, I come back fairly frequently for consultation here in Washington. When I do, I have a very busy schedule. I see people throughout the Government. I am debriefed within an inch of my life at the working level, and have conversations, then, with the President and with the Secretary of State as to their feelings. I report to them and get from them a sense of what they want me to do back in Moscow, what I ought to be saying to Chairman Khrushchev or Minister Gromyko, and so forth.

We also have, of course, as I think I mentioned earlier, a considerable exchange between the embassy and the State Department and other Washington agencies, so that we know what they are working on in a research way and can guide and direct and comment on that.

This goes into the policy planning field. We receive all their studies, many of them in a preliminary form, and make our comments on them.

Senator JACKSON. Sometimes, I expect, you can evaluate their proposals much better in Moscow than in Washington. At least it is another check.

Ambassador KOHLER. It is another check, and it is a check that is unique.

Senator JACKSON. And you do a lot of that?

Ambassador KOHLER. Oh, a great deal.

Senator JACKSON. Do you feel that the ambassador—speaking personally—in Moscow plays a fairly substantial role in policy as far as American-Soviet relations are concerned?

Ambassador KOHLER. I am sure that that is the case, Mr. Chairman. And not just that I personally do, but I was conscious in the State Department, for many years, when I was handling this area, of the opinions, the advice, the suggestions, and the comments of the ambassadors in Moscow. They are very highly rated, and in many cases decisive in determining policy lines.

Senator JACKSON. Do you have any suggestions as to what could be done, if possible, to improve the role of the American ambassador in Moscow?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, I think one can always make improvements, though I think it would be correct to say that the Moscow embassy has a closer working relationship with the Bureau of European Affairs and with the research people for Eastern Europe than embassies generally have, so that many of the complaints that I might have in another post I think do not really apply to this one.

It is such a well regulated, long established division of labor between the two. We have these frequent consultations. We work together on planning far in advance, even the personnel rotation in the embassy in Moscow.

In fact, except for improving your working procedures constantly, structurally, I do not think there is any change that would improve matters.

Senator MILLER. Have you noticed any diminution in the amount of propaganda against the United States?

Ambassador KOHLER. Oh, yes. Of course, we are still——

Senator MILLER. I mean within the Soviet Union.

Ambassador KOHLER. Within the Soviet Union. That is right. We are still "the head of the imperialist camp." There are still a lot of attacks made on our "imperialist policies." However, essentially, the more acrimonious comment these days has been directed toward the Chinese Communists, and this has caused a letup in the amount of attack on us.

In the past couple of years, in fact, there has been a certain tendency to publish more top American statements and speeches, the American University speech of President Kennedy being published in full, a number of the speeches of President Johnson when he took over being published in full.

I think there has indeed been a diminution in the amount of anti-American publicity. And I should add to this that jamming of our radio program has been stopped for the better part of a year, now, and the Voice of America is heard quite clearly throughout the Soviet Union without jamming today.

This means that the information that the Soviet peoples are getting about us is tremendously greater than it ever was before, and this in itself, I think, influences the willingness of the Soviet radio and press people to publish more and somewhat more favorable material about the United States.

This does not mean that we are still not attacked for policies here and there, and that there are not articles about the race problem in the United States, but certainly the Soviet people are getting a much more objective picture today, with the combination of the cessation of jamming of our radio programs and a diminution in just propaganda attacks on the United States.

Senator MILLER. That is encouraging.

Is there still an official line, though, to the people that the United States is hell-bent on war, and the Soviet Union is trying to establish peace?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, I think the role of principal warmonger has now been assigned to Peking, so that you get much less of this about the United States.

You do get a lot of articles, usually exempting the President and the political leadership, but saying the generals in the Pentagon are plotting war behind the back even of the President. But this has gone down.

Senator MILLER. On the cultural exchange program: Is this pretty much on a one-for-one basis?

Ambassador KOHLER. Yes, it is on a reciprocal basis.

I might illustrate. I think I have the figures here.

This was hammered out on a reciprocal basis, and the projects are roughly one for one.

Usually, we tend to send delegations that are slightly larger than any sent over here, so that we will have more personnel participating, probably, but in the last half of the year 1963, we had 77 U.S. projects—delegations, exhibits, and so forth—with 396 visitors. In this particular period, the U.S.S.R. had 86 coming our way, with 454.

But for the full year 1963, we had 140 projects each, roughly, with nearly 600 people on each side.

Senator MILLER. One step further along that line: What about the number of performances? Is that also about one for one? Or qualitatively, as far as the exposure to the people is concerned, is it pretty much on balance?

The reason I ask this: I can understand how we might have about the same number of projects and about the same number of people, but if they, for example, play in Chicago, and we are confined to a small village, it would not be quite on balance.

Ambassador KOHLER. No. We try to make this reciprocal, and generally speaking, I think it works out about that way.

We have just had, for example, the Oberlin College choir, that has been there, and they have played in a great number of cities that were not previously open to performing arts projects.

In the negotiation of agreements, 46 days, we were really hammering out to try to get a basic balance.

Senator MILLER. What about the televising of American productions?

Ambassador KOHLER. This has not been—

Well, now, perhaps we ought to define your question a little more closely.

You mean the exchange of television programs?

Senator MILLER. I do not know whether we have an exchange of such programs. Do we have a substantial amount of televising of American activities in Moscow, such as, for example, a symphony or an athletic program or an American documentary?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, first, to deal with the televising of American performing arts or athletics or other sports groups there, I think I could say that I know of no occasion when they did not televise at least once every group we have had there, and sporting events, like

the track and field meet last July, are televised throughout the Soviet Union.

On the exchange of television films, this has been a little more difficult. They have used a number of documentaries, including some official ones of Presidential press conferences and so forth. They have also broadcast some cultural programs that we have done, American performing artists and that sort of thing.

But this has been not the easiest part of the exchange program. They will use a reasonable number of programs, and in return they want theirs broadcast here.

Since our broadcasting is in private hands, it creates some problems, and we have not ruled out the possibility of their having direct exchanges with the major broadcasting systems, and we do on a reciprocal basis take documentary programs they give us in return for documentaries we give them, and place them on the educational radio and TV outlets in the United States to a very considerable extent.

It more or less balances, but it is a little complicated, because of the different systems that prevail.

Senator JACKSON. I think it would be helpful, as an annex to the Ambassador's testimony, to have an up-to-date statement on the cultural exchange program—in a form appropriate to make public.

Senator MILLER. May I ask that we include in that information regarding the reciprocity of television programs, the potential—the recommendations you have for stepping them up?

Senator JACKSON. Yes. And why not follow through on the principle of reciprocity generally, throughout the cultural exchange program—not only with respect to TV but also with respect to other programs?

One of the charges that is made constantly, is that we get outmaneuvered, and that we let "reciprocity" become a one-way street in their favor.

Senator MILLER. That is right. The reason why I was emphasizing television is that I had heard that this was a pretty restricted activity, but that it had terrific potential if we ever got moving.

Senator JACKSON. I suggest inclusion of the text of the new cultural exchange agreement together with a statement on how exchanges have been implemented in the past and how you expect this agreement to be implemented.

(The material referred to appears in the appendix beginning at p. 511.)

Senator MILLER. Mr. Ambassador, how many consulates do we have in the Soviet Union?

Ambassador KOHLER. None.

Senator MILLER. How many are in contemplation during the next few years?

Ambassador KOHLER. If we conclude the consular convention, as I think we will within the next month or so, there is no commitment for the establishment of consulates, but I think there is a sort of understanding that we would move first on our side in asking for a consulate general in Leningrad, which is the main port of entry, and where most Americans arrive in the Soviet Union.

They in turn would probably ask for reestablishment of a consulate general in New York.

Senator MILLER. What do our people do when they come to one of these major Russian cities for services which normally would be provided by one of our consuls?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, most of the people who are simply travelers in the Soviet Union do come through Moscow, and we have alerted them through the passport booklet already that when they do so they would be well advised to register with us, and some thousands a year do.

Most of the tourists, of course, are in the hands of the official travel agency, Intourist, and in cases where people are not registered, not directly known to us, if there is a problem, I must say in all fairness Intourist tends to get in touch with us about it, and we then get in touch with the traveler and do what we can for him.

Senator MILLER. I was somewhat surprised, when you indicated that we needed to expand our staff or our program with respect to the consular, cultural, and political areas, that you did not also include the scientific and trade.

Ambassador KOHLER. I would like to comment on this.

Yes, I think we could use a lot more people in the Soviet Union, if housing and security conditions permitted, and in general. The immediate needs, the immediately pressing needs, are the ones I mentioned.

On the scientific side, we have now a scientific officer. But this in itself is an expansion as of last year. It is the first time we had a scientific officer. And it has been very helpful, and in due course we may want to increase this function, too.

On the trade side, if trade really developed, we would have to increase the staff.

As I mentioned, we have four economic officers at the present time, but at the moment, trade itself is at a very low level, and until there is some further development, it is not an immediately pressing need.

Senator MILLER. But you would, I suppose, place emphasis on scientific aid if we could find accommodations for these people and obtain the proper approval from the Soviet Union to step up our scientific area.

Ambassador KOHLER. I think this is true, and indeed, in the past year, with the addition of our science officer, we have already vastly increased our activity in this respect.

This science officer, then, plays his role in accompanying the many, many scientific delegations that have come to the Soviet Union, and in guiding and counseling them.

Senator MILLER. In other words, in lieu of a permanent staff of scientists, we are getting along as well as we can by bringing in the scientific delegations of various kinds. Is that the idea?

Ambassador KOHLER. That is right, aided now by our own science officer, who has established contacts with all the Soviet scientific institutions and is very helpful to the people, the scientists, who come, and, I would say, contributes very much to the effectiveness of their visit and their work.

Senator MILLER. Are you satisfied with the cooperation we are receiving from the Soviet officials as far as bringing in these scientific delegations is concerned?

Ambassador KOHLER. The answer I think is "Yes," to that, and generally, our scientific delegations receive a very fine reception. There is great curiosity on the part of Soviet scientists to exchange opinions and views and information with them.

Most of these visits lead them to follow up in terms of exchanges of studies, both ways. There has been great development in this field.

Senator MILLER. Thank you.

Senator JACKSON. Senator Brewster?

Senator BREWSTER. I will be very brief, Mr. Ambassador.

We appreciate the time you are spending with us.

You have indicated that we have certain contacts with the missions of other countries in Moscow. Do we have contacts or responsibilities with other countries behind the Iron Curtain, Eastern European countries?

Ambassador KOHLER. Oh, yes. We see a lot of these representatives. We talk with them frequently. I entertain them frequently.

Not only have I personally served in Eastern Europe and then handled Eastern European affairs in the State Department—so I already have established contacts—but in our political section we have one or two people who have also served in Eastern Europe, and we maintain a very good relationship in Moscow with the Eastern European missions.

Senator BREWSTER. Do you have personnel with actually assigned responsibilities to other missions in Moscow?

Ambassador KOHLER. Yes; we tend to specialize inside the political section, and usually in relationship to the officer's previous experience.

Senator BREWSTER. Do we have any contact—you may want to go off the record on this—with the missions of countries that we do not recognize, such as Red China or East Germany?

Ambassador KOHLER. Senator, we have none.

Senator JAVITS. May I just interrupt to say how glad I was to see you here today, Mr. Ambassador. Unfortunately I shall have to leave at this point for another meeting.

Senator BREWSTER. On another subject, now: Are your communications with Washington adequate, and if so, are you kept promptly informed?

For example, at the time of Cuba, did you know from hour to hour the situation in the crisis?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, the short answer to this question, Senator, is that our communications are not adequate, and that the Cuba crisis was one of the proofs of this.

We are dependent on commercial channels for our communications, for our normal communications, and these are sometimes rather slow.

We have been dealing with the Soviet authorities now for several years, to try to get a direct leased line into Western Europe from the Embassy, which then connects with the State Department system, so that we could get quicker—and our own control over—our communications. I believe that we will get this in the latter part of this year.

And this I think is the first step to improve our communications. Beyond that, we have suggested to the Soviets, since the Congress passed legislation a little over a year ago that permits on a basis of reciprocity the establishment of direct wireless communications—

we have proposed to them that they consider after that the possibility of our establishing in each other's Embassies our own wireless communication.

Even so, we would want the leased line, because the wireless communication is not always completely dependable, and you need a double check.

But this is a problem that has concerned me. We run behind for a matter of hours on some of the critical messages, and, of course, we were operating around the clock during the Cuban crisis.

But it did highlight the inadequacy of our communications in Moscow, which I think is true of a lot of State Department communications in general. We ought to have a better system on a global basis.

Senator BREWSTER. Is there anything that Congress or the State Department should do with respect to communications or other logistic support that will make our mission more effective? Or does this have to be negotiated by our mission with the Russians?

Ambassador KOHLER. It has to be negotiated, and as I said, when I talked to Mr. Gromyko, just before I came away, I was encouraged. I was encouraged to think that as soon as it is technically possible for them to give us a leased wire into Western Europe, we can get it, and he indicated it would be the latter part of this year.

Senator BREWSTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

Senator JACKSON. What steps, if any, do you think would be helpful at this stage in Washington to provide further backup and support for our ambassadors in their role as chief of mission overseas?

We have asked this general question—or a similar one—of the ambassadors before our committee, in an effort to find out what constructive steps might be taken to strengthen the hand of our ambassadors in their assigned role as chief of mission.

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, I will start by again saying that in some ways the steps that have been taken to support us ought to be applied throughout the Service. We have this close working relationship. It is headed up by Ambassador Thompson, who plays the special role of keeping in touch with us, and then this is followed up through the Bureau of European Affairs.

I personally have a great deal of sympathy for the idea that Secretary Rusk put forward, here, that the level of backup of the embassies abroad ought to be raised, supplemented, so that you in fact have a kind of duplicate of our mission here, backing us up.

Senator JACKSON. Upgrading the desk officer?

Ambassador KOHLER. Upgrading the desk officer. And then I think logistic support ought to be improved in the Foreign Service, and the problem that Senator Brewster just raised is illustrative.

Here we sit, today, with some of our military organizations having instantaneous global communications, and our peace organization does not have such a system.

Now, I know that the President is conscious of this, that he has appointed a committee to try to solve this problem. But I think we should modernize these things, that we should have better communications, that we should have IBM systems that give us access to information more quickly and to quotations from people that we talk with, and that these should be provided to us.

This is the general line of my thought on the subject.

Senator JACKSON. I should like to ask another broad question. What steps do you suggest whereby the Foreign Service could produce a larger number of senior officers of first-rate quality to fill the posts of great responsibility in the State Department and to become Ambassadors?

Ambassador KOHLER. Senator, I could write a book about this.

Of course, I think the fundamental is the selection of the proper personnel at the start, and giving them both training and responsibility. I personally would like to see, and feel myself fortunate to have had, an experience that included the Information Agency, that included ICA and the administration of fairly large offices. I think this has helped in my own development.

I think we would have to keep our eye on precisely this question, and improve our personnel management, so that more people have experience with running fairly large operations before they are called upon to take the responsibility for running a big embassy, so that we develop a real executive type.

Now, beyond that, whether that man is specialized in one function or another does not matter too much, if he knows what the overall picture is and where his specialty fits.

But you cannot take a man who has been a staff officer and put him in charge of a big going operation overnight and expect him to produce satisfactorily. He just does not know how to operate it.

But the possibility, with effective career management, of developing good executives inside the State Department, and particularly if you are willing to have State Department personnel serve in some of the operating agencies for a while, exists, and I think could be more effectively utilized than it has been in the past.

Senator JACKSON. Mr. Engberg?

Mr. ENGBERG. I realize the Moscow embassy is something of a streamlined affair, so this is probably more in the area of general information.

Since your office and all embassies are so dependent on the information that comes up from your staff, have you any suggestion on how the personnel might be improved on the lower levels in your staff to bring to you pertinent information, immediate information, as to what is going on in the country that you are assigned to?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, I would have to except Moscow from this, because this is a topnotch staff.

Senator JACKSON. I take it, as you said earlier, that you feel your operation is something of a showcase, and you would hope that gradually this sort of operation would be extended to the Foreign Service in general.

Ambassador KOHLER. I think this is true, although I will say, in terms of operating offices, that the effectiveness of the staff depends in great measure on the effectiveness of the boss. You can stimulate and provoke work and suggestions coming to you from your own staff.

Again, if you have the right people, and if they are able and ambitious, they will see to it that they get their ideas into the hopper, and I think it is your job, on the top, to see that they are encouraged to do so.

It is a general question that it is hard to make more than a superficial answer to.

Senator JACKSON. Would you develop somewhat further your point about the possible use of computers in making available to you, in time, information that is necessary to do a better job?

Ambassador KOHLER. Well, it seems to me that we have modern techniques now that ought to be applied to the diplomatic process.

The simplest kind of illustration would be quick availability of research material on a problem that comes up unexpectedly. I personally have seen research analysts around the Department spend days looking through archives, trying to find pertinent information to a problem that comes up.

It seems to me that much of this information should be tabulated on IBM machines, so that you could really pull it out at the drop of a hat.

Frequently, an officer like myself, for example, will remember that many years ago a leading political figure with whom we are dealing today said something, but you want to have for your purpose, if you are talking with him, the precise quote, and say, "Why did you say this then, and why do you say this now?" And frequently, it is an impossible task to find the exact quote.

Mr. ENGBERG. That would apply, of course, to information that comes up from the lower level of an embassy, also, if you wanted to fall back on this material.

Ambassador KOHLER. That is right. And I just think that we should have more efficient methods of getting into the archives and getting them at your disposition today for dealing with the problem which faces you today, but which has a long, long tail back into history, perhaps.

Senator JACKSON. For example, such simple things as biographic information on key foreign diplomats and members of delegations to regional and international meetings could be provided almost instantly.

Ambassador KOHLER. And why we should have to do this laboriously with people trying to remember what someone said at some time, instead of having it at our fingertips with the modern methods that are today available, I do not understand.

Senator JACKSON. Mr. Ambassador, we want to express to you on behalf of the committee our deep appreciation for your fine cooperation here this morning. We wish you well in your assignment, and we want to compliment you on your long and distinguished career.

Ambassador KOHLER. Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure to be with you, and I thank you for the reception, and I thank you for the work that you are doing that will help us improve the Department and the Foreign Service.

Senator JACKSON. We will hold this hearing record open for a paper on communications which we expect to receive from the State Department.

(Whereupon, at 10:30 a.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE COMMUNICATIONS

(Comment by the Department, transmitted to the subcommittee, April 20, 1964)

A. Prior to World War II the Department of State met its communications requirements by a pouch "system," by a few more formal designated official Couriers, and by relatively infrequent telegrams transmitted by commercial telegraphic companies. American ship captains, Foreign Service officers, and American travelers were given sealed packages of mail with instructions as to delivery on arrival at destination. These individuals were called "Bearers of Dispatches." They were not paid for these services but were accorded special passports which at that time were much sought after. The number of Couriers as distinguished from "Bearers of Dispatches" varied widely in the years between World Wars I and II with the high point occurring in 1918-19 when 70 men were engaged in this activity. Financial considerations forced steady cutbacks and the service was terminated at the end of fiscal year 1933. In fiscal year 1935, it was reinitiated with a budget of \$24,000—the staff consisted of three couriers based in Paris. In those instances where the telegram contained secret or classified information, the text was encoded utilizing codebooks which were widely held throughout the Foreign Service posts. The telegraphic workload for the whole of 1930 amounted to approximately 2,200,000 words. The staff at Department Headquarters consisted of 144 for all functions; coding, telegraphers, pouch and records personnel.

B. During World War II, the military requirements for rapid communications produced major advances in transmission techniques and in coding methods. The Department of State benefited directly from these advances during the war and the years following its termination. Machines emerged as prime means of accomplishing necessary protection for secret or confidential information, although the brevity and economy codebooks were still used. Radio came into its own as the transmission means for huge volumes of traffic. The advantages of teletypewriter machines were adapted to use on radio circuits with the result of extending the capacity of transmission systems several-fold. The Courier System exploded during this period—for example, the 1943 budget was \$335,000. The Courier System moved directly with or immediately behind the military forces, setting up service as territory was "liberated." In 1945, the first regional office in the Far East was established in Shanghai.

C. As the interests and representation of the United States grew so rapidly during the period following World War II, the demands for communications improvements also grew. It became increasingly important for the Secretary of State to be in frequent and rapid contact with the Ambassadors abroad. It also became important for him to have available coding systems which facilitated rather than hamstrung his communications with these representatives abroad. Vol-

umes of work also heightened the need for mechanical and electromechanical means for dealing with it and for increases in the technical staff to guarantee effective handling. Much of the equipment in use by the Department during the post-World War II period was furnished by U.S. military authorities. At its inception, transmission facilities to most posts were provided by commercial communications carriers.

D. The acquisition of a new headquarters building in 1947 permitted the creation of a new and modern communications center where telegrams and other official correspondence were processed in more satisfactory surroundings and with comparatively modern facilities. Relatively few changes were made, however, in the backbone equipment utilized at the field posts and the companion equipment items used at the Department. The present New State headquarters building again afforded an opportunity for some plant improvements and the Department was able to install a number of telegram-handling features which increased the capacity of its main communications center. Most equipment continued to be of World War II vintage, subject to the mechanical problems of age and with some types suspect from security viewpoints due to rapid advances in technical fields. At present, the Department utilizes the telephone, messengers, couriers, accompanied and unaccompanied pouches, and classified and unclassified telegrams in its communications system.

E. Where time factors are not completely controlling and/or where bulky materials are involved, the mail, pouch, and courier facilities are employed. These operations are managed from Washington; the mail operation as such is serving Washington area "customers" exclusively. The Diplomatic Pouch and Courier Service is responsible for the movement of official mail to and from overseas posts. International protocol and precedent have for many years permitted governments, through their Foreign Offices, to transmit correspondence under sealed conditions to and from their accredited diplomatic missions abroad. Properly sealed and documented, the diplomatic pouches are passed through normal governmental controls without inspection. The Department of State, as the "Foreign Office" of the U.S. Government is the only Federal department or agency which can prepare and receive sealed diplomatic pouches within this accepted usage. It falls to the Department, therefore, to provide this facility for all other U.S. Government departments and agencies.

F. Security considerations separate the sealed containers or pouches into two categories. Unclassified official correspondence and urgent related material is sent unaccompanied, generally as air cargo aboard commercial aircraft. (Airmail is used only to a small degree as airmail rates are considerably more expensive than air cargo.) Classified material must be afforded the additional protection of being in the personal custody of a properly documented and authenticated courier. The Department of State's Diplomatic Courier Service now operates from regional offices located in three major transportation centers overseas, each capable of servicing wide geographic regions. There are now 83 Diplomatic Couriers making scheduled deliveries to 108 diplomatic posts throughout the world, covering annually a total of nearly 11 million miles. All but 24 of the 108 posts receive courier service twice weekly with delivery times from Washington varying

from an average of 2 days for Paris to 11 days for Wellington, New Zealand. The couriers carry annually over 1 million pounds of classified materials for all U.S. Government departments and agencies.

G. The Department of Defense operates what is known as the Armed Forces Courier Service (ARFCOS). Although ARFCOS does provide part of its total service to oversea locations, it is designed to provide protection for DOD materials between military installations and bases. Its couriers do not enjoy diplomatic immunity but enter and exit U.S. bases in foreign countries under provisions of treaties or agreements worked out with the host governments. ARFCOS facilities are used extensively by the Department of State; in fact, all Department of State transatlantic and transpacific materials are transported by ARFCOS. Upon arrival at military installations abroad, however, all classified material destined for onward transportation is transferred to the regional office of the Diplomatic Courier Service.

H. In the main headquarters of the Department, a staff of approximately 100 maintains a 6-day-per-week, 16-hour-per-day mail operation. Sunday and holiday coverage for essential services is also provided. These personnel are engaged not only with the preparation, dispatch, and receipt of the official diplomatic pouches; they are also responsible for the dispatch and receipt of all mail for the Department and for the internal delivery within and among the Department's Washington elements. This is accomplished through the operation of 9 mailrooms providing central service on each floor of the building and through the operation of a pneumatic tube system which now has 52 active stations operated by personnel assigned to other organizational units. The floor mailroom operations per se are augmented by an 18-man messenger service which fans mail out to customer-operated message centers within the Department and which effects deliveries to other principal addressees and distributees including the White House and the Pentagon. During a typical day, this domestic function will sort and distribute approximately 90,000 separate pieces of mail. By and large, it is considered that the mail service in Washington and the oversea Diplomatic Courier and Pouch services function satisfactorily.

I. The telephone is used more and more widely in the conduct of official business within the United States, in oversea areas, and between the United States and Foreign Service posts. Service within the United States is commercially provided. Economies, especially in long-distance calls, are being achieved from participation in and use of the centralized facilities of the General Services Administration's Federal Telecommunications System.

J. A further and pressing problem is the operation of Embassy telephone facilities. Over 200 posts have their own systems, a majority of which are owned outright. Many are antiquated or severely limited by the technical skills available locally. Subpar service by U.S. standards is general and severe restrictions in facilities are widely encountered. For example, Monrovia, capital of Liberia, has a population of approximately 80,000 but the local telephone system can accommodate only 1,500 subscribers. In all but two oversea areas the Department has no telephone specialists.

K. The Department authorizes the use of telegrams when timeliness of delivery and action are important. Each of 268 oversea

posts—Embassies, Legations, Missions, Consulates General, Consulates, and Special Offices—can be reached telegraphically. The efficiency of the service varies from minutes to days depending upon the post concerned and the facilities it uses. As in the case of the courier system, the Department of State provides service to many Government departments and agencies. Telegrams fall into a number of categories. Official traffic which is unclassified can be transmitted as soon as necessary numbering and control procedures have been accomplished. Official classified traffic must be encoded or enciphered prior to transmission in order to insure the secrecy of the information in transit between the originator and the addressee or addressees.

L. The transmission of telegrams is accomplished through U.S. Government or through commercial facilities. Approximately one-quarter of posts of all levels (most of which are Embassies) have access to U.S. Government terminals. These are highly reliable since they do not depend basically upon the momentary attitudes and actions of local government officials in the country concerned. Many provide real economies to the U.S. Government in contrast to costs of equivalent service through commercial means. Over 200 posts are dependent upon commercial transmission facilities. Of these, approximately 50 have high traffic volumes or require hours of service which make economical or efficient the leasing of channels. The remainder, including Moscow, are dependent upon commercial telegram filing similar to familiar private or commercial methods common in the United States. All commercial facilities are subject to local government controls. In addition, hours of operation in many places are quite limited even under normal conditions. In Africa, for example, our Embassies at Fort Lamy, Bangui, Libreville, Lome, and Luanda are totally dependent upon commercial telegraph facilities which are completely closed during the night. In Fort Lamy, for instance, the only available transmission facilities are closed from Sunday noon until Monday morning and no telegram, regardless of importance, can be sent. Under abnormal conditions, such as local political crises, it is common for commercial facilities to be closed down or to be subjected to censorship. The recent troubles in Zanzibar and Libreville are examples. In each instance, normal communications between the Department and the post were first cut and then reestablished although at first for plain language messages only.

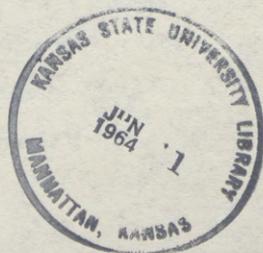
M. Equipment used overseas for transmitting telegrams and/or preparing them for transmission is largely subject to the same age problems as is true of coding systems. Much of it must be replaced as no longer economical to maintain. In fact, the manufacturer has terminated production of spare parts for one series on which many posts are now dependent. In addition, with traffic volumes consistently increasing, it is important to increase the speed of equipment operation—the Department is currently planning to upgrade from 40 to 60 to 100 words per minute and to utilize machines in lieu of consistently increased staffs at major communications concentration points. In the main communications center in Washington, limited automation was installed in July 1960 for handling outgoing telegrams. The machine involved is capable of accepting multiple-addressed messages, selecting appropriate channels, holding in storage if any are busy and providing certain data for billing purposes. In

the fall of 1963, a computer controlled system was installed in the Paris Embassy to replace an earlier manually controlled machine. This system performs most functions automatically, controlling 24 individual correspondent circuits. Through it the traffic for most of Europe and much destined for the Near East and Africa passes—volumes which would otherwise necessitate manual processing by greatly expanded staffs. Requirements for increased speed of handling larger volumes of telegrams make it mandatory to update and further automate the Washington communications center utilizing computer techniques. Action to that end has been initiated with implementation dependent upon availability of funds.

N. The organization and management of Department of State communications was completely altered early in the calendar year 1963 with the creation of an Office of Communications. Assigned to it were the personnel and functions of superseded Cryptography Staff and the Diplomatic Communications Service. The new Office is responsible for planning and directing the worldwide electrical communications system, telegraphic and voice, and for the courier, mail, and diplomatic pouch operations domestically and overseas. To permit it to respond to increased emphasis on modernizing the Department's system, additional technical personnel are needed at all levels, for assignment overseas and to the Department itself. New equipment and systems are much more complex and demand higher levels of technical skills than those in use at present.

O. The Department of State is participating as one of the principal Operating Agencies in the National Communications System (Federal Register, Aug. 28, 1963). Its long-haul system is a part of the national system and its terminal facilities in Washington and at oversea posts are key elements in the execution of top-level national policy actions. One senior staff officer has been designated as a full-time representative at the NCS Headquarters. The present and prospective workload points to additional full-time staff. Required flushing out of these needs is dependent upon availability of positions and personnel possessing the required level of technical competence. The future budgeting of NCS requirements is perhaps the most important problem which requires resolution.

P. In summary, during the post-World War II period, the Department has not been able to apply adequate funds to keep its communications system abreast of increasing needs and new technical advances. As equipment aged without replacement and telegram volumes grew, the system became increasingly sensitive to overloading. In the fall of 1962 the full pressure of the Cuban crisis overwhelmed the technical capabilities then available leading to the initiation of basic and sweeping improvement in planning and action. A start has been made; much more remains to be done. Ultimate success is dependent upon availability of funds for the purchase of equipment and facilities and positions and funds for necessary personnel to manage, maintain, and operate it at acceptable levels of speed, economy, and reliability.



The first of these is the fact that the curves are not all of the same shape. Some are more nearly rectangular than others, and some are more nearly triangular than others. This is due to the fact that the curves are not all of the same length, and some are more nearly rectangular than others. The curves are also not all of the same height, and some are more nearly rectangular than others. This is due to the fact that the curves are not all of the same width, and some are more nearly rectangular than others. The curves are also not all of the same area, and some are more nearly rectangular than others. This is due to the fact that the curves are not all of the same shape, and some are more nearly rectangular than others.

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APPENDIX

EXHIBIT I

AGREEMENT ON EXCHANGES WITH THE U.S.S.R.— 1964-65

The text of the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Exchanges in the Scientific, Technical, Educational, Cultural, and Other Fields in 1964-1965, which was signed at noon (4:00 A.M., E.S.T.) on February 22, 1964 in Moscow, is contained in the following pages.

Foy D. Kohler, American Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., signed for the United States. S. K. Romanovsky, Chairman of the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, signed for the U.S.S.R.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON EXCHANGES IN THE SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND OTHER FIELDS IN 1964-1965

By agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, delegations headed on the United States side by Foy D. Kohler, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and on the Soviet side by S. K. Romanovsky, Chairman of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, conducted negotiations in Moscow from January 7 to February 22, 1964, with regard to exchanges between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the scientific, technical, educational, cultural and other fields in 1964-1965. Attaching great importance to the continuance and development of exchanges in the above-mentioned fields, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to provide during 1964-1965 for the exchanges which are set forth in the following Sections of the present Agreement, in the hope that these exchanges will contribute significantly to the strengthening of cooperation and mutual understanding between the peoples and to the betterment of relations between the two countries.

SECTION I

GENERAL

- (1) The exchanges and visits provided for herein shall be subject to the Constitution and applicable laws and regulations in force in the respective countries.
- (2) Both Parties, desirous of having the exchanges and visits between them take place under favorable conditions and without delay, agree that:
 - (a) The programs, lengths of stay, dates of arrival, financial and transportation arrangements and other details of the exchanges and visits provided for in this Agreement, except as otherwise herein stated, shall be agreed upon, as a rule, not less than thirty days in advance through diplomatic channels or between appropriate organizations requested by the Parties to carry out these exchanges;
 - (b) Applications for visas for members of delegations, groups or individuals shall be submitted, as a rule, not less than twenty days before the estimated time of departure;
 - (c) Each of the Parties, at its discretion, shall have the right to include in delegations interpreters or members of its Embassy, who shall be considered as within the agreed total membership of such delegations;
 - (d) Unless otherwise provided for in this Agreement, and except where other specific arrangements have been mutually agreed upon, visiting dele-

gations and individual visitors under the Agreement shall arrange to pay their own expenses, including international travel, internal travel and direct costs of maintenance in the receiving country.

(3) The exchanges and visits enumerated in the following Sections are not intended to be exclusive of other visits and exchanges which may be arranged by the two countries or undertaken by their organizations or private citizens, it being understood that arrangements for additional visits and exchanges, as appropriate, will be facilitated by prior agreement through diplomatic channels or between appropriate organizations.

SECTION II

SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES

(1) Both Parties will take all appropriate measures in order to encourage and achieve the fulfillment of:

(a) The Agreement between the National Academy of Sciences of the United States and the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., a copy of which is appended to this Agreement as Annex No. I;

(b) The Agreement between the American Council of Learned Societies and the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., a copy of which is appended to this Agreement as Annex No. II; and

(c) The Memorandum on cooperation in the field of utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes between the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the State Committee on the Utilization of Atomic Energy of the U.S.S.R., a copy of which is appended to this Agreement as Annex No. III.

(2) Both Parties agree that additional scientific visits or exchanges may be agreed upon through diplomatic channels, between the above-mentioned organizations or between other appropriate organizations whose participation in these additional visits and exchanges is approved by the Parties.

Such visits or exchanges, whether for the purpose of participating in scientific meetings, exchanges of experience, conducting studies or delivering lectures, shall take place as far as possible on a reciprocal basis.

SECTION III

EXCHANGES IN THE FIELDS OF TECHNOLOGY, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL RESEARCH, INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND CONSTRUCTION

Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges of delegations of five to six persons, which number may be increased by mutual agreement, for periods of three to four weeks for the purpose of familiarization and exchange of experience in the following fields:

(1) Oceanography: Visits to institutes and laboratories for the study of oceanographic research techniques and their application to current research problems;

(2) Petroleum Geophysics: Study of geophysical methods and equipment used for oil and gas exploration and prospecting, including visits to laboratories and oil fields;

(3) Metallurgy: Smelting of ferrous metals, production of hot and cold rolled steel, pipes, and metal products and products of heat-resisting alloys, including visits to research centers for study of scientific methods in the metallurgical industry and thermomechanical processing;

(4) Ore-enriching and Metallurgical Equipment: Organization of production of spare parts and system of maintenance and repair of ore-enriching and metallurgical equipment;

(5) Aluminum Industry: Production of aluminum and its alloys, mechanization and automation of the electrolysis process, mining and processing of aluminous ores (bauxite and nepheline) and manufacture of alumina;

(6) Machine Tools: Production and use of metal-cutting machine tools, including programming control, as well as study of research and development of metal-cutting machine tools;

(7) Industrial Standards and Norms: Study of methods of establishing standards and norms in industrial production, visits to industries and laboratories to observe the application of standards and norms to industrial production;

(8) **Plastics:** Study of plastic materials, discussion and observation of developments in fabricating techniques, observation of processing of raw materials, and the use of plastics in manufactured goods and construction;

(9) **Chemical Fertilizer Industry:** Study of design, construction, and operation of chemical fertilizer production facilities, including liquid fertilizers;

(10) **Production and Use of Reinforced Concrete:** Design, production, and use of prestressed and reinforced concrete products, including prestressed and reinforced concrete pipe; and use of prestressed, prefabricated, and reinforced concrete in construction of multistory residential and commercial buildings;

(11) **Urban Planning and Development:** Modern methods and techniques used in the planning of urban areas, planning and development of residential, industrial, and commercial areas, social and cultural centers and recreation areas;

(12) **Textiles:** New methods of spinning, weaving, and finishing of textiles from natural and synthetic fibers, including production of nonwoven textiles;

(13) **Fisheries:** Catching, processing, marketing of fish and fisheries products; including boat operations, landing, freezing, smoking, curing, filleting, canning, and reduction of fish and fisheries products;

(14) **Centralized Heating:** Study of operation of large, centralized heating systems, including visits to combination power and heating plants supplying heat and hot water to groups of buildings (for the United States);

(15) **Production of Foodstuffs:** Study of production of foodstuffs made from corn, potatoes and other raw materials, including cornstarch, syrup, glucose, canned sugar corn, dry cereals, popcorn, and corn sticks (for the Soviet Union);

(16) **Organization of Production and Management:** Study of the organization of production and management of industrial enterprises, system of training of management personnel, and progressive methods of organization of engineering in industrial production;

(17) **Scientific and Technical Information:** Study of the organization of scientific and technical information, systems of retrieving and making available such information, and library systems, including visits to information centers and special libraries engaged in work in this field;

(18) **Accounting Techniques:** Study of the theory and practice of accounting in enterprises and institutions, techniques of processing accounting information, use of calculating and computing machines for the processing of accounting, financial and statistical data;

(19) **Labor and Wages:** Organization and fixing of norms of labor, organization of wage systems, incentives and wage differential systems;

(20) **Pharmaceuticals:** Study of the production of vitamins, antibiotics, amino acids and other pharmaceutical products from waste of alcohol industry and other raw materials.

SECTION IV

EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE

(1) Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges of delegations of specialists in agriculture, each consisting of up to six persons for a period of 30 days:

For the United States:

(a) **Production of Oil Seeds and Feed Grains and Related Primary Processing and Marketing:** Study of cotton, cottonseed, other oilseeds and feed grains crops, with particular emphasis upon production methods, handling and primary processing for feed and related distribution or marketing system (1964);

(b) **Poultry Production, Processing and Marketing:** Study of poultry methods, various processing facilities and the marketing and distribution system for poultry products (1965).

For the Soviet Union:

(a) **The introduction of chemical processes into agricultural production, scientific-research work in this field, new kinds of mineral fertilizers and toxic chemicals, standards and mechanization of the application of mineral fertilizers, transport from distributor to farm and on-farm storage (1964);**

(b) **Automation of Agricultural Production:** Automation of the post-harvest processing and storage of grain, including drying, ventilation, cleaning, sorting and chemical treatment of grain; automation of processes on livestock farms including feeding of cattle and poultry (1965).

(2) Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges of agricultural scientists and specialists in the following fields:

For the United States:

- (a) Research in sunflower production (one scientist for four months in 1965);
- (b) Sugar beet research, particularly study of varieties resistant to leaf spot and other diseases (one specialist for two months in 1964);
- (c) Soil conservation (three scientists for one month in 1964);
- (d) Study of parasites, predators and insect diseases which may be used to attack noxious insects (one entomologist for six months in 1964);
- (e) Study of insects which attack weeds for the purpose of obtaining certain insect species for use in controlling noxious weeds (one entomologist for six months in 1965);
- (f) Collection of plant plasm (two plant breeders for six months in 1965);
- (g) Familiarization with corps research in plant breeding together with visits to introduction stations; also the discussion of problems of continuing plant exchanges and planning the collection of plant plasm (one specialist for three months in 1964);
- (h) Laboratory grading, testing and quality testing of grain. Transportation, storage, handling and marketing of grain (four specialists for one month in 1964).

For the Soviet Union:

- (a) Familiarization with methods of mass analyses of residual quantities of toxic chemicals in plant production (one person for two months in 1965);
- (b) Problems of combatting cotton wilt disease (biological and chemical) and methods of developing wilt-resistant strains of cotton (two persons for four months in 1964);
- (c) Study of the formulation of scientific-research work on the application of mathematical methods in agricultural economic research (one person for two months in 1965);
- (d) Study of biological methods of agricultural crop protection from pests (one person for six months in 1964);
- (e) New methods of agricultural pest control by breeding and radioactive treatment in the production of sterile males (one person for four months in 1964);
- (f) Collection of seeds of cultivated and wild plants and plant samples for selection purposes (two persons for six months in 1965);
- (g) Methods of purification of viruses: Genetics of viruses, the biochemical structure and biological properties of viruses of animals (one person for four months in 1964);
- (h) Receipt, preliminary processing and transport of grain. System of laboratory appraisal of grain quality at receipt from producer and principles of grain classification (two persons for two months in 1965).

Each Soviet specialist or specialist group will be paired with a United States specialist or specialist group bearing the corresponding list order. The final implementation of paired exchanges will be contingent upon the designation of mutually acceptable programs and itineraries.

In the event they are needed, interpreters will be included in the number of man-months established for each agreed upon exchange.

(3) Both Parties agree to encourage the cooperation of appropriate organizations on questions of combatting diseases common to man and animals through the exchange of scientific workers as well as through the conduct of joint scientific research.

SECTION V

COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE MEDICAL SCIENCES

(1) Both Parties reaffirm their interest in intensifying the fight against serious diseases and express their agreement to contribute to the further development of contacts and cooperation between the United States and Soviet scientific institutions engaged in studying the problems of cancer, cardiovascular diseases, rheumatic diseases, virus diseases, including poliomyelitis, and other important problems of medicine.

Details of specific exchanges shall be agreed upon by direct negotiations between the U.S. Public Health Service and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health.

(2) The U.S. Public Health Service and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health will facilitate continued cooperation between the following scientific-research organizations and other mutually agreed upon research organizations of the United States and the Soviet Union:

(a) For the United States side, the National Cancer Institute, and through it other United States scientific institutions engaged in the study of cancer; for the Soviet side, the Institute of Experimental and Clinical Oncology of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and through it other Soviet oncological institutes;

(b) For the United States side, the National Institutes of Health, and through it other United States scientific institutions engaged in the study of infectious diseases and virus diseases, including poliomyelitis; for the Soviet side, the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R., and through it other Soviet scientific institutions engaged in the study of infectious diseases and virus diseases, including poliomyelitis;

(c) For the United States side, the National Heart Institute and the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases, and through them other United States scientific institutions engaged in the study of cardiovascular diseases and rheumatic diseases; for the Soviet side, the Institute of Therapy of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R., and the Institute of Rheumatism of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R., and through them other Soviet scientific institutions engaged in the study of cardiovascular diseases and rheumatic diseases.

Conditions of ensuring contacts will be agreed upon separately by representatives of the aforementioned organizations.

Both Parties will assist the aforementioned institutions in exchanging plans for scientific-research studies and information on research studies completed, as well as in organizing joint scientific studies, in exchanging specialists and in participating in joint scientific sessions to be convened by the aforementioned institutes, the U.S. Public Health Service and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health in the United States and the Soviet Union alternatively.

In 1964 such sessions shall be held:

In the United States:

- (i) On cardiovascular diseases;
- (ii) On virology.

In the Soviet Union:

- (i) On rheumatism;
- (ii) On oncology.

The number of specialists taking part in these sessions, the periods of stay and the joint scientific sessions for 1965 and their themes will be subsequently agreed to.

(3) Both Parties will provide for an exchange of six delegations of three to six persons each, for periods of three to four weeks.

United States delegations will study the results attained in the following fields in the Soviet Union:

- (a) Problems of health in the Arctic;
- (b) Urban health planning (air pollution, water pollution, solid wastes disposal);
- (c) Medical information;
- (d) Hemorrhagic fevers;
- (e) Maternal and child health services;
- (f) Hospital systems planning.

Soviet delegations will study the results attained in the following fields in the United States.

- (a) Scientific research in the field of genetics;
- (b) Organization of medical and public health services in Alaska, including preventive and specialist services and sanitation;
- (c) Study of kidney pathology and virus diseases of children;
- (d) Urban health planning (air pollution, water pollution, solid wastes disposal);
- (e) Allergy;
- (f) Antibiotics.

(4) Both Parties will exchange specialists, not to exceed 25 persons, for the purpose of studying the work of medical scientific-research institutes and establishments of the United States and the Soviet Union, exchanging experience and conducting joint research studies. The length of individual exchanges

shall not exceed six months, unless otherwise agreed to by the Parties while the total volume of exchanges shall amount to no more than 100 man-months from each side over a period of two years.

It is understood that specialists of each side visiting for a period of more than one month should have a command of the basic language of the country of stay at the level required for fulfillment of their programs.

(5) Both Parties will facilitate the publication of studies of United States researchers in Soviet medical journals and of studies of Soviet researchers in United States medical journals on the most important problems in medical science.

(6) Both Parties will facilitate the further development of exchanges of medical journals and books between United States and Soviet libraries and institutions.

SECTION VI

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

Both Parties agree to provide for further exchanges in the field of education. The participants in these exchanges will be students, graduate students, young instructors, researchers and professors who will be sent and received, respectively, by the sides for study, postgraduate work, study of the English and Russian languages respectively, research, lecturing and familiarization by mutual agreement with subjects of interest in the field of education.

Both Parties agree to provide for appropriate conditions necessary for the fulfillment of mutually agreed programs, including the use of scholarly and scientific materials and, where appropriate and possible, work in laboratories and archives, and also contacts with scholars of scientific institutions outside the system of higher educational establishments.

The exchanges provided for in Paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of this Section will be implemented on the United States side by the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants and on the Soviet side by the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the U.S.S.R., hereinafter referred to in this Section and its Annex as "the Committee" and "the Ministry."

(1) Both Parties agree to provide for the universities and other institutions of higher learning in their countries to receive students, graduate students, and young researchers and instructors for study and postgraduate work up to 40 persons in the 1964-1965 academic year and 40-55 persons in the 1965-1966 academic year. The exact number for the 1965-1966 academic year will be subsequently agreed upon by the Committee and the Ministry.

The usual period of stay in the receiving country for the participants in this exchange will be nine months beginning with the opening of the academic year. Shorter or longer periods of stay may be provided for individual participants by agreement between the Committee and the Ministry.

The provisions of Paragraphs (1)-(4) of the Annex to this Section apply to the said exchanges.

(2) Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges of groups of language teachers and language specialists, working in educational institutions, for the study and mastery of the English and Russian languages, respectively, at ten-week courses to which each side will send up to 25 persons annually during the summers of 1964 and 1965.

The provisions of Paragraph (5) of the Annex to this Section apply to the said exchanges.

(3) Both Parties agree to provide for an exchange of professors and instructors of universities and other institutions of higher learning during the academic years 1964-1965 and 1965-1966:

(a) Of up to 20 persons annually from each side, with a possible period of stay of participants of up to seven months for the purpose of conducting scholarly research, the total volume of exchanges not to exceed 40 man-months from each side during the 1964-1965 academic year and 60 man-months from each side during the 1965-1966 academic year;

(b) Of up to ten persons annually from each side for periods of up to six weeks for lecturing and conducting seminars and consultations.

The provisions of Paragraphs (6)-(8) of the Annex to this Section apply to the said exchanges.

(4) Both Parties agree to provide for the exchange of the following specialists in the field of education:

For the United States:

(a) A delegation to study practice in the admission and selection of students and testing of knowledge in educational institutions from primary up to and including higher schools (four persons for three weeks);

(b) A delegation to study the content of science, mathematics and technical education, and to observe teaching in these fields at secondary and higher levels (four persons for four weeks);

(c) A delegation to study research and practice in programmed learning and the use of technical facilities in the educational process (four persons for three weeks);

(d) A delegation to study formal and informal education at primary and secondary levels of the mentally and physically handicapped, and also materials and research in this field (three-five persons for three weeks).

For the Soviet Union:

(a) A delegation for familiarization with the organization of work of pupils outside the classroom and of children's recreation (four persons for three weeks);

(b) A delegation for the study of the organization of higher and specialized secondary education by correspondence (four persons for four weeks);

(c) A delegation to study research and practice in programmed learning and the use of technical facilities in the educational process (four persons for three weeks);

(d) A delegation of instructors for familiarization with the organization and methodology of instruction in institutions for musical education (three-five persons for three weeks).

(5) Both Parties agree to encourage the exchange by appropriate organizations of materials in the field of education; textbooks, syllabi, curricula, materials on methodology, children's literature, slides, samples of teaching instruments, visual aids and other educational and teaching materials of interest to one side or the other.

SECTION VII

EXCHANGES IN PERFORMING ARTS

(1) Both Parties undertake to encourage and support an increase, on a reciprocal basis, in the number of performing arts appearances of theatrical, musical, choral and choreographic groups, orchestras and individual artists.

(2) Both Parties agree to facilitate the tours of at least five major performing arts attractions from each side for the calendar years 1964 and 1965.

For the United States:

(a) Oberlin College Choir;

(b) "Holiday on Ice";

(c) "Pro Musica" Chamber Orchestra;

(d) Cleveland Symphony Orchestra.

For the Soviet Union:

(a) Ballet of the Leningrad Kirov Theater of Opera and Ballet;

(b) Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra;

(c) "Raduga" variety dance group;

(d) Moscow Art Theater.

Both Parties agree to provide for additional attractions in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph (3).

(3) Commercial contracts which are mutually acceptable to both Parties will be concluded between impresarios or other financially responsible organizations on the United States side and concert organizations on the Soviet side well in advance and, where applicable, at least nine months before the beginning of the tours. The detailed conditions of the above exchanges will be agreed upon between the same organizations or impresarios. Each Party will try to satisfy, whenever possible, the wishes of the other Party concerning the timing and duration of the tours, as well as the number of cities to be visited.

(4) Both Parties will provide for the tours of up to twenty individual performers from each side during the calendar years 1964 and 1965. The suggestions for tours of these individual performers may be made by impresarios or

other financially responsible organizations on the United States side and concert organizations on the Soviet side.

(5) In the event of additional mutually acceptable exchanges and tours in the field of the performing arts, the provisions of Paragraph (3) or Paragraph (4) will apply.

SECTION VIII

EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF CINEMATOGRAPHY AND THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

For the purpose of facilitating the development of exchanges in the field of cinematography and the motion picture industry, both Parties have agreed upon the following:

(1) Both Parties agree that the Standing Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Cinematography will continue its activities in 1964-1965 and review problems which may arise in connection with the implementation of the provisions of the present Section. The Standing Committee will meet by mutual agreement alternately in Washington and Moscow, and it is considered desirable that it meet at least once each year. As appropriate, each side may invite additional experts active in the field of cinematography and the motion picture industry to participate as advisers.

(2) Both Parties agree to encourage practical measures for the increase of the sale and purchase of motion pictures of the film industries of their respective countries on the principle of equality and on mutually acceptable financial terms. Equal opportunity for the sale and purchase of motion pictures by the film industries or appropriate organizations of both countries will be provided in accordance with this Agreement. To this end, Sovexportfilm and representatives of the motion picture industry of the United States approved by the Department of State will enter into contact for the sale and purchase of films mutually acceptable to the Parties during the period of this Agreement. Both Parties agree to encourage the widest possible distribution of these films.

(3) Both Parties agree to encourage the holding by appropriate organizations, if possible and on the basis of reciprocity, of one film premiere annually in each country from among the films purchased. Appropriate delegations to these premieres may be exchanged.

(4) Both Parties agree to encourage the expansion of the exchange of documentary films in the fields of science, culture, technology, education, and other fields, in accordance with lists to be mutually agreed upon between the two Parties. It is understood that each side will provide for the distribution of the acquired films in its country.

(5) Both Parties will continue to study the possibilities of arranging for the joint production of entertainment, popular science, and educational shorts and feature-length films. The content of the films, as well as the companies or film studios involved in their production, will be mutually agreed upon by the two Parties.

(6) Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges of delegations of creative and technical specialists, preferably one each year, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the film industry of the other side (three to four persons for three weeks).

(7) Both parties, when requested by individuals and organizations of their respective countries, agree to discuss other film proposals and to assist, as may be mutually agreed, in the exchange of scientific, cultural, technical, and educational films produced by film organizations or in the custody of film museums and other film institutions in each country.

SECTION IX

EXCHANGES IN THE FIELDS OF PUBLICATIONS, EXHIBITS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION

For the purpose of facilitating the development of exchange of information between the two countries in the fields of printed materials, exhibits, radio, and television, both Parties have agreed on the following:

(1) Publications

(a) Both Parties agree to render practical assistance for the successful distribution of the magazines "Amerika" in the Soviet Union and "U.S.S.R." in the United States on the basis of reciprocity and to hold meetings as necessary in order to find ways to increase the circulation of these magazines. It is under-

stood that any increase in circulation will be carried out simultaneously and in stages by agreement of both Parties with due regard for the level of actual distribution of the magazines.

(b) Both Parties agree to encourage the exchange of books, magazines, newspapers, and other publications devoted to scientific, technical, cultural, and general educational subjects between the libraries, universities, and other organizations of each country and also through commercial channels.

(c) Both Parties will encourage individual and group exchanges and visits of journalists, editors, and publishers, as well as their participation in appropriate professional meetings and conferences.

(2) *Exhibits*

(a) Both Parties agree to exchange three circulating exhibits during the period covered by this Agreement.

The subjects of the United States exhibits in the Soviet Union will be—

- (i) Communications;
- (ii) Architecture;
- (iii) Hand Tools.

The subjects of the Soviet exhibits in the United States will be—

- (i) Conquest of Space;
- (ii) Children's Creative Activities;
- (iii) Public Health.

Each exhibit will be shown in three cities for a period of three to four weeks in each city. Both Parties will discuss in a preliminary fashion the nature and general contents of each exhibit and will acquaint each other with the exhibits before their official opening, in particular through the mutual exchange of catalogues, prospectuses, and other information pertinent to the exhibits.

Other conditions for conducting the exhibits (dates, premises, number of personnel, financial terms, etc.) shall also be subject to agreement by both Parties. Discussions on these matters will begin between the representatives of both Parties before April 1, 1964.

(b) Other exhibits, as well as participation in national exhibits which take place in either country during 1964-1965, shall be determined by mutual agreement.

(3) *Radio and television*

(a) Both Parties agree to promote the carrying out of the following activities in the field of radio and television:

- (i) exchanges of radio and television programs dealing with science, industry, agriculture, health, education, cultural activities, sports, and other matters of general interest;
- (ii) exchanges of newsreel, documentary, popular science, educational, and entertainment films;
- (iii) joint productions of television films;
- (iv) exchanges of other programs, including live broadcasts when appropriate, which in the opinion of both Parties are advisable in the implementation of the present Agreement.

The above exchanges between United States and Soviet radio and television organizations will be carried out as far as possible on the basis of reciprocity and after prior agreement through diplomatic channels.

Details of the above exchanges will be worked out directly between United States and Soviet radio and television organizations; the final versions of the programs will be transmitted through official channels.

Each side will inform the other in advance, whenever feasible, of its intention to broadcast a program under this Agreement. If a proposed program is considered by the receiving side to be unacceptable because of content or for technical reasons, the sending side will be so informed.

(b) Both Parties agree that the above-mentioned exchanges are to be considered as additional to commercial and other relationships which may be established between private United States radio and television broadcasting companies and Soviet radio and television organizations.

(c) Exchanges of delegations and individuals dealing with questions of radio and television may take place by mutual agreement.

SECTION X

VISITS AND EXCHANGES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTAL, CIVIC, SOCIAL,
CULTURAL, AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

(1) Both Parties will render every assistance to members of the Congress of the United States and deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., as well as to officials of the national governments of both countries, visiting the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively, concerning which the Parties will agree in advance through diplomatic channels.

(2) With the aim of establishing and developing contacts, both Parties will encourage exchanges between municipal, local, and regional governmental bodies of the United States and the Soviet Union for the purpose of studying various functions of government at these levels.

(3) Attaching great importance to the peoples of both countries being mutually acquainted with one another's life and activity in order to improve mutual understanding:

(a) Both Parties undertake to encourage joint undertakings and exchanges between appropriate organizations active in civic and social life, including youth and women's organizations, recognizing that the decision to implement such joint undertakings and exchanges remains a concern of the organizations themselves.

(b) Both Parties agree to provide for reciprocal exchanges and visits of writers, composers, musicologists, playwrights, theater directors, artists, architects, art historians, and those in other cultural and professional fields, traveling individually or in delegations, for the purpose of familiarizing themselves with their respective fields and participating in meetings and symposia.

Both Parties agree in particular on the following specific exchanges and visits:

- (i) Six writers for three—four weeks each;
- (ii) Three composers for three—four weeks each;
- (iii) Four artists and sculptors for three—four weeks each;
- (iv) Four architects for three weeks each;
- (v) Two theatrical scene designers for four weeks each;
- (vi) Two choreographers for three—four weeks each;
- (vii) Women active in cultural, professional, and public life (delegations of five—seven persons for three—four weeks); and
- (viii) Two historian archivists for three weeks each.

(c) Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges and visits of specialists in various fields of law.

(d) Both Parties agree to encourage cooperation between artistic, historical, and other museums; to provide for the exchange of two museum specialists for four weeks each; and to explore the possibilities for the exchange, under mutually satisfactory conditions, of exhibitions of works of arts or objects of artistic or historical value.

SECTION XI

EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF SPORTS

(1) Both Parties agree to encourage and support further reciprocal exchanges of athletes and athletic teams.

(2) Both Parties agree to provide for athletic meets and sports competitions in basketball, track and field, swimming, rowing, weightlifting, hockey, chess, and in other fields; and also to promote reciprocal visits of specialists for the purpose of exchanging experience in the fields of physical culture and sports.

(3) The organization of these exchanges and visits will be agreed upon between the appropriate United States and Soviet sports and athletic organizations.

SECTION XII

TOURISM

(1) Both Parties agree to use their best efforts to promote the development of tourism and to take all possible measures to satisfy more fully, on a reciprocal basis, the requests of tourists to acquaint themselves with the life, work, and culture of the people of each country.

(2) Both Parties agree to facilitate the visits of tourist experts and representatives of the appropriate travel organizations of each country designed to

improve and expand tourism between the two countries. In particular, the Parties agree to exchange a delegation of tourist experts of five to seven persons each for a period of three weeks.

SECTION XIII

PROCEDURE FOR A MEETING OF THE PARTIES

Both Parties agree to hold a meeting of their representatives no later than one year after the signing of the present Agreement to review the progress of exchanges under the Agreement and to determine the remaining details of the program of exchanges for the second year of the Agreement.

SECTION XIV

ENTRY INTO FORCE

The present Agreement shall enter into force on signature with effect from January 1, 1964.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed the present Agreement and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both equally authentic, at Moscow this twenty-second day of February, one thousand nine hundred sixty-four.

For the Government of the
United States of America
/s/ Foy D. Kohler

For the Government of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
/s/ S. K. Romanovsky

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

ANNEX TO SECTION VI

EXCHANGES OF STUDENTS, GRADUATE STUDENTS, AND YOUNG INSTRUCTORS AND RESEARCHERS (PAR. (1) OF SEC. VI)

(1) The Committee and the Ministry will exchange lists of participants for the forthcoming academic year and necessary information about each participant, which will arrive by April 10 in 1964 and by March 15 in 1965. At the same time the programs of study and scientific work, which will reflect as fully as possible the scholarly and scientific interests of the respective participants, will be presented for the consideration of the receiving side.

New names of participants may be added to the said lists in exceptional cases, but no later than April 30 in 1964 and April 15 in 1965, respectively.

Representatives of the Committee and the Ministry will meet in Moscow no later than June 10, 1964, and in Bloomington, Indiana, no later than May 18, 1965, to exchange information concerning placement of the participants for the forthcoming academic year and to discuss details connected with the exchange.

(2) Participants must arrive at the place of instruction within the following time periods: American participants, during the period September 5-10 (those accepted for the second semester, February 5-10); Soviet participants, during the period September 5-20, by the date of the beginning of studies in the receiving universities (those accepted for the second semester, by the date of its beginning).

If for good reason the participant cannot arrive within the agreed dates, the sending side will inform the receiving side of this as far in advance as possible; the date on which he will arrive will be settled by mutual agreement.

Applications for extensions of agreed periods of stay in the receiving country presented during the participant's period of study will be considered by the receiving side only in exceptional cases.

(3) The receiving side will bear the following expenses: tuition and fees for training in universities and other institutions of higher learning, payment for living quarters and a monthly stipend to cover the cost of meals and other personal expenses in amounts to be agreed between the Committee and the Ministry. As a rule, the said stipend will be paid in full directly to the participant.

In case of a participant's illness or accident, the receiving side will bear medical costs, including hospital expenses, in accordance with agreement between the Committee and the Ministry.

The sending side will bear all other expenses, including expenses for travel to and from the receiving country, for trips within the receiving country in connection with the implementation by the participants of their programs of scholarly work as agreed upon with the academic advisers in the receiving country, and also for trips for the purpose of familiarization with places of cultural and historic interest.

(4) Both sides agree to provide for living quarters for the wife of any participant who may desire to remain with him during the academic year and to permit the wives of other participants at least one thirty-day visit during their sojourn. The receiving side will bear no expense for the travel or sojourn of wives.

EXCHANGES OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS AND LANGUAGE SPECIALISTS (PAR. (2), SEC. VI)

(5) Participants in the exchange may be accompanied by one or two language specialists (leaders).

The receiving side will provide the participants (including the language specialists) with free tuition, stipends, free living quarters (dormitories), and medical services. The amount of the stipends and the conditions of medical care will be subject to agreement between the Committee and the Ministry. Each side will make every possible effort to pay the stipend in full directly to the participant.

The sending side will bear all travel expenses for its participants in this exchange.

The dates for the courses and for the exchange of lists of participants will be agreed upon between the Committee and the Ministry which will also exchange drafts of the programs for the courses and commentaries on them by mutually agreed dates.

EXCHANGES OF RESEARCHERS AND LECTURERS (PAR. (3), SEC. VI)

(6) The Committee and the Ministry will exchange lists of scholars proposed by the sending side for research, the necessary information concerning each of them, and their programs of research by April 1, 1964, and February 1, 1965, for those who are to be sent during the first semester for agreed periods of stay in the forthcoming academic year, and by November 1 of each year for those to be sent for agreed periods of stay in the second semester.

The receiving side will inform the sending side of the placement of the scholars in universities and other institutions of higher learning by June 15, 1964, May 1, 1965, and December 31 of each year, respectively.

The scholars will inform their host university or institution of higher learning of the results of their research in a manner and on a date agreed upon with the representatives of that educational institution.

(7) The Committee and the Ministry will exchange lists of—

- (a) Subjects of lecturers in which the institutions of higher learning of the receiving side are interested;
- (b) Scholars each of the sides would like to invite for lecturing; and
- (c) Scholars proposed by the sending side for the consideration of the receiving side.

The Committee and the Ministry will reply within four months concerning the possibility of sending and receiving lecturers on the basis of the above-mentioned lists. Not more than one month later, the receiving side will send confirmation of its acceptance of lecturers proposed in response to the subjects submitted as provided for in (a) above.

The dates of the exchange of lists, their form and the nature of the information about the scholars will be agreed upon subsequently.

(8) Participants in the exchange will be provided by the receiving side with free living quarters, as well as with medical services and monthly stipends as agreed upon by the Committee and the Ministry.

Participants may be accompanied by their wives, but the receiving side will not bear any expenses for the travel or maintenance of the participant's wife.

The sending side will bear the costs of travel for its participants to and from the receiving country and within that country. The procedure for paying travel costs within the receiving country for visiting lecturers will be agreed upon separately between the Committee and the Ministry.

The receiving side will provide interpreters for those lecturers for whom this is necessary.

(9) Each side may send, at its own expense, its representatives to the receiving country to familiarize themselves with the conditions of study and sojourn of its participants in these exchanges.

MEMORANDUM

on cooperation in the field of utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes between the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the State Committee of the USSR for the Utilization of Atomic Energy pursuant to the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on exchanges in the scientific, technical, educational, cultural, and other fields in 1962-1963.

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the State Committee of the USSR for the Utilization of Atomic Energy;

Bearing in mind the cooperation implemented to date in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy;

Desiring further expansion and development of this cooperation;

Recalling Section II (3) of the Agreement between the USA and the USSR on exchanges in the scientific, technical, educational, cultural, and other fields in 1962-1963, signed at Washington on March 8, 1962;

Have agreed upon the following arrangements and procedures for carrying out reciprocal exchanges in the course of 1963-1965;

I. EXCHANGE OF SPECIALIST VISITS

For the purpose of studying scientific and technical achievements in the field of peaceful utilization of atomic energy in the USA and the USSR, both Parties agree to conduct exchanges of visits by groups of specialists to scientific establishments in the USA and the USSR on an agreed and reciprocal basis in the following fields:

1. Nuclear power reactors, including fast neutron reactors and nuclear superheat reactors;
2. Plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear fusion;
3. Nuclear physics, physics of high- and low-energy particles;
4. Solid state physics;
5. Purification and disposal of radioactive waste products;
6. The use of tracer compounds in medicine;
7. Radioneurological research;
8. Design and utilization of charged particle accelerators.

As to the production, separation, and purification of transplutonium isotopes, this question is subject to agreement in 1964.

The visits indicated above, as well as additional visits which may be agreed in these and other fields of peaceful uses of atomic energy, shall be carried out in accordance with the following procedures:

(a) The specific dates and duration of visits, composition of groups, list of facilities to be visited, as well as the specific field of activity contemplated by each Side for each exchange of visits, shall be agreed upon between the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the State Committee of the USSR for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, and confirmed through diplomatic channels. However, each group of specialists from either Side will consist of up to ten (10) persons and the length of each visit will be from 10 to 15 days.

(b) In all cases the sending country will pay the subsistence, lodging, transportation, and other expenses of its scientists and personnel accompanying them to their destination and return, as well as within the host country. The host country will be responsible for making suitable arrangements such as hotel accommodation and travel, and for providing necessary interpreters.

(c) This Memorandum should not be construed to cover principles and conditions governing the participation of scientists and specialists of both countries in conferences (symposia) organized in the USA and the USSR.

(d) Agreement in regard to any exchanges under this Memorandum may be terminated by either Side on thirty days' notice.

II. EXCHANGE OF RESEARCH SPECIALISTS

The Parties agree to implement an exchange of 2-3 research specialists in each of the fields of controlled thermonuclear fusion, reactor techniques, and the physics of high-energy particles to gain practical experience and to study the performance of operating thermonuclear installations and apparatus, reactors and accelerators in the USA and the USSR for a term of not over one year. This term shall be determined by agreement in each separate case.

III. EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION

The Parties agree to exchange scientific information on a reciprocal basis by means of sending unclassified documents (books, monographs, and preprints) on current work concerned with the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Parties shall each provide the other each month ten (10) new documents (2 copies each) starting from the month following signing of this Memorandum until the end of the term of this Memorandum. Initially, the exchange of documents would be in the areas in which the Parties agree to exchange visits. The number of documents to be exchanged and the list of areas of exchanges may be increased by agreement.

The Parties also agree to exchange doctoral dissertations in the fields of high-energy physics, nuclear physics, solid state physics, controlled thermonuclear fusion, and the use of tracer compounds in medicine. Initially, the Parties agree to exchange forty (40) such suitable dissertations (2 copies each) on current work, provided that this number may be increased by mutual agreement. In this connection the Parties have agreed that the dissertations sent by the State Committee of the USSR for the Utilization of Atomic Energy shall consist of dissertations for the degree of candidate of science as well as doctor of science.

In order that the International Atomic Energy Agency and its members may fully benefit from this cooperation, the reports and other documents which the Parties to the agreement will exchange will also be transmitted to the Agency.

IV. HOLDING JOINT CONFERENCES AND DISCUSSING RESEARCH ON SPECIFIC SCIENTIFIC PROBLEMS

The Parties agree to hold joint conferences of specialists of both countries to discuss works on low-energy nuclear physics (in the Soviet Union) and on purification of liquid radioactive wastes from power and research reactors and radiochemical laboratories, and solidification and disposal of radioactive wastes (in the United States). The scheduling of conferences and the number of participants shall be agreed upon later.

V. EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS

The Parties will consider the possibility of making available to each other scientific instruments on agreed terms and on a reciprocal basis. Such arrangements will proceed only to the extent mutually agreed upon and permissible under the laws and export policies of the respective countries.

* * * * *

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the State Committee of the USSR for the Utilization of Atomic Energy may, from time to time, come to agreement on additional proposals which will be subject to approval by both sides.

This Memorandum shall enter into force on the date of its signature and shall thereupon replace the Memorandum on cooperation between the USA and the USSR in the field of the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, signed at Washington on November 24, 1959.

This Memorandum shall continue in force for the years 1963-1965, provided that its continuation beyond 1963 shall be subject to the anticipated renewal of the existing intergovernmental agreement on exchanges.

Done at Moscow on May 21, 1963, in duplicate in the English and Russian languages) both texts being authentic and having equal force.

For the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission

For the State Committee of the USSR for the Utilization of Atomic Energy.

Following is a statement issued in Palm Springs, California, on February 22, 1964, concerning the United States-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Exchanges for 1964-65:

"The Secretary of State is pleased that this morning in Moscow the American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Foy D. Kohler, and the Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Cultural Relations, S. K. Romanovsky, have signed the fourth cultural Exchanges Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"The new Agreement is based on the successful experience of the past six years and continues a trend of expanded and increasingly useful exchanges in a variety of fields including the arts, sciences, technology, and education.

"The exchanges program in fact has been one in which continuous and coordinated efforts between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union have been very constructive. And, it is the Secretary's hope that this mutually advantageous arrangement will continue, for he strongly believes that greater Soviet knowledge of the United States and increased American familiarity with the Soviet Union are bound to contribute to better understanding and improved relations between the two countries."

Following is the text of Ambassador Foy D. Kohler's remarks upon signing in Moscow February 22, on behalf of the United States, the Agreement on Exchanges with the U.S.S.R. in 1964-65:

"It is a particular pleasure for me to sign, on behalf of the United States, this new Agreement on Exchanges in the Scientific, Technical, Educational, Cultural, and Other Fields for the years 1964 and 1965. This new Agreement represents a continuance and expansion of the important program of American-Soviet exchanges which has been maintained since the first Agreement was signed in January 1958.

"Negotiations, which have led to this Agreement, have taken place in Moscow, from January 7th until today. The very length of the negotiations—forty-six days—reflects the complexity of the problems considered in the various fields of exchanges; as well as the differences in systems and methods in carrying out exchanges and visits between the two countries. Compromises were found to bridge the differences of approaches and we consider that the present Agreement represents a satisfactory coordination, under present circumstances, of these differences.

"This work has been carried out in a friendly, businesslike atmosphere and it is a source of mutual congratulations that the negotiations have come to a successful conclusion. I want to express my appreciation to Mr. Romanovsky and his colleagues for their assistance in this mutual effort. We believe that this Agreement, which recognizes the principles of reciprocity and mutual advantage, provides the basis for balanced, increased exchanges during the next two years. While we believe this new Agreement represents a measure of progress over the previous exchanges Agreement, we look forward, in subsequent agreements, to further and more substantial progress. We look forward to our goal of a more normal movement of information and persons between our two countries.

"I would like to emphasize that travel between the United States and the Soviet Union is not and should not be limited to any officially sponsored exchanges program. There are ample opportunities for tourist travel, providing person-to-person contact, and we hope that the present modest number of Soviet tourists coming to the United States will substantially increase. As you know, the United States abolished, in July 1962, closed areas for Soviet citizens coming to the United States under the exchanges program or as tourists.

"Negotiations held at the same time have led to Agreements between the National Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., as well as between the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy, providing for the continuance of exchanges and visits between American and Soviet scholars and scientists for 1964 and 1965. These Agreements will become effective when approved by the governing bodies of these institutions.

"The President, the Secretary of State, and the American public encourage and support a mutually advantageous exchanges program with the Soviet Union. I am glad to testify to the usefulness of this program. We all look forward to two more years of even more valuable exchanges, including a broader flow of information, which will contribute to the betterment of relations between our two countries."

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

1. This document contains information that is classified as CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION.

2. It is the policy of the Department of Defense to protect this information from unauthorized disclosure.

3. This information is to be controlled, stored, transmitted, and disposed of in accordance with the policies and procedures of the Department of Defense.

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EXHIBIT II

UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. EXCHANGES PROGRAM

(Statement prepared by the Department of State)

BACKGROUND

The fourth in a series of two-year Agreements on Exchanges with the Soviet Union was signed in Moscow by U.S. Ambassador Foy D. Kohler on February 22, 1964. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world with which the United States conducts cultural, educational, scientific, and technical exchanges by means of comprehensive, formal intergovernmental agreement.

The first agreement in the series, sometimes called the Lacy-Zarubin Agreement after its signers, was concluded in Washington on January 27, 1958, and covered the years 1958 and 1959. Subsequent agreements, negotiated alternately in Moscow and Washington, covered the two-year periods 1960-61 and 1962-63. The current agreement is valid for 1964 and 1965. Cultural, in the broad sense of the word, these agreements have a wide range of human activity: the fields of science, technology and industry, agriculture, medicine, education and scholarly research, motion pictures, performing arts, culture and art, the professions, informational media, sports, and tourism.

By the end of 1963, according to records of the Department of State, 5,495 Americans had traveled to the U.S.S.R. as the result of 520 exchanges projects, and 4,646 Soviet citizens had come to the United States under 550 exchanges projects. During this six-year period, the annual level of exchanges rose slightly, but the number of persons involved fluctuated from year to year, from a minimum of approximately 500 persons to a maximum of approximately 1,000 persons traveling in each direction. These figures, however, cover only exchanges arranged for under the several agreements, but not tourism which varied during the same period between an estimated 8,000 to 12,000 Americans annually going to the Soviet Union and from 77 to 450 Soviet citizens annually coming to the United States.

Since 1955, exchanges with the U.S.S.R. have enjoyed the support and encouragement of three administrations, those of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Both American and Soviet national leaders have, on various occasions, made favorable public references to the program of United States-U.S.S.R. exchanges, probably with somewhat different or overlapping purposes and objectives in mind but, nevertheless, in recognition of mutual advantage from the program.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Since the internal systems and external policies of the United States and the U.S.S.R. differ radically, it is to be expected that the goals and methods of the two countries in a program of bilateral exchanges are considerably at variance. Soviet society, which, under Stalin, was virtually sealed off against unwanted foreign influence, remains largely a closed and controlled one despite perceptible influences for change from within and without. U.S. society is open. In deciding to engage in a program of exchanges with the United States over six years ago, Soviet leaders knowingly accepted the calculated risk of complicating their tasks in the field of internal control. Although, in any real sense, "private" exchanges with the Soviet Union are still impossible, acceptance of the principle and practice of exchanges has obliged the U.S.S.R. to adopt at least a permissive attitude towards a degree of direct personal, professional, and scholarly contacts with Soviet citizens and groups. The United States has, at the same time, insisted on a balanced program of exchanges with reciprocal opportunity and mutual advantage in all areas, and has been able, in the main, to carry out successful exchanges in fields outside primary Soviet interest.

As far as exchanges with the United States are concerned, Soviet primary goals appear to be twofold: to obtain scientific and technical information, and to paint a favorable picture of the Soviet Union and Soviet policies.

Considering the first goal, the Soviet Union is still a developing country, very successful in fields to which it gives top priority, far behind the West in many other fields it considers less important. In pursuing this goal of industrialization and economic development, the Soviet leaders have been assiduous in studying the achievements of the West and borrowing from them, and the exchanges program is considered as a vehicle for obtaining information, especially scientific and technological data. The United States takes adequate steps against a one-way flow of information. All exchanges are carefully and continuously examined by the Departments of State, Commerce, and Defense, as well as other government agencies, with an eye first of all to the protection of the national security. The exchanges program is carried out under directives of the National Security Council, and considerations of security take first place in all planning. Reciprocity is the basic principle that is applicable in all areas of exchanges, but particularly in the areas that touch on the national security—science, technology, and industry. Moreover, the visa laws and regulations that govern the entry of Soviet citizens include security safeguards, and itineraries and technical visits must be checked with the Department of State. In sum, Americans need not fear that the exchanges program is a one-way street, or that any reasonable safeguard is omitted in the protection of the national security.

The second Soviet goal is to portray the U.S.S.R. in the best possible light. This may be done through artistic groups, through motion pictures or magazines, or through Soviet visitors who speak to the press along official Soviet lines. Since our system is based on freedom of information, Americans can reasonably cope with propaganda; but since the Soviet system operates on the basis of propaganda, providing Soviet citizens with factual information becomes of great importance and has a potentially great effect.

The long-term American goal in U.S.-Soviet exchanges is the normal flow of information and persons between the two countries. In pursuing this goal, American participants have been heartened by the popular Soviet response to visitors from this country and information about it. The official magazine *Amerika*, circulated in 62,000 copies in the U.S.S.R. every month in Russian, has, since 1957, proved to be popular with Soviet citizens, as have American motion pictures. Many observers have noted the enthusiastic response to American representatives ranging from symphony orchestras to basketball teams. The six American exhibitions that have appeared under the Exchanges Agreements have drawn capacity audiences and highly favorable comments. All these have had their effect—as has the presence of over 60,000 American tourists and exchange visitors in the U.S.S.R. since 1958. At the same time, Soviet visitors to this country are bound to receive profound impressions—and more than 6,000 tourists and exchange participants have come since 1958.

But these effects should not be overemphasized. The exchanges program is severely limited in scope and numbers; ordinarily, it does not reach the mass of the Soviet population. Moreover, the influencing of Soviet society by exchanges is a long-term and indirect process. One cannot point to immediate effect, but must only hope that increased exchanges taking place over many years will eventually bring useful results. There is a need to keep channels of communication open, and one channel is the exchanges program. Attention is also given to short-term aims, primarily obtaining information in order to evaluate the Soviet Union and its changing society. In this area, the Exchanges Agreements have yielded much fruitful information and many opportunities have been presented for examining elements of the Soviet system. The exchanges program has been a boon to scholars, to those in private industry interested in developments in comparable fields, and to all those in government and private life wanting to know more about Soviet activity in many areas.

Thus, the United States carries on exchanges with the Soviet Union in full knowledge of the limitations of those exchanges: they are not a strong enough vehicle to reform the Soviet Union or to solve fundamental problems. But they are useful in learning more about the world's second strongest power, and over the long term they may help to influence that power in more constructive directions.

ORGANIZATION OF EXCHANGES

The Role of the Government.—The Soviet and Eastern European Exchanges Staff in the Department of State develops and coordinates policies for exchanges with the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, carrying out negotiations and arrangements in consultation with governmental agencies and private organizations. The Exchanges Staff depends for policy guidance upon the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. Other areas of the Department of State play important roles in the program, particularly the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which is generally responsible for American exchanges and programs around the world. For the Soviet and Eastern European program, this Bureau provides funds for educational, cultural, and athletic exchanges, as well as specialist and leader grants for persons in these and other fields.

The United States Information Agency has several major functions in the program. In general, it has operational responsibility for the very important informational exchanges, such as constructing and staging exhibits, publishing *Amerika* for distribution in the U.S.S.R., and preparing radio and television programs for exchange use.

Other agencies of the government play significant roles. The Department of Commerce has made arrangements for many Soviet industrial delegations, and advises the Exchanges Staff when problems arise concerning the export of technological data. Numerous agencies have sponsored, organized, and financed exchanges in their fields: the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Interior, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Public Health Service, the Office of Education, the Atomic Energy Commission, and others. The Library of Congress has played a large role in the exchange of publications, and the National Science Foundation has furnished support for scientific exchanges. The Department of Defense gives advice on visits to technical installations by Soviet exchange participants, and provides financial support for the holding of many scientific conferences.

In short, the Department of State makes exchanges policy and negotiates and makes arrangements for exchanges. It depends for information, advice and sponsorship of specific exchanges upon many other agencies of the government.

The Role of Private Organizations.—Governmental funds for exchanges and resources for carrying them out are limited. Within the Department of State, funds of the Exchanges Staff are limited to administrative costs, interpreters' expenses and staff travel; only the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs has had funds to finance exchanges in certain fields. Elsewhere in the government, USIA has received funds for informational exchanges—such as exhibits or magazines—while other agencies have financed the specific exchanges they sponsored. In some fields, governmental agencies are equipped to take over an entire field of exchanges—medical exchanges, for example, may be planned and financed by the Public Health Service—but for most planned exchanges the government is dependent upon private bodies for financing and programing. The majority of exchanges in the technical and industrial field have been sponsored and financed by industries and industrial organizations such as the American Iron and Steel Institute, the American Petroleum Institute and the American Association of Railroads. It has been estimated that private financial support of exchanges has been at least half as great as government support, and perhaps even larger. Obviously, then, the exchanges program could not have taken place without the generous support received from private American organizations and individuals.

Some of these organizations have played major and continuing roles in exchanges. The Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, partly supported by the Ford Foundation, has coordinated, on behalf of its participating universities, the exchange of graduate students. And the National Academy of Sciences, under a separate agreement with the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has sponsored and arranged exchanges of scientists. The American Council of Learned Societies has undertaken a similar program with the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the humanities and social sciences.

IMPLEMENTATION OF EXCHANGES PROGRAM

The four Exchanges Agreements since 1958 have followed a similar structure but, with the years, provision for increased exchanges. Although total numbers of exchanges have slowly increased, the number of persons in officially sponsored exchanges has remained fairly constant. At the same time, some of the diffi-

culties in implementing specific exchanges, notably in the exchange of performing arts groups, have been eased by the Soviet general acceptance of the principles of early selection of groups, equal conditions and comparable itineraries. For example, four American groups performed in 1963 in 23 different Soviet cities, as contrasted with visits to four different cities by two groups in 1960.

The difficulties in the implementation of exchanges usually stem from the disparity of the two systems and the goals of each country. Because of the priority it gives to obtaining technological and scientific information, as noted above, the Soviet Union has always emphasized this phase of exchanges, while partially or wholly ignoring other areas. The United States has responded by insisting on a balanced program, emphasizing the broad and longer term exchanges, as well as the narrow technical ones. When the Soviet negotiators have proposed a larger number of technological delegations, the United States has insisted on a comparable increase in other fields, such as education or culture. As a result, the program has been more or less balanced among the various fields, but this balance is maintained only by continued United States insistence.

Even under the several Agreements, the Soviet Union has sought its own advantage by pressing for implementation of exchanges it desires—and by often proposing additional ad hoc exchanges in the same fields—and by moving as slowly as possible to implement other sections. For example, the radio-television section of the 1958 Agreement was never implemented, and implementation of similar provisions in the 1959 Agreement did not begin until a year after it was signed. Accord on fulfilling the exhibits section of the 1959 Agreement was not reached until January 1961, and the first exhibits did not open until May. Similar delays occurred in the exhibits planned under the 1962 Agreement, and only two of the agreed three on each side were exchanged. In the educational field, American students in the U.S.S.R. have been hampered by excessive restrictions on travel and by lack of access to certain research materials. Even in the field of technology and industry, implementation of exchanges has produced protracted negotiation because of Soviet attempts to avoid reciprocity—to which the United States has responded with insistence on equal opportunities in subject matter, technical visits, itineraries, and number of delegations.

Soviet scientists continue to attend a significantly greater number of scientific and technical conferences in the United States than do their American counterparts in the Soviet Union. Although this is partly caused by the larger number of conferences organized in the United States and the initiative of some American organizers in seeking Soviet attendance, the Department of State continues to press the Soviet authorities to correct in greater measure the imbalance which exists in scientific conference attendance, and reserves the right to insist on advance assurances of comparable opportunities in the Soviet Union when it is considered necessary.

The negotiations for the 1964-65 Agreement, which were concluded on February 22, 1964, after 46 days of negotiations, illustrated two Soviet policies in the exchanges field. First, the Soviet negotiators rejected all efforts to widen or increase informational exchanges and, in particular, refused to consider the commercial sale of American books, journals and newspapers and, despite the section on radio and television exchanges, to give clear indication of any increase in this field; and the Soviet side agreed to a continuance of the exhibits program only under considerable pressure. Second, the Soviet negotiators sought to obtain formal approval in advance of all activities of Soviet organizations and to equate these organizations with private American groups. These efforts were rejected because of the official nature of Soviet organizations and the need for the Department of State, in order to maintain the reputation and public acceptance of the exchanges program, to determine whether a particular exchange came within the provisions of the officially sponsored program. It was pointed out that visits not considered as exchanges under the Agreement, such as mutual visits between American and Soviet women's and youth groups, could be arranged as tourist visits. At the same time, it was emphasized, as Ambassador Kohler said at the signing ceremony that "travel between the United States and the Soviet Union is not and should not be limited to any officially sponsored exchanges program." He went on to say that "there are ample opportunities for tourist travel, providing person-to-person contact, and we hope that the present modest number of Soviet tourists coming to the United States will substantially increase."

The new Exchanges Agreement, although similar to the previous ones, is better balanced and provides for a possible fifteen percent increase. However, the Soviet reluctance to use scarce convertible currency for exchanges activity may affect this possible increase, and current indications are that the program will not be expanded, at least for 1964.

The new Agreement is noteworthy in several respects. There is a more varied and acceptable group of technical exchanges in fields such as oceanography, organization of production and management, scientific and technical information, plastics, urban planning and others. The somewhat expanded agricultural and public health sections include provisions for long-term research. Although educational exchanges will remain about the same level, the continuance of this portion of the program which includes long-term study for graduate students and shorter term visits of more advanced lecturers and researchers under gradually improving conditions, is significant. Despite the strong resistance to any increase in informational exchanges, an acceptable exhibits section provides for three traveling exhibits in the Soviet Union (Communications, Architecture and Hand Tools) in three cities for four weeks and efforts are being made to insure that all three exhibits agreed upon by each side will actually be shown. The Soviet Union will exhibit in the fields of Conquest of Space Children's Creative Activities and Public Health. Especially welcome are the provisions for specific exchanges in the cultural and professional fields including writers, composers, artists and sculptors, architects, theatrical scene designers, choreographers, professional women, legal specialists and others; and steps are in progress to implement these exchanges. Considerable interest is expressed in carrying out the provisions for exchanges of museum specialists and museum exhibitions. Finally, the performing arts exchanges, which have developed well, should continue the success of the previous two years.

APRIL 18, 1964.



EXHIBIT III

UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF TELEVISION

(Statement prepared by the Department of State)

Soviet hesitancy and suspicion still prevent anything like a free flow of information. One field in which true exchanges are still primitive and lop-sided is that of television.

Soviet officials and visitors in the United States have always enjoyed the privilege of direct access to the public information media of this country, including television stations and networks, and have often solicited television time for the purpose of conveying Soviet viewpoints to the American public. Television stations and networks, with a sense for what is newsworthy or of audience interest, have been alert to the exploitation of Soviet personalities and visitors. It is usually difficult, if not impossible, to discern the fine line between appearances which have been arranged on Soviet initiative and those which have resulted from the desire of American television stations to diversify their own coverage.

This situation has put the United States at a decided disadvantage in endeavoring to gain reciprocity in the U.S.S.R. in this field. It is neither the role nor the privilege of the Department of State to restrict the access of American television to legitimate news and entertainment coverage. It is the role and responsibility of the Department, however, to endeavor to obtain more uncensored coverage of American subjects and personal appearances on Soviet television.

To achieve this end, the Department of State succeeded in negotiating into each of the four two-year Agreements on Exchanges with the U.S.S.R. a section providing for exchanges of television programs on a regular basis and according to certain technical specifications. Under these provisions of the Exchanges Agreements, the United States Information Agency has carefully prepared a total of 28 Russian-language television films. A number of other television films on topical subjects have been provided to the U.S.S.R. through U.S. Government channels (for instance, John Glenn's space flight, President Kennedy's American University and United Nations General Assembly addresses of August and September, 1963 and his July 26, 1963, television talk on the nuclear test ban treaty, an interview with poet Robert Frost, and Danny Kaye's "report" on his trip to the U.S.S.R.). These films were not specially edited or voiced for Soviet audiences.

Unfortunately, only six of the 28 specially tailored programs prepared by the USIA have been televised in the U.S.S.R. without significant alteration. As far as has been ascertained, only two of the topical unedited films provided through Government channels have been televised there. (Parts of the film on President Kennedy's American University address were televised during Soviet coverage of the President's assassination and last rites. The Robert Frost interview was televised on October 6, 1962, shortly after the poet had been to the U.S.S.R., but Soviet editors failed to translate the Frost lines "Something there is that doesn't love a wall, that wants it down.")

The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, has not thus far seen fit to exploit to any extent the mechanism of the Agreement on Exchanges to gain U.S. television time. During the course of the four two-year Agreements, only five Soviet television programs have been submitted through the prescribed Government channel. None of these was dubbed into English and only one, a feature-length film on the composer Prokofiev, was found suitable for televising by U.S. stations to which these films were distributed.

Soviet disinterest in preparing special television materials for submission through official channels may be explained by the U.S.S.R.'s success in gaining direct access to U.S. television screens. To cite only a few outstanding examples: Chairman Khrushchev received saturation U.S. television coverage during his 1959 tour of the United States. President Eisenhower's 1960 trip to the U.S.S.R. did not materialize and Vice President Nixon received only nominal television coverage when in the U.S.S.R. to open the United States National Exhibition in 1959. Khrushchev again received extensive coverage during his visit to the United Nations General Assembly in the Fall of 1960 and, for example, was interviewed for two hours by David Susskind. In June 1961 "Izvestia" editor Aleksei Adzhubei and Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Chief Mikhail Kharlamov appeared for an hour on NBC-TV in debate with White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger and "New York Times" correspondent Harrison Salisbury. (Adzhubei failed to follow through in arranging for this debate to be televised in the U.S.S.R.) In addition, the Soviet Ambassador, various other Soviet diplomats, correspondents, scientists, and other visitors have been interviewed at length on U.S. television. Soviet cultural attractions, exhibitions, and professional visitors to this country have received considerable, but lesser television coverage.

It can be said that Soviet television has given adequate, if not comparable, coverage to U.S. cultural attractions and athletic competition in the U.S.S.R. and that it has televised an occasional American film. It has not, however, provided reciprocity for the extensive appearances of Soviet political figures in the United States. (In addition to the 1959 coverage on Vice President Nixon, already mentioned, the only remotely comparable Soviet television coverage was also in that early period: invitations to Ambassador Thompson to appear briefly on Moscow television on the eve of American Independence Day in 1958 and 1959, and the televising of a series of interviews by Soviet students of five American personalities—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice William O. Douglas, Senator Allen J. Ellender, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Marion D. Folsom and National Academy of Sciences President Detlev W. Bronk. These five interviews were, however, in direct reciprocity for a series of five interviews of Soviet personalities produced by NBC's program "Youth Wants to Know.")

Repeated requests by the Department of State for the Soviet television authorities to grant reciprocal television time for the appearance of Soviet personalities on United States television have either been rejected or ignored. Thus, a major objective of the United States in its program of exchanges with the U.S.S.R.—the free and reciprocal flow of information—still is a long way from achievement in the field of television. Under the new U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Exchanges a somewhat new approach will be used in order to explore possibilities for a fairer exchange in this field. USIA has, for the time being, abandoned the costly procedure of preparing tailored Russian-language programs for televising in the U.S.S.R. It will instead select television films which it will be difficult for Soviet officials to reject. These will be jointly reviewed and discussed before they are prepared in final form. The same procedure will obtain for Soviet television materials submitted under the Agreement. Parallel with this procedure, the Department of State will continue its efforts to obtain the cooperation of American television stations and networks in arranging exchanges of television programs on every possible occasion and in insisting on "equal time" on Soviet television when they are approached by Soviet officials for appearances in this country.

The titles of these films are listed separately, together with the dates they were delivered to the U.S.S.R. and whether or not they were televised there.

APRIL 18, 1964.

List of Russian-language films prepared by USIA for televising in the U.S.S.R.

| Title | When delivered | Televised in U.S.S.R. |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Newsreel No. 1..... | January 1961..... | Yes. |
| Newsreel No. 2..... | do..... | Yes. |
| Kennedy Inauguration Documentary..... | do..... | Excerpts. |
| First Kennedy News Conference..... | February 1961..... | Yes. |
| Second Kennedy News Conference..... | do..... | Yes. |
| Rehearsal for Tomorrow—Eastman School of Music..... | March 1961..... | No. |
| Seventh Kennedy News Conference..... | do..... | No. |
| Eighth Kennedy News Conference..... | April 1961..... | No. |
| Shepard Space Flight..... | May 1961..... | Yes. |
| Kennedy "Alliance for Progress" Speech..... | do..... | No. |
| Kennedy Speech to American Society of Newspapers Editors..... | do..... | No. |
| Kennedy News Conference of May 5..... | do..... | No. |
| Small Town U.S.A..... | October 1961..... | No. |
| Music in the Forest—Interlochen, Michigan Music Camp..... | November 1961..... | No. |
| Newsreels Nos. 3 and 4..... | do..... | No. |
| Cowboy Legend..... | December 1961..... | No. |
| Newsreels Nos. 5 and 6..... | do..... | No. |
| Invisible World—Oceanographic Exploration..... | do..... | No. |
| High Places of the Mind—New England and American Thought..... | July 1962..... | No. |
| Newsreels Nos. 7 through 10..... | September 1962..... | Excerpts. |
| Education of Johnny Schnell—a Small Town Boy..... | do..... | No. |
| Some of Our Voices—Contemporary Cultural Currents in the U.S..... | August 1963..... | Yes. |
| Press Conference U.S.A.—Martin Luther King..... | do..... | No. |

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