
THE WILSON CENTER



March 29, 1982

Agenda for meeting of Board of Trustees
Program Committee

- 10:30 - 11:30 Committee members
- 11:30 - 12:00 Committee to meet with
Messrs. Billington
and Gifford
- 12:00 - 1:15 Lunch with Program
Secretaries
- 1:15 - 2:00 Committee meeting in
Executive Session

THE WILSON CENTER

JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

March 26, 1982

Mr. Stuart E. Eizenstat
Suite 1050
1110 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Stu:

In preparation for the meeting on Monday morning, I am enclosing the following:

1. Comments of the outside review panel headed by Professor Jaroslav Pelikan. This panel, composed of Caryl Haskins, Steven Muller, Wesley Posvar, and Elspeth Rostow, reviewed all the international programs. Panelists were deliberately chosen because they had no prior involvement with either the Center or with any area studies program.
2. Individual reviews of a particular program by area specialists with no direct connection with the Center: C. Mesa-Lago, J. Tulchin, F. Knight, P. Smith (Latin American Program); J. Lewis and S. Turner (ISSP); V. Aspaturian and W. Rosenberg (KIARS); and Ou-fan Lee (EAP).
3. A statement entitled "The Benefits of Programs" written by our staff, pulling together arguments which are scattered through the evaluation materials on individual programs.
4. A summary of the financial expenditures of the international programs since 1976.
5. Still to come is the Director's Recommendations following on his review of the evaluation.

Sincerely,



James H. Billington

cc: Members of the Program Committee
(Messrs. Baroody, Ciccone, Oppenheimer, Trowbridge and Warner)



University of Pittsburgh

CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES
4E04 Forbes Quadrangle

March 10, 1982

Mr. James H. Billington
Director, The Wilson Center
Smithsonian Institution Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20560

Dear Mr. Billington:

Please excuse the delay in sending my evaluation of the Latin American Program (LAP). As Mrs. Weathers probably told you, I was out of town and did not receive your January 21 letter until two weeks later, but, upon receipt, I promptly telephoned to accept your request. Unfortunately, the package of materials for the evaluation was mailed to an old address and was lost. Since I was in Washington on March 1-6 for the LASA meetings, Mrs. Weathers arranged for me to work with another set of materials at the Center. I will answer your four questions briefly and then elaborate on some key issues.

First I believe LAP has accomplished a remarkable job in the five years it has been in operation, building up a reputation of scholarship, dynamism, competitiveness, trust and independence. Abe Lowenthal and his staff should be commended for their outstanding effort. I think that the average quality of the Fellows has been quite high and individual quality has improved through time. About half of the Fellows have produced solid, respectable work and in some topics (e.g., authoritarianism and redemocratization, U.S. policy in Latin America) LAP has made a significant contribution to the field. Although five years is a relatively brief period for an evaluation of the cumulative impact of the program, it is clear to me that LAP has established an "identity" and served the field well, mainly by disseminating ideas to a wide public audience and bringing scholars and policy makers together in Washington. These two important functions, in my opinion, make LAP different from other university-based centers which place less emphasis on policy-related issues.

Concerning balance, the following table provides a rough percentage distribution of the fellows by discipline (or topic), country of specialization and nationality:

<u>Discipline/topic</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>%</u>
Politics	43	Latin America or sub-regions	35	Latin America	58
History	23	Mexico	17	United States	36
Economics	12	Brazil	10		
Literature-culture	10	Argentina, Chile, Peru	14	Europe	6
Others	12	Seven other countries	24	- - -	
Totals	100		100		100

Sixty-six percent of the Fellows have been either political scientists or historians (or worked on political or historical issues); there have been not enough economists, very few sociologists and demographers, and no anthropologists, nor specialists in business, environment or health. Thirty-five percent of the Fellows have worked on global issues (either Latin America as a whole or subregions like the Andes or the Caribbean) but very few have done comparative work; another 41 percent of the Fellows have conducted research on the five most important L.A. countries, but eighteen countries have not been dealt with at all including most of those in the strategic Caribbean Basin. Close to 60 percent of the Fellows come from Latin America and about half of them from four countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru. Ideological balance is very difficult to judge but I would venture to say that most Fellows have been relatively close to the center of the political spectrum with some of them leaning to the left and very few to the right. If a better balance is to be achieved in the future, more Fellows should: be from the U.S. (and perhaps Europe); work on economic, business, legal, anthropological, sociological or ecological topics; have a more conservative philosophy; and deal with important countries particularly in the Caribbean Basin.

A careful study of the evaluations included in the package clearly indicates that the LAP staff is overburdened with administrative duties and faces serious limitations of space and other facilities. As a result of this, staff members have little time to do their own research and more actively interact with the Fellows. To effectively cover the Center's three major functions (research, diffusion and interaction), LAP personnel as well as its financial resources and physical facilities would have to be substantially increased, a commendable but hard proposition to implement in the recessive 1980s. It appears that there is some conflict within the program between academic research and outreach activities, between immediate policy-oriented functions and those which are not policy oriented and between social science researchers and humanistic fellows, particularly creative writers. There are opposing viewpoints on each of these conflicts. Some "ivory-tower" Fellows complained about excessive distractions from their research or criticized counter-productive policy seminars while the more "involved" Fellows praised the Center for providing them with a unique opportunity for interaction. Having Mario Vargas Llosa (one of the best novelists in Latin America today) as a Fellow and a member of the Council has undoubtedly increased the prestige and visibility of LAP, and reinforced the humanistic concern of the Center.

Mr. James H. Billington
Director, The Wilson Center

Unfortunately the package didn't contain Vargas Llosa's evaluation, but another creative writer made me think that the writers had little interaction with the social science Fellows and Washington policy makers.

If LAP's level of funding continues to be basically the same, some sort of compromise about functions will have to be reached in order to reduce the problems and conflicts discussed above. When asked the hypothetical question of what he would cut if the LAP budget were slashed by 50 percent, Abe indicated outreach. But in terms of research, LAP does not have a clear advantage vis-a-vis U.S. universities with top centers of Latin American studies because the latter have a stronger administrative infrastructure and a higher number of specialists devoted to teaching and research for longer periods. On the other hand, LAP has an advantage over university-based centers in terms of its objectives, location and possibility of interaction with policy makers.

In my opinion, LAP should better integrate its research with diffusion and interaction functions so that the former feeds the latter. This will require the elimination of some fields or disciplines (e.g., creative literature) and others better chosen according to their connection to policy-oriented issues (e.g., literature and politics, history as it bears on contemporary policy options). The idea of selecting a major theme (or themes) annually or every other year is excellent since it would give increased cohesiveness to the program and facilitate more fruitful interchange among the Fellows themselves and with policy makers.

Let me finally refer to another important aspect mentioned by some of the former Fellows: that of insufficient participation from, and interchange and coordination with Latin American centers in U.S. universities. In his self-evaluation, Abe suggests that in the future LAP should share more with those centers; if this goal is indeed implemented, scarce resources could be used in a more efficient manner. Let me give in this sense two examples from my own institution: the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. Last fall we organized a program on Venezuelan foreign policy, attended by seven top government officials, senators and congressmen, and several U.S. scholars (including Robert Bond from LAP). Our program was somewhat duplicated later by LAP. Currently our two programs are independently planning important projects on the Caribbean Basin which should lead to conferences and publications. We can mutually benefit by coordinating our projects so that we share the scholars or policy makers coming from Latin America (who would successively attend conferences in the two cities) and, perhaps, co-sponsor the final publication. I also suggest that LAP Fellows from Latin America be selectively shared with Latin American programs in U.S. universities and that they participate more in professional association meetings. Finally, although a large number of U.S. scholars have attended

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Director, The Wilson Center

colloquia and other activities organized by LAP, the latter has shown a tendency to rely excessively on some U.S. scholars from a few universities (e.g., Yale, Stanford, Chicago, Berkeley, Princeton). These scholars have participated in as many as five or six colloquia or seminars in spite of their disparate topics. There is also a tendency to resort to a limited number of U.S. policy makers particularly in the State Department and the NSC. In the future LAP should involve more prominent scholars from other non-Ivy League universities which have the finest Latin American programs in the nation (e.g., Texas, UCLA, Pittsburgh, Tulane, New Mexico, Florida, Wisconsin) as well as more policy makers from international and regional agencies as well as U.S. agencies such as agriculture, commerce, labor, education, etc.

To conclude my evaluation let me strongly stress that my previous comments are in no way intended to weaken the magnificent job done by Abe and LAP; on the contrary, they seek to strengthen this vital program which should be retained and supported by your Center for an even better performance in the crucial years ahead.

With best regards and appreciation for your confidence,

Carmelo Mesa-Lago
Director and Distinguished
Service Professor of
Economics

THE WILSON CENTER

PROSSER GIFFORD, Deputy Director

March 8, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO: James H. Billington and Members of the Outside Evaluation Panel:
Prof. Pelikan, chairman, Dr. Haskins, President Müller,
Chancellor Posvar, Dean Rostow

FROM: Prosser Gifford *PG*

RE: My Conversation with Joseph Tulchin, Professor of History,
University of North Carolina, and one of the outside evaluators
for the Latin American Program, on March 4, 1982

Joe was apparently for one day at the Airlie House meetings arranged by Abe Lowenthal for his Program and then at the Latin American Studies meetings; on his way back to North Carolina he spent about one and a half hours with me going over in some detail his reactions to the material we had sent him about the Latin American Program. In addition, he had talked with a number of former fellows and with others in the Latin American field who had not been closely associated with our Latin American program. What follows is my summary of our conversation.

The Latin American Program at the Wilson Center has become indispensable to the scholarly community, particularly to scholars and practitioners from Latin America. The direction on which the program has embarked -- that is, to sustain dialogue between Americans and Latin Americans, between politicians and academics -- is indispensable for the Latin American field and broadly necessary for the health of our society. This sort of effort certainly should continue.

The central dilemma which Joe detects in the Latin American program is its ambiguity of purpose, or as Abe Lowenthal puts it in his own review, the tension between scholarly purpose and policy or political purpose. Most of the reservations voiced by fellows have to do with the relationship between "public shows and serious academic research." It is hard to see what one activity has to do with the other. While this is not always the case, Joe's perception is that a much stronger and better articulated linkage between the two kinds of activity would help.

He does not mean to imply that the creation and preservation of space for the discussion of policy formulation or, more accurately, the bringing together of scholars and policymakers to discuss current issues, is not a worthwhile activity. To the extent that such dialogue between groups who do not easily or naturally talk to each other can be accomplished in an atmosphere of civil and reasoned debate -- to that extent all the effort needed to create and preserve neutral turf is worthwhile.

Yes, the Latin American Program has established a strong identity. Its identity

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is strongest in Latin America, where it is perceived as a forum to which Latin Americans can come, where they are welcome and where they have access to American academics and policymakers in Washington. Joe believes that the program identity is weakest in the American academic community, perhaps because the program is not pushing hard enough on a U.S. scholarly dimension. He does not mean that the quality of what has been done here is not good, but simply that it is not widely known in American circles. It is known in Latin America because people of liberal persuasion continue to be brought to the Wilson Center, even when liberals are having an increasingly difficult time in many Latin American countries and, as perceived from Latin America, also in the United States.

There is no danger that the program will run out of first-rate talent. In fact, it is just beginning now to reach some of the best scholars in Latin America. There is a great reservoir of talent.

The Washington location for a program makes great sense. If it is not the best location in the United States, it is clearly an appropriate one both for the resources available and for the proximity to policymakers.

We then spoke at considerable length about four issues. First, the disjunction between scholarly activity and the public programmatic activities. Joe emphasized that he was talking about here a question of "loose joints" -- more an issue of missed opportunities because the activities were not better integrated than a criticism of either activity alone. His judgment was that the scholarship done in the program was for the most part of high quality and that the fellows invited to the program were generally recognized as good scholars. The perception of the program on the outside, however, is that it is more policy-oriented than the scholarship suggests. This is less a function of the selection of fellows than of other activities carried on by the program, for example the transitions from authoritarianism workshop. It was Joe's sense that there was not much focus and shape given to the way in which fellows talk among themselves or the way in which fellows and other scholars from outside the Center bring scholarly knowledge to bear on some of the policy issues. He thinks particularly in questions dealing with international relations, or with Central America for instance, the scholarly dimension should be reinforced. More historians should be included and more care taken to include dimensions which are not currently being considered in policy formulation.

This led me to ask him whether the Latin American program as pursued is perceived as having some sort of a filter on it. Is there any kind of ideological conformity perceived as characterizing the program? Joe said, "Yes" in his view there is a filter," it is the filter of the democratic left, or the soft left." He thinks there are strong historic reasons for this result and strong arguments in favor of it as well.

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Who does such a bias leave out? It leaves out many people on the right, it also leaves out the tough, highly critical, highly ideological left. Dominating the Latin American program are members of the democratic left who have in the past ten years seen a yawning gulf opened up in Latin America to the right of them. They have perceived something at least about the nature of tyranny, and this has had the result of changing their perception of the United States which is now perceived to be much nearer the center than it was by these same people ten or fifteen years ago. In Joe's view what has happened is that the right-wing regimes in Latin America have done things (for instance in Argentina and Chile) which were not conceived of ten years ago, and it is now evident as well that the tough left also includes elements with which these people cannot live. In fact what has happened is that people like O'Donnell and Cardozo, once very critical of the United States, have now become the established figures in their field, not only academically but in the sense that they represent democratic centrist views.

I asked whether the program should or could attract people of different persuasions from Latin America. Joe's response was "yes", the time is now ripe for a dialogue between the democratic left and those who would be more supportive of authoritarian methods. It would be a mark of maturity in the Latin American program if this kind of dialogue could be pursued seriously. One would have to be careful. Obviously one could not bring people to the Wilson Center who had "blood on their hands." Joe was emphatic that this dimension "could not be a kind of show time." What was needed was serious people who, in Brazil for instance, believed that necessary accommodation with authoritarianism was the best way to proceed in the long-term interests of Brazil. There were such people and there were serious arguments which could be addressed on the subject, but this ought to be done over the longer term and not at a single event.

The danger with a relatively narrow spectrum of views is that it runs the risk of a reputation of cronyism, an expectation that if one shares those views then one is more likely to receive a favorable reception at the Wilson Center. Joe emphasized that he was discussing tonalities here more than realities. He thought that the full spectrum of the Latin American academic community in the United States had not been made aware of the Wilson Center, although recent years seem to indicate increasing depth and diversity.

Joe observed that in his judgment the work done at the Wilson Center was generally of high quality, but that it was not well known. He emphasized that he would recommend strongly broader dissemination of the work done here and more rapid publication of it. At the moment we had nothing between working papers which were printed in about 250 copies and published books which appear usually two or three years later and again are not widely distributed. In his view it makes no sense not to share more widely within the profession the quality of the work done at the Wilson Center. He suggested, and it seems to me an excellent suggestion, that we now have the technology with word processors to do in effect "demand publishing". That is we can keep a

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working paper on a floppy disk, send out an abstract of a series of papers and in effect take orders for them. We would then reproduce only enough to fill the orders (charging one dollar or whatever -- just enough to cover costs). The advantage of this is that there would be a much shorter delay in making known to people the quality of work done at the Center and yet we could pretty much cover our costs for such an operation. I believe this is an idea well worth following up.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

March 25, 1982

Dr. James H. Billington, Director
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, D.C. 20560

Dear Dr. Billington:

I am pleased to report on my review of the Latin American Program of the Wilson Center, bearing in mind the four broad areas of concern stated in your letter.

Let me begin with the question dealing with the fellows. The spread of scholars, guest scholars, fellows and political activists in the Latin American Program since 1977 reflects what was probably feasible given the goals of the Center and the reality of the academic and non-academic world. The list of 52 fellows and guest scholars during the interval from 1977 to 1982 represented 15 countries, a commendable national variety in less than four years of operation. Moreover, U.S. participants accounted for only 37 per cent. From what I could tell of this list most were distinguished or, at least, very well known. (Indeed, although my own disciplinary speciality is history, there were only 11 names on the list which were not either personally known or readily recognizable from publications). From the reports submitted, it is abundantly clear that the Center has a large number of first-rate applicants across a wide variety of scholarly disciplines from which to make a relatively modest number of appointments. If it continues to select less than 10 percent of its highly qualified applicants, however, it might run the risk in the future of discouraging desirable, and eminently qualified individuals whose interests and expertise would be mutually beneficial both to the scholar and the Center. That is a potential problem the Center ought to be concerned about.

Overall the variety of themes pursued, discussed and disseminated by the Center have cumulatively reflected a penchant for the relevant, topical and the policy-oriented. Given the mission of the Center this was partly unavoidable. Given the disciplinary background of the staff and the nine-member academic council, the focus can hardly be surprising. Two observations, however, are surprising. The first is the attempts, demonstrable from the list of 102 working papers and the themes and personnel of the conferences and their participants, to create a broad-based and multi-disciplinary format for the various activities of the Center's program in Latin America. This is highly

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commendable, and, to some extent, it mitigates the impact of my earlier comments. The second observation relates to the current focus on Central America and the Caribbean. Throughout its brief career the Center has consistently emphasized this region. A number of symposia and at least four working papers have been devoted to the Caribbean. Nevertheless, the number of Caribbean-based fellows -- that is, from either the Central American or Caribbean island states -- is deplorably small. It is even more remarkable that none of the three past Caribbean fellows came from any Central American state.

Finally on the question of identity, it seems clear that some vagueness about the Center's objectives and modus operandi exist, even among scholars of the nearby universities. To some extent this is an unavoidable consequence of the relative youthfulness of the program. Not only does the program require some "history", some tradition, by which it is known and judged, but the Center's prominence in the American Bi-Centennial propagated an impression that the main interest of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars was either U.S. history or U.S. foreign policy. In short, the separate identity of the Latin American program has, to some extent, been retarded by the early identity of some of the other programs. In addition, the Latin American Program appeared to be somewhat slow in establishing relationships with some of the neighboring institutions such as the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress or the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. Obviously, now that contacts have been made with these and other relevant local institutions, the network of the program has been broadened considerably. With this enhanced visibility, there can be little doubt that the continued distinctive contribution of the Center in the field of Latin American studies is ascertained and assured. Moreover, as more collaborative ventures are organized, the staff will have the luxury of devoting greater attention to a more clearly defined program, and less to promotion and publicity, now an understandable major occupation.

It seems to me that Washington, D.C. is the perfect location for this particular program. Had the Wilson Center been solely a scholarly undertaking, then a more substantial university affiliation might have been desirable. For its present mission Washington is ideal. The city provides ready access to media of all sorts and an almost ready-made audience. It has the largest and most diverse collection of policymakers. It has a large Latin American constituency ranging from the scholarly to the various international agencies such as the Organization of American States, the World Bank, and a large diplomatic community. It also has the unrivalled facilities of the Library of Congress and the National Archives.

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The Wilson Center's threefold mission are sometimes incompatible. The Latin American Program has not been, and could not be immune from the political passions of policy-makers. But the program has managed, it seems to me, to combine its services without undue inconvenience to the scholars, or any significant subservience to the alternating, if not contradictory, wishes of its political benefactors. I was not quite sure that the program managed to assert its independence during its first two years. But to the credit of the staff, it must be admitted that it has valiantly tried during the past two years to fulfill its three missions with commendable balance.

Given the mandate of the Center, then, the Latin American Program -- as all the other programs -- must serve the field somewhat differently from the cloistered "think-tanks" of some universities. For those who seek the isolation, scholarly purity and tranquillity of a Stanford or a Princeton, the Wilson Center must be a bit of a disappointment. Nevertheless, I strongly believe that the present policy of a compatible mix of goals and personnel is efficacious and ought to be maintained. The real strength of the Center is not to engage in or set parameters for policy research, but rather to afford the opportunity for the reciprocal exchange of ideas between scholarly specialists and political practitioners, to advance scholarship and to educate the national public on major issues relevant to Latin America.

It was tempting, as I reviewed the material submitted, to pick out areas of neglect, or to be overly sensitive to the large number of primarily political subjects discussed, researched and promoted. But on further reflection, I must admit that there are no truly serious omissions. It must be borne in mind that the program has been in operation for a mere four years. Some imbalances are apparent: political scientists and historians are many; anthropologists, technical scientists and economists are few. But these initial imbalances might not indicate any particular slant on the part of the program. It could very well be the unintentioned results of the selection process and current availability. (Incidentally, it would have been helpful if the appendices also included a disciplinary breakdown, not just of the applicants, but also of the fellows). On the other hand, I am favorably struck by how often the Center has attracted Cubans, Brazilians and Argentines to its programs, indicating a confidence among this broad spectrum that responsible debate and honest exchanges are promoted by the Latin American Program.

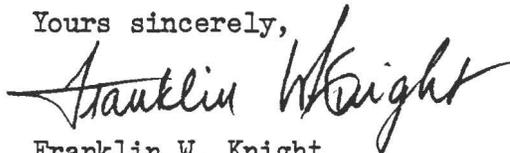
The fourth set of concerns are not easily answered. You ask, "Are there areas of scholarship or substantive issues and controversies in the field to which the program should devote attention in the future because they have been undervalued, or "unfashionable", or not yet thought through?" What are the opportunities for serving the field by raising questions which others will not

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pursue? Clearly, within any given discipline must be a whole range of issues which the few representatives of the past four years have not, and perhaps should not have, dealt with. The nature of scholar selection, as your background report indicated, does not allow the Latin American Program to impose any direction to the issues raised. But looking at the conferences, working papers and research interest of the accepted fellows through the four years, I have noted the paucity of attention given to demography, to technology transfer, to food production, or to the labor organizations of Latin America. I am surprised that not more discussion has been given to the military within the political systems, although the essentially political discussions have been varied and frequent.

In the end, the impact and importance of the Latin American Program will continue to be closely tied to the quality and variety of its fellows, guest scholars and invited political and other practitioners. The record of the past four years is, on balance, a quite impressive one. If the staff and their advisory committee have not always done all that they set out to do, their achievements have shown incremental success with each passing year. The Latin American Program has achieved an extremely eminent status in four years. It has made an impact on the scholarly community. It has reached out, often successfully, to the wider community not only of the United States, but also of the world. And it has certainly attempted valiantly to fulfill its mandate.

Yours sincerely,



Franklin W. Knight
Professor of History

FWK/jmh

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

March 24, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO: James H. Billington, Director
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

FROM: Peter H. Smith, Head
Department of Humanities
Professor of History and Political Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

RE: Latin American Program



I strongly recommend continuation of the Latin American Program (LAP) at the Wilson Center. After reading the materials supplied by your office -- and reflecting on the (very positive) program evaluation Cranford Goodwin and I submitted to the Ford Foundation in 1979 -- I am convinced, more than ever, that the LAP has become a precious national resource. This is not to say that there is no room for improvement; it is to argue, instead, that the LAP merits the time, effort, and funding that improvement might require.

Let me address some background issues before turning to the specific questions that you pose. First, the cumulative decline in federal and foundation support for international studies in general, and for Latin American studies in particular, has placed the entire field in jeopardy. The existence of interdisciplinary area programs at the Center provides an important counterweight to jingoistic "America first" tendencies and the preservation of this concern seems entirely appropriate for an institution bearing the name of President Wilson.

Second, I think the area-studies concept is a suitable one for the Center. Like many colleagues, I once went through a period of exalting thematic approaches and debunking area studies. I continue to find the thematic approach most congenial for my personal style of research. But for a program a geographical definition makes eminent sense. It provides coherence and, more important, flexibility. Topical interests come and go. Areas stay where they are.

Third, an understanding of Latin America constitutes a vital national priority. Current headlines make it unnecessary to belabor the point. If the Center has area programs at all, it should have one on Latin America.

Fourth, and finally, the Latin American field is special in at least two respects. One is the relative youth of prominent U.S. scholars: trained (and funded) in the 1960s, they moved to positions of leadership in the 1970s -- and they now confront the 1980s, perhaps prepared to do their best work, but suddenly stripped of resources. The other feature is the undeniable fact that in some disciplines (sociology, literature, political science) the finest work is being done by Latin Americans themselves. Consequently there is an urgent need to develop and maintain the kind of contact and interchange that the LAP promotes.

Now let me take up the questions set forth in your letter last month.

1. Quality of Scholarship

The LAP has gained widespread recognition as a high-quality program. Its Academic Council consists of internationally known scholars and writers, and fellows have made promising contributions to their disciplines. It appears that the pool of applicants gets bigger and better each year, with conspicuous increases in applications from Latin America. Yet I would not encourage increasing the number of fellowships: as Abraham Lowenthal says, the Program has reached a suitable size, and there is no compelling reason to make it any bigger.

To be sure, many (if not most) of the fellows and guest scholars use their tours at the Center to pursue or complete established research projects, so it is hard to say how much "difference" the LAP has made in this respect. Nor has the LAP achieved much identity through the postulation of a clear set of research priorities (though publications from the core seminar on "prospects for democracy" will surely leave an indelible mark). It is seen, I think, as what it is: a place where well-known (or well-recommended) scholars from premier institutions in North and South America can come, commingle, and do their writing and research.

This is no mean achievement, since the continuation of dialogue with Latin American scholars will remain a prime necessity for years ahead. The existence of the "trust" cited by Guillermo O'Donnell is a remarkable tribute to the LAP and its staff. If academic disciplines are to develop it will only be through collaboration of this kind, and I believe the LAP may soon be in a position to provide more genuine intellectual leadership than it has so far.

To maximize this potential I think it might be useful to establish a regular seminar for resident fellows, organized around some theme of general interest. This could stimulate interaction and develop a collective sense of common enterprise. It appears that some fellows spend much of their time in not-so-splendid isolation, and this is hardly the purpose of the Center or the LAP.

And I have, in addition, one nit to pick: the overall purpose of the Working Papers. Some are very good indeed, but I am not clear how they are distributed, on what basis, to whom. It would be useful to know how many authors have received suggestions on working papers that they later incorporated into final versions published elsewhere.

2. Interaction between Scholars and Policymakers

The record here is outstanding, and the pace of organizational life at the LAP can only be described as breathtaking. The workshops, colloquia, evening dialogues, policy dialogues, editors' conferences, and congressional staff conferences have all become fixtures on the Washington (and national) scene. Scholars and policy makers both have much to learn from each other, and Lowenthal has consistently recognized this point. That he has been able to continue this "bridging" function through changes in the White House is further testimony to his commitment and skill.

My principal concern is that these activities may absorb too large a share of the LAP's resources. Some of the events are no doubt ceremonial, as one observer notes, but ritual is part of the process. That is not the problem. The question is whether "outreach" might be made more selective than comprehensive, more oriented toward reflection than here's-the-latest-information-on-the-crisis-you-just-read-about.

Moreover, the fellows and guest scholars should be closely involved in these activities. It is my impression that scholarship and outreach coexist within the LPA, but that they are not fully integrated with each other. That seems like everyone's loss.

In any event, it makes complete and total sense to have a Latin American Program in Washington, D.C. It is a city with remarkable resources (such as the Library of Congress) and it is the locus of policymaking. It does not have any truly distinguished Latin American center at any of its universities, so there is no threat of competition or redundancy. And partly because of the LAP, it is becoming an object of fascination to Latin American scholars.

3. Omissions and Weaknesses

It is impossible for a program this small to cover the entire field, so omissions are bound to occur. The LAP has not attracted anthropologists, and it is just starting to draw novelists and literary critics (the appointment of Mario Vargas Llosa to the Academic Council will no doubt hasten this process). But the question, I think, should not be whether the LAP engages the interest of all scholars who focus on Latin America. It should be whether omissions remain within the framework of concerns the Program attempts to address.

Here I might mention, again, the deficiency Goodwin and I voiced in 1979: the relative absence of economists. The Program has clearly attempted to remedy this situation, but results are hard to determine. In any case, more effort should be made, in my view, to draw in hard-core economists from the international agencies that so abound in Washington.

It also seems to me that the LAP -- and the Center as a whole -- have not taken full advantage of their golden opportunity to foster comparative analysis. The problem with area studies, of course, is that they can become self-contained units. The coexistence of multiple programs at the Center should make it possible to develop thematic seminars and projects that would supersede this tendency and enrich perspectives on all the areas involved (including, I might add, the program in American Society and Politics). How else could one devise a plausible seminar on, let us say, the causes and effects of international migration?

Lowenthal further alludes to the difficulties of establishing links to the private sector and of presenting a forum for conservative viewpoints. Some of these matters are beyond control. It is worth recalling, however, that research and scholarship

in Latin America are highly politicized activities: anything you do (or avoid) carries political content, so it is virtually impossible to escape political identification. The choice is not whether to acquire a political label; it is what the label will be. In this context the LAP has a clear and widely accepted reputation as a liberal, somewhat left-of-center institution -- and this stance, I would argue, is most compatible with its overall purpose. True, some Latin American Marxists would shun the LAP merely by virtue of its being in Washington (or, for that matter, in the U.S.), and some diehard right-wingers might never succumb to the Center's temptations. But the LAP has struck precisely the posture that will enable it to reach the broadest possible array of constituencies, both north and south, and this is one of its fundamental strengths.

4. Issues Ignored

I cannot now think of obvious new trends in scholarship that the LAP should necessarily pursue. The Program is small. It is also a bit elitist, in that it takes its fellows (and Academic Council members) from a handful of prestigious institutions throughout the hemisphere. The LAP therefore runs the risk of becoming ingrown, but I do not think that has yet happened.

5. Administration

This does not respond to one of your four questions, but it merits attention anyway. First, I want to acknowledge the flexibility with which Abe Lowenthal carried out suggestions in the 1979 Goodwin-Smith report to the Ford Foundation. He has begun, for instance, to rotate membership on the Academic Council, and the new appointees reflect appropriate concerns: an interest in Europe and comparative analysis (Juan Linz), economics (William Glade), and literature (Vargas Llosa). This should help the Program.

But its greatest administrative strength is also its greatest weakness: it depends almost entirely on Lowenthal himself. Abe is tireless, creative, efficient. But when he is gone the machinery slows down, as I discovered while co-organizing the May 1981 workshop on "trends and priorities for research in the 1980s." Steps should be taken to remedy this situation. Whether it's charisma or attention to detail, to borrow a phrase from Max Weber, it ought somehow to be

routinized. The LAP is a vital and valuable program but in some senses it has not yet become an institution.

I hope these comments help. I also hope the Latin American Program remains a part of the Center, which has done so much for my field in such a short time.

PHS/bw

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Stanford, California 94305

NORTHEAST ASIA-UNITED STATES FORUM
ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY
320 Galvez Street

March 8, 1982

Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director
The Wilson Center
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, DC 20560

Dear Mr. Gifford:

The ISSP review materials arrived last week, and, as requested, I have attempted to keep in mind your array of questions in this response. The quest for a complete evaluation calls forth many responses, however, and, after reading with great interest those already in the black binder, I realize that the case for continuation in the same direction -- but with additional funding -- is quite solid. I thus will reply in a somewhat different manner within the limits of my knowledge of the Center's International Security Studies Program, some of that knowledge provided by you and some acquired via the normal channels of academic gossip.

Most of the record set forth in the black binder would make any Center or Program Head blush with pride: rounds of applause for ISSP's original concept and execution and affirmation of its fine reputation. The uncertainties of modest and annual budgets worry the activist in Sam, but the claim to quality is not tarnished by any shortage of funds, real or potential. Previous fellows acclaim the sabbatic funding (some of the best fellowship money around), the collegial ambiance, the access to power and archives, and, by and large, ISSP's historical and geographical foci. Says one alumnus: "Don't mess with a good thing!"

So why not stop here? My queries, set forth below, seem to pale beside the lists of fellows, conferences, seminars, and scholarly publications and the cumulative praise. Yet, I pose them because there is as yet in the record in hand so little reflection in depth; I assume you wanted more when you asked for additional opinions. I offer mine in a spirit of one who has labored to fashion a somewhat different security and arms control program, but one that has some of the same elements. My questions come down to these three:

- 1) Why are Europe and the Middle East the focus of a security studies program?
- 2) Why is the emphasis on history and on the selection of academic social scientists?
- 3) Is sufficient priority given to originality and new ideas commensurate with ISSP's mandate and investment?

I would like to comment on these three questions briefly.

Why Europe and the Middle East? It does little to assuage one's concerns about the selection of these areas to quote James Schlesinger or

to repeat that these are important places. Everybody knows they are crucial in the great scheme of things, but what are the special reasons for Wilson focusing on them. Other centers (Harvard, UCLA, etc.) focus on these places; does Wilson cooperate with those centers and how does Sam see ISSP's comparative advantage in this regard? The Washington archives are rich on many regions and problems, especially on American foreign policy in general; so why not take a more global or generic view of security, and within that context do the hard work needed to identify the truly critical issues? In short, the relevance of the two regions to security is obvious, but not unique. If creativity is one of ISSP's goals, then the case for Europe is not self-evident. The challenging aspects of the Middle East are acknowledged in passing ("it has proved difficult but extremely valuable to balance Israeli with Arab perspectives") but apparently not really faced. Moreover, as we have learned in our program, working effectively on specific areas (in our case Northeast Asia) might call into question such heavy reliance on an annual competition. Centers such as ours have come to realize that the best ideas and creative research come from specialists from the region (and the U.S.) working together over a long time and on a cumulative set of problems. The Wilson Center attracts solo scholars for a once-in-a-lifetime encounter and only the hope exists that the personal ties formed at the Center will serve as the basis for later, more advanced work. Thus the creation of functioning core groups that can share insights on complex issues long enough to achieve true breakthroughs on either regional or general security problems cannot be an attainable goal. Short of this, the question arises: Why have a regional bias in the search for individual brilliance on the broad topic of security?

Why the emphasis on history? Is the answer simply Sam's choice or the newly opened archives? But, who is posing the historical questions, and are historians the right people to answer questions that may demand technical, scientific, and military expertise for understanding? Moreover, some of the most critical questions of historical importance come to the fore principally in the light of current and projected U.S.-Soviet-European (Middle Eastern) policies or programs in the two regions; examples: limited nuclear warfare doctrines, the role of mass protest in disarmament campaigns, the links between general purpose forces and nuclear guarantees, the shifting ties between the regional and the U.S.-Soviet arms control agendas, and the impacts of technological advances on deployments and on the continuing American presence. Many of these topics are touched on in the ISSP series of colloquia but appear to have little direct bearing on the criteria used to select new scholars. I might note that one former ISSP scholar, Yao Wei, is with us at present, and his work on some historical subjects is only now coming into focus with his study of contemporary problems in cooperation with a broad range of technical and scientific specialists. Perhaps his is an unusual case, but in planning for our own European security conference later this spring, I have come to realize how limited any scholar from a single discipline is in treating the complex data on European security and how easy it is to slip into "my data-your data" arguments without moving forward in general understanding at all. No one doubts the centrality of historical research, but this can hardly do the

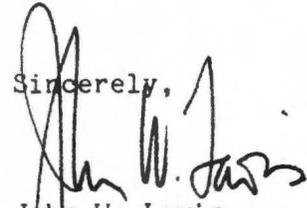
job in understanding European security, let alone the even murkier issues of the Middle East.

What are the key ideas? Let me make a comment that may be unfair (and thus be dismissed) if, in fact, the Congressional mandate requires the present balance of priorities; whatever validity the comments in this paragraph may have depends on ISSP's ability to reconsider those priorities. My comment stems from the observation that there are virtually no references in the black binder to any new findings, approaches, concepts, or understanding that justifies a program the scope of ISSP. Einstein may have been right that physics is easier than politics, but as a result he would have demanded even more creativity in studying the latter. One need only consider for a moment the intense evaluation of our high energy physics centers to wonder about the evidence provided on ISSP: standard scholarly agendas, intelligent rehearsals of known positions, and a solid menu of publications on predictable subjects. Why should anyone be surprised by the blandness? What's wrong with the suggestion of one alumnus to add "more 'real' historians"? Nothing, if more of the same is the objective. Different objectives, however, might require considering special multi-year projects and grants or special funds to pursue truly promising ideas or an invitation to the Center to "that one key person from France" who could help push toward a breakthrough. Why should we expect new ideas to come from academicians or government officials alone? Are there other Kennans out there in other walks of life who combine experience, judgment, and originality? The issue of creativity, of course, raises the matter of ISSP's audience and its conflicting goals. In the Center's statement of its "General Mission," three goals are given: 1) to identify and support scholars proposing "projects of fundamental research"; 2) to communicate ideas derived from original research; and 3) "to symbolize and strengthen the fruitful relationship between the world of learning and the world of public affairs." Each of these three goals is important. Yet, especially in the field of security studies, genuinely fundamental -- and thus innovative -- scholarship is difficult to communicate in its early stages to general fora and easy to discredit in its formative drafts. We have all seen this happen. For example, the research of Chinese and Japanese in our Forum is hard to "translate" so that it is not simply dismissed as "naive." Our countrymen too often believe their views of security set the high water mark of sophistication, and that the technical complexity of U.S.-Soviet arms gives them a unique vantage point for the study of global security problems. Part of the problem with originality in the security field is that it may depart sharply from American assumptions and conventional wisdom -- or even appear to jeopardize U.S. national interests. My own experience in this regard came during the Vietnam War, but I am hardly atypical. I hope my query is clear: Does the ISSP mandate allow it to be more than a combination foundation and World Affairs Council for the nation's capital?

As is obvious, I have taken you at your word that you wanted an examination at a deeper level than appeared in the black binder. I admire the ISSP's record and congratulate Sam on an extraordinary performance. Given the nature of funding and other uncertainties, ISSP may end up one of the few surviving centers of security studies that stress balance and

excellence. It is in all of our interests to see it succeed and prosper.
Thanks for asking my views.

Sincerely,



John W. Lewis
Director

STANSFIELD TURNER

17 March 1982

Dear Jim,

Unfortunately I must begin my report to you as one of your outside reviewers with an apology. The time I have had to look over the notebook that Prosser Gifford sent me has been rather brief. I received it only last Friday. I leave tomorrow, Wednesday, for a three week trip abroad - including a visit to the grave of Cecil Rhodes in Zimbabwe! Accordingly I am dictating this on the eve of departure and it will not have the benefit of any editorial review. In traditional fashion of a man in a hurry you will get a critique that is much lengthier than is necessary, I am afraid.

Let me plunge in by offering the basic conclusion I have come to. This is that the International Security Studies Program should definitely be continued in about its present form if you can maintain three of its characteristics: the high quality of its scholarship; its dedication to longer-range national problems; and its lack of an ideological bias.

I am persuaded that your quality of scholarship is high from the two or three times that I have participated in discussion groups. I particularly noted that the discussions were well structured and the participants all attempted to be constructive rather than just critical. I carried away one or two useful ideas from each of the discussions. More than that, I felt that my thinking had been extended and expanded. I have attended a great many such discussion groups in other fora since leaving the government and I seldom come away with as high a sense of intellectual challenge and satisfaction.

The key point to me is that the ideas I took away from these several meetings were not ones of current import but longer range. For instance, when I came to your meetings while Director of Central Intelligence I never felt uncomfortable about being dragged into

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discussions about which I perhaps could not speak in public. Many meetings I attend at the Council of Foreign Relations and Carnegie Institute are deeply involved in current budgets, policy, acronyms, weapon characteristics, etc. Moreover, the discussions often were politically driven. In contrast most of the discussions I have enjoyed with ISSP had more like an Oxford debate where the quality of one's view is judged by the rigor of one's logic. (This is not to say that the discussions held by the Council/Carnegie are not sound and useful discussions - witness the fact that I do attend.) The ISSP has carved a niche which is worth keeping filled. However, I do have some concerns that the program may be straying from this course.

Before getting into that let me emphasize how valuable I believe it is that you do not have a reputation for being either liberal or conservative or any other political stripe. I draw this conclusion not just because I have heard no such accusations but also from the subject areas and participants that I see in the description of the program. I am sure this is difficult to do, and I admire the way in which you have avoided being typed. We should be looking, however, to determine whether that is because the Wilson program is so relatively new or because you have been so skillful. I am a bit concerned that there is small evidence that there could be erosion in this area. More specifically I believe one of your recent scholars has about as strong an ideological identification as anyone I know. I hope that the return for having him with you was considered worth the risk to your purity on this issue.

Let me next amplify my concern that the ISSP program is drifting too much towards current issues. I base this concern on the following indicators:

- I went through the topics which your research fellows have undertaken and marked each topic as either being concerned with a contentious contemporary issue or a historical/theoretical issue. Clearly, from the brief titles I may have mis-judged some of these. My scoreboard, however, shows that in 1978 only 25% were concerned with contemporary matters, even less in 1979, but in 1980 and 81 about half were contemporary.

- In 1981-82 two of your fellows were former Carter

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Carter officials, their projects were to study policies they had been working on just previously in the government. This certainly would involve them in matter of contemporary policies.

- In 1980-81 two of the research programs concerned measuring the military balance/net assessment. These are almost bound to be highly controversial contemporary issues, and ones that are fraught with the danger of ideological bias.

- The topics for 1980-91 are very largely immediate policy issues.

- When you look at the list of meetings that you sent out, subtracting the topics that were directly related to the project of the individual scholar so as not to double-count, I think there is a perceptible shift to the contemporary. In 1978 the issues discussed were largely historical or theoretical. Towards the end of 1979 contemporary issues began to dominate heavily.

I recognize this data base from which I am working is slim and I may have jumped to the wrong conclusion. But you can tell in a moment whether the trend is what I am suggesting and whether that is what you really want. Again, I would suggest that what differentiates the Wilson Center from the various other similar activities in Washington is your separation from the current fray. Beyond this uniqueness you have a splendid opportunity to think about the future. There are far too few pressures on our policy makers to do that. My last four years in the government persuaded me that top policy makers are dangerously absorbed in immediate concerns. The Wilson Center could play an important role in uncovering, identifying and bringing to the attention of policy makers issues that need attention today if they are not going to become crises tomorrow.

To do this I suggest that you and your advisory panels examine topical issues and regional issues that appear not to be receiving adequate attention. With a handful of these in mind Sam Wells could go out to recruit people who would be interested and willing to delve into them. In some cases you would be looking for an expert in a particular area. In other cases your would be re-directing the efforts of a broad-gauged researcher into a new field. Some modest percentage of

your explorations would turn out not have any payoff, i.e. the issue would not be worthy of bringing to the attention of policy makers. Again though, the country sorely needs a systematic effort to anticipate problems rather than just simply react to them.

I am attaching on two separate sheets specific ideas on areas of possible exploration into non-contemporary issues. The first concerns those that one would call topical or theoretical or generic issues which cut across several areas and are not of immediate urgency. The second concerns geographical issues, but again, ones that are not urgent.

Finally, I do have a serious reservation about the geographical focus of the Center. I do not have any feel for what the Kennan Institute, the East Asia Program, and the Latin American Program do. Nonetheless, with the ISSP concentrating on Europe and the Middle East that leaves Africa as a void. I doubt that that is wise. I recognize that you can't be all things to all men, but I hope you will not foreclose any geographical area that appears to be important to us. Beyond that, in line with my thought about alerting policy makers to future problem areas I believe you have to be openminded to taking them anywhere from the antarctic to hottest Africa.

I acknowledge that I have very little experience in trying to marshal and discipline a diverse research effort such as you have. I recognize that you can't attract people to your Center if they are all working on different topics and have no sense of community. I also recognize that you can't attract policy makers to your work unless there is some relationship between what you are doing and what they perceive their concerns to be. Nonetheless, I still feel that your pointing them towards where the policy makers could well be paying deeper attention is most important. Beyond that, as a former government official, I was attracted to the idea of going to stimulating discussions that did not simply force me to defend what I or the Administration was doing this month. I think you can develop discussion topics that would be attractive to a policy maker who is broad-gauged enough to realize that there is a benefit to lifting his horizons occasionally.

Again, I wish I could have done a more thorough review for you. I will be back from my trip in early

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April and would be happy to discuss this with Prosser or Sam Wells if that would be helpful.

Yours,


STANSFIELD TURNER

Enclosures

P.S. If there is any chance of getting a copy of Ken Waltz's paper on the Rapid Deployment Force which is mentioned in the material you sent, I would be most grateful. I respect Ken's work and I am doing a lot of writing on the Rapid Deployment Force.

Mr. James H. Billington
Director
The Wilson Center
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, D.C. 20560

(Dictated by Admiral Turner
but signed in his absence.)

Topical Issues for the exploration ISSP

I. Military balance/net assessment:

- The Center has had several studies done on net-assessment or military balance. The techniques of making such assessments, however, are not well developed. Basically there are three:

1) Static comparisons of forces, e.g. we have one thousand missiles and the Soviets have 950. Most static comparisons are misleading. Frequently they are deliberately distorting, e.g. the Soviets have much larger missiles, e.g. it used to be pointed out how much larger the Soviet missiles were than ours, but there was seldom any mention that they were less accurate and therefore needed to be larger to do the same job.

2) Detailed wargaming by the military attempts to take into the account the actual effectiveness of forces and even the supposed tactics of commanders of both sides. The result is likely to be more meaningful than a conclusion derived from a static comparison. On the other hand the result is subject to so many variables that it is difficult to derive broad conclusions. The players learn a great deal in the process. A President or other high policy maker find it difficult to draw anything but superficial conclusions in a review of the results.

3) Dynamic force comparisons. There are a number of ways to introduce a limited number of dynamics into a static comparison of force numbers. For instance, ten thousand tanks with guns that fire ten rounds a minute have a theoretical fire power equal to two thousand tanks that fire five rounds per minute. The Warsaw Pact has a lot more artillery on the European front than does NATO. But NATO has a lot more aircraft that can drop bombs. One could calculate a theoretical weight of lead that can be thrown in either direction. In sum, we are looking for a short-hand that does not distort reality. Too little work has been done on this, yet it will be increasingly important as the public as well as top policy makers becomes increasingly involved in the decisions relating to military events.

II Economic warfare

- With Cuba, with South Africa, with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and now with Poland, we have now increasing reliance on economic warfare. I believe this trend will continue. At least the temptation to move to economic warfare will continue. A study of the techniques of economic warfare could be illuminating also. I believe rather few policy makers understand the intricate working of international finance and trade. I am concerned that our view into these areas is very likely to be colored by the pressures of the western business and banking communities. As much as they are

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entitled to their views on what we can do with economic warfare they hardly seem like the ones who should determine our policy in this field.

III Societal change

- A major issue facing the United States is how to deal with the inevitability of political evolution in much of the Third World. On the one hand we have our friends like Somosa who make no effort to adapt. On the other we have friends like the Shah who perhaps let us encourage him to move faster than he was capable of handling. We are going to be faced with the same kind of problems over and over again. There is no easy prescription for it. The prescription for Iran would not have done for Nicaragua, or vice versa. I doubt that in either case the United States was qualified to provide sound advice on internal political change. Perhaps though a scholarly study could be done on the indicators of societal problems. Surely the Shah did not recognize the deep problem he had on his hands. Somosa was likely equally uninformed. In this we might do a tremendous service to help leaders who are isolated from their own societies to understand the nature and extent of ferment. It would also be of great help to us in deciding when to abandon ship with Somosa rather than waiting until the last moment as we did.

IV The Communications Revolution

- Was the emergence of solidarity in Poland due to the fact that the Polish people have access to better information than most other East European communist countries? Is the whole movement of the underdeveloped world for a greater share of the world's resources founded in the fact that even lesser developed countries see and hear what life is like in the developed world? Aren't the natives much more restless today because they are well aware of what they are missing? Over time this is inevitably going to erode one of the levers of control exercised by most totalitarian states. Where is the revolution in communication taking us. Is there going to be an exponential increase in exposure to technology so that every Hottentot will have access to international television?

V Space

- The future of space for the military is something that few people understand. Space warfare is difficult to comprehend. It is a good area of military endeavor to be studied by the Center because it does not force you to become involved in current budgetary decisions of the Department of Defense. The military itself needs some signposts as to how much it should adapt its thinking on the future of warfare because of the potential of space. I think that

Suggestive areas of geographical focus for ISSP's:

There is little pressure to correct these deficiencies because the countries in question are not under immediate pressures. The problem goes all the way back to the universities with a lack of language training as well as area focus. The Center cannot make up for this national deficiency. I would, however, attempt to identify countries or regions that deserve attention and why; catalog the national assets that are working on that country today, or have expertise on that country and are not employed in working on it; inventory the appropriate language capability in the country that may or may not be working on the country; catalogue potential sources of additional efforts that might be tapped, e.g. refugee communities in the United States and elsewhere; and pin-point whether the greatest voids in our knowledge in respect to a particular country are in its economics, its politics, its military, its national resources, etc. In sum, it would be very useful for us to know what is going on with respect to a particular country, whether that country has some lurking potential of being important to us, or at least a major problem for us, and what our potential is for better preparing in advance when that problem arises.

I suggest the following as some candidates that I suspect are not being given attention:

1) Indonesia - a regional giant in resources and population that has not yet harnessed anything like its potential.

2) Sudan - potential breadbasket for the Arab world that is faltering badly in realizing that potential.

3) Nigeria - clearly a dominant potential force on the sub-Saharan scene.

4) The Phillipines - often accepted as a pro-US country that we understand but which we likely do not.

5) East Germany - a country whose future dominates the thinking of Soviet Union and most West Europeans with respect to East/West balance in Europe; a country we all assume we understand because it must be like West Germany, but which even the West Germans do not appear to understand.

6) South Africa - what are the options available to South Africa in light of the inexorable internal pressures that she faces, and what is the impact on the western world of these different possible outcomes likely to be?

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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College of the Liberal Arts
Slavic and Soviet Language and Area Center

March 8, 1982

Area Code 814
865-0436

Office of the Director

Dr. James H. Billington
The Wilson Center
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, DC 20560

Dear Jim:

I finally received the review materials on March 2nd and hastened to give them my undivided attention so as to get my review back to you in time to meet your schedule. My review is enclosed as a separate item.

With warmest best wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Vernon V. Aspaturian

Vernon V. Aspaturian
Evan Pugh Professor of Political Science

Director
Slavic and Soviet Language and Area Center

VVA:ms
Enc.

Review of the program of the
Woodrow Wilson Center and Kennan Institute

by

Vernon V. Aspaturian

The Pennsylvania State University

1. The overall quality of the Fellows in the Program has been very high, reflecting a good mix of established and younger promising scholars, U.S. and foreign fellows, and scholars from different disciplines. Indeed, I was quite surprised at the diversity of disciplines represented since my general impression was that the Institute was primarily interested in Soviet politics, foreign policy, economics and society, i.e., essentially the social sciences. Since the Fellows actually appointed are determined by the universe of applicants, it would be difficult to render relative judgment of their quality in the absence of a list of those who were not appointed. It is my impression that many established scholars, for some reason, do not apply. It might be useful to enquire why this is so. In some respects I was even more impressed with the quality and diversity of the Guest Scholars, although this may be from the fact that it is numerically a larger, if less intensive, program.

It is much more difficult to establish a connection between a Fellow and the nature of his scholarly contribution as a consequence of the Center's support. Since many of the research projects are on-going in character, i.e., continued after the Fellows leave the Center, and may be completed sometime later, it is difficult to calculate the Center's share of support for whatever contribution they may have made. The materials at hand only provide us with the topics of their research; it would have been helpful to have been provided with an actual bibliography of publications by Fellows as a result of their residence at the Center. I am acquainted with the general research quality of many of the Fellows, but I cannot discern which of their contributions actually resulted from Center support.

I think the Kennan Institute has an established identity, separate and apart from the cumulative record of the Program's Fellows and Guest Scholars. The identity is a strong and positive one and in a real sense the visibility of the Center and its various Institutes is higher than the cumulative record of its Program. This stems in large measure, I believe, from the fact that aside from its Occasional Papers which are impressive in quality and numbers, but of limited circulation, there is no organic connection between the Center and the publication of research contributions by its Fellows and Guest Scholars. In other words there appears to be little or no way to identify contributions clearly associated with the Center.

In order to establish the kind of identity suggested by this question; perhaps the Center should have a stronger publications program of its own, clearly identified with the Center, and/or should have some kind of imprimatur to identify relevant research contributions.

2. The location of the Kennan Institute in Washington makes a great deal of sense. It imparts to the Institute the aura of quasi-official national distinction, similar to that of the National Academy of Sciences. This is particularly relevant for those whose research interests intersect with public policy concerns. In terms of visibility and prestige alone, location in Washington and association with the Smithsonian Institution is a powerful plus for the Institute and in large degree accounts for its greater visibility as an Institute than as a Research Program, for its mission clearly involves more than research.

There is a corresponding drawback, however, to having the Institute in Washington and involving its scholars in various public service programs and in interaction with public figures. Extensive involvement in such activities can subvert the research mission of the Institute since many Fellows and Scholars will be unable to resist the temptations such diversions afford. For scholars whose research is remotely related to public policy, the subversive consequences may be only marginal in character, but for those involved in the humanities, the diversions and temptations may seriously hamper their research.

Similarly, in terms of the importance of location in Washington for research, the advantages here are highly uneven. Again, for scholars involved in public policy and the social sciences, the advantages of Washington are significant and obvious, but for those in the humanities, the advantages are less certain.

3. In attempting to discern weaknesses and omissions in the program, one immediately finds oneself in the quagmire of politics, both intramural academic politics and "higher" politics. To a certain degree, this is inevitable, given the quasi-official character of the Institute. Thus, in this instance, as in others, the tradeoffs are cruel. The real advantages of being located in Washington and being a quasi-official national Institute are balanced by corresponding disadvantages.

The field of Russian and Soviet studies is becoming increasingly polarized. Much of the polarization is political, ideological and moral in character, but some of it is also functional in character, stemming from methodological differences within disciplines as well as between them. There are those who study the subject for its own sake; others study it in order to make political, ideological and moral judgments about the character of the system; others, because they are "in love" or infatuated with the subject, much as a Francophile approaches France; while others study the subject because they "hate what it stands for," much in the same way that one studies Racism or Nazism. Still others, particularly recent emigres, have a more intense, personal, emotional involvement which may simultaneously enrich and/or debase their appreciation and understanding of the Soviet system.

While this is deplorable, to a certain degree it is inevitable, and it becomes a vexing question as to whether the entire spectrum of polarized views should be represented or to what extent they should be viewed as disqualifying characteristics.

But its most serious crippling effect, in my view, is that polarization may become a barrier to remedying one of the serious deficiencies in the Institute's Program, i.e., a more fruitful and intimate cooperation with relevant institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, particularly IMEMO, and the Institute on the Study of the USA and Canada, and relevant University research centers. Perhaps the Kennan Institute could even encourage the Soviet academicians to establish an Institute on Soviet Politics or Foreign Policy so that American Soviet specialists can have an institute to visit to communicate with Soviet specialists on Soviet politics and foreign policy instead of Soviet specialists on the U.S.A. By more fruitful cooperation, I do not mean simply an escalation in the number of formal Soviet visitors, but the kind of institutional association whereby Soviet institutes could become conduits for access by U.S. scholars, not only to Soviet specialists but also to public officials, Party functionaries, economic administrators, etc. After all, people like Arbatov and Inozemtsev are public figures as well as Academicians and should have the capability to arrange this type of access.

4. In my judgment I can't think of areas of scholarship or substantive issues and controversies not covered because they are undervalued or "unfashionable," although it is my general impression in first looking over the review materials that a core group of names keeps reappearing in various parts of the Institute's and Center's activities. To a certain degree this is unavoidable, but it may also inadvertently result in the imperceptible creation of an "inside network" made up of individuals whose views are congenial or not incompatible with one another. Having a core group in itself is not necessarily harmful, but one must be sensitive to the unintended abuses that may develop. Much of this may simply reflect greater visibility and participation on the part of those who live and work in the Washington area, but the Center and Institute must also constantly be on guard to preserve their integrity as national (rather than simply local, Washington DC or regional) institutions.

Indeed it is the character of the Institute, and its parent Center, as national centers which sets them apart and distinguishes them from other outstanding universities, research centers, and institutes. This is their real distinction and the preservation and enhancement of this distinguishing characteristic should have the highest priority in their future development and orientation.

This brings me to my final point. Both the Center and the Kennan Institute are close to becoming authentic national treasures. Although both have established identities as national centers in terms of scope and participation, they have yet to acquire a distinctive, isolating, identity in terms of primary function, purpose and focus. I have the overall impression of great activity, energy and effort

being expended: Fellows, Guest Scholars, Conferences, Luncheon Speakers, Evening Seminars, Foreign Visitors, Occasional Papers, etc. The performance has been truly stupendous and outstanding, perhaps overwhelming, but nevertheless it does not seem to add up to a functional identity. The current aim appears to be one of maintaining a balance among the three principal missions--all of which are important and compelling--and one must concede that this balance has been executed admirably. But one can question whether the three missions should be treated equally, since as was pointed out earlier, the three missions are somewhat subversive of one another. Having three equal missions in terms of function and covering all disciplines in terms of scope imparts the character of diversity, but unfortunately it also tends to give an impression of diffused effort and diluted performance.

At some point in their development, the Center and Institute should give further thought to the proper division of labor and distribution of effort among the three principal missions, perhaps even with the idea of establishing one principal mission along with several auxiliary or secondary missions. Only in this way can the Center and its Institute develop an enduring, distinctive and unique identity of their own.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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March 19, 1982

Mr. Prosser Gifford
Deputy Director
The Wilson Center
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, DC 20560

Dear Mr. Gifford:

I have now read carefully through the material you sent me on February 25 on the Kennan Institute. Let me say at the outset that I am enormously impressed with both the range and quality of work the Institute has been able to support in the relatively limited time of its existence. Although I am obviously not familiar with all of the Fellows and their research, I feel quite confident in saying that they clearly represent interesting and significant areas of work in the modern Russian field. There is no doubt that the cumulative record of the Fellows and guest scholars have helped solidify the Institute's international reputation as one of, if not the most, important research centers in Russian and Soviet studies in the world.

I must confess that at the time of the Institute's formation, I had serious concerns about its orientation, scholarly focus, and location. I was concerned most of all that the pressures to be involved at least indirectly in policy oriented research would be too strong for even the most well-intentioned administrators to resist. I was worried as well that centering the Institute in Washington would both aggravate these pressures, and tend to swamp humanistic and historical studies with more current, social science research. I felt also that there were real dangers, in part because of location, in part because of the Wilson Center's prestige, that the Institute would tend to be rather less receptive to younger scholars and to "unfashionable" research and rather more oriented to senior faculty eager to spend some time in Washington for reasons which may or may not have had to do with legitimate research needs and interests.

I am delighted to say that all of these fears have proved unfounded. Professors Billington, Starr, and Gleason, and the Institute's board, seems to have struck just the right balance, between humanistic and social science research, and between historical and current research orientations. Important work by Granick ("The Second Economy," "Employment,"), Feshbach ("current demographic trends") and Holzman ("US and Soviet Defense Expenditures") is nicely balanced by equally significant research into the impact of the Russian army on Russian society in the 18th century (Pintner) and 19th Century Russian Slavophilism (Christoff), to cite just several examples. The general weight of twentieth century research, meanwhile, is well warranted both by the quality of the scholars involved, and the importance of their topics. Lewin, Dallin,

Mr. Prosser Gifford

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Joravsky, Graham, Stites and others represent the most imaginative and reflective work in the field. At the same time, the list of Visiting Grantees shows clearly that the Institute's offices and resources have been made broadly and generously available to younger men and women whose research topics are of great interest but whose reputations have yet to be established.

I am now also fully persuaded that it is most important for the Kennan Institute to be in Washington D.C. The availability of Library of Congress resources, the energy of the other Washington offices and institutions concerned with Soviet affairs, and the independence of the Wilson Center generally from university concerns and affiliations all seem to contribute substantially to the Institute's vitality. There is little doubt that the program serves the field quite uniquely in this regard. The several conferences in which I have participated under Institute aegis ("Nationalism and Social Change in Transcaucasia"); "The Formative Years of Soviet Culture") were both clearly enriched by the involvement of people outside University circles whose participation was only due to the Institute's location.

In my judgment, there do not appear to be any serious weaknesses or omissions in the Institute's work, but it would be well served, as Professor Gleason suggests in his memo, by the transfer of the Russian Review from Stanford to Washington. The Occasional Papers are an adequate way to disseminate current work to interested people in the field, but the journal would be both a more permanent repository for significant research papers and a means of stimulating additional research interests through organized discussion sections or reviews of published work or work in progress. A publication of this sort would also serve the purpose of representing divergent views from those who for one reason or another are not formally part of the Institute's program. I realize the difficulties that housing the Review at the Institute would entail both in terms of space and funding, but I would urge it be given serious thought, and be made a matter of high priority.

In sum, the accomplishments of the Institute are impressive. It is in excellent health. It has more than surpassed the very high hopes and expectations which were initially placed in it.

Sincerely yours,


William G. Rosenberg
Professor of History

WGR/lms



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March 17, 1982

Mr. Prosser Gifford
Deputy Director
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Dear Mr. Gifford:

In response to your letter of February 19, I am jotting down my thoughts on the East Asia Program at the Wilson Center as an outside reviewer. I will try to follow Mr. Billington's four general areas of questions. Needless to add, my response is purely subjective.

(1) "The overall quality of the fellows who have been in the program":

As I perused the list of past fellows at the Center and their published works, I sensed a slight preponderance of Japanese scholars and intellectuals, whose work, however, is impressive indeed. I have had occasions to meet several of them, in particular Mr. Eto Jun and Professor Sukehiro Hirakawa, and to benefit from their scintillating remarks. I am not familiar with the Korean scholars. On the Chinese side, I must reluctantly note that aside from a few established scholars, the overall quality is not comparable. There is a notable lack of representation of scholars from the People's Republic and from Taiwan (Yao Wei being the only one from the PRC). In view of the recent rush of exchanges between this country and China, and the geographical proximity of such institutions as the Committee for Scholarly Exchange with the PRC, there should be more representation. Some concrete forms of coordination with the CSCPRC may be needed in order to select the best candidates from the PRC. In the case of Taiwan, I suspect that the Wilson Center is not very well known there. Taiwan should not be easily dismissed--and, for that matter, nor should Hong Kong and Singapore.

I have been sent two occasional papers (Numbers 4 and 7) and found them interesting. Of the six contributors, only two (Olson and Eto Jun) are from the Wilson Center. The three scholars who wrote on "the historical precedents for our new relations with China" are all from the outside. They are, to be sure, perhaps the very top scholars in this field, but the papers tend to be discursive and lack depth. The truly important publication from the Center's East Asia Program is the Conference Report on East Asian Languages. With the exception of this Report, the published record is yet to establish an "identity". This is understandable, since the East Asia Program is the youngest of the Center's regional programs, and it takes time to form an identity.

(2) "Does it make sense to have an East Asian Program in Washington D.C.?"

My answer is: Yes, definitely. I applaud especially the initial vision of the Wilson Center in emphasizing the "advanced, international, and humanistic" dimensions. Therefore, the regional programs at the Wilson Center must differ in both quality and orientation from the regular university research centers

and the "think-tanks" in the Washington area. I cannot agree more with what is written on page four of the Fellowship brochure; I would single out, for your special attention, the following eloquent paragraph:

"Its humanistic interest does not imply preference for certain academic fields but rather a general interest in projects that include consideration of the enduring, if intangible, questions of artistic form, moral value, and higher belief--and in scholars and practitioners who seek wisdom from the anguish, achievements, and aspirations of others--both past and present."

To fulfill this guiding vision, it is imperative, in my view, to select and seek out those scholars, artists and intellectuals whose work is not tangibly related to the immediate policy concerns of the Washington establishment. Insofar as the Center must bring advanced research and ideas to bear on a wider public and on policy makers, it should also encourage the kind of intellectual interaction of the highest quality which is anchored in a broad humanism. More concretely, I would suggest that the Wilson Center keep itself away from the regular "think-tank" programs by sponsoring creative and scholarly work on issues related to culture--both past and present, both East and West. In a way, the future mission of the Wilson Center can very well be to teach policy makers and "think-tank" thinkers how to think more profoundly, humanistically, and with a broad international vision.

- (3) "Serious weaknesses and omissions in the work of the program" or "lack of balance in its approach to the field":

Given the relative youth of the East Asia Program, it is perhaps premature to locate serious weaknesses and omissions. In general, the balance tends to favor slightly the policy-related issues which, from another angle, may be regarded as an "imbalance". The humanistic disciplines and interests--art, literature, philosophy, religion, history--need more representation. As for the divergent points of view among scholars and in the region itself, I would hope that such divergence is not indicated by mere ideological differences among countries or disciplinary squabbles among scholars. Rather, it should be divergence of an intellectual order. I admire profoundly Eto Jun's work, but I find myself disagreeing with him (concerning his recent research on American censorship on Japan) on intellectual and humanistic--not necessarily ideological or political--grounds. I emphasize the intellectual quality in the Center's goals precisely because I have seen so many "liberal" gatherings which presume to give adequate hearings to all shallow points of view. The East Asia Program at the Center should not, therefore, duplicate the programs at Asia Society, for instance, which are more oriented to the general public and to media concerns.

- (4) "Are there areas of scholarship or substantive issues and controversies in the field to which the program should devote attention in the future because they have been undervalued, or 'unfashionable', or not yet thought through?":

What a great question! Yes, indeed. A few years ago, the entire humanistic approach to modern East Asia was deemed "unfashionable", the discipline of language training undervalued (hence more applause to Mr. Ronald Morse's effort in convening the language specialists which resulted in the Conference Report), and quite a number of issues of broad humanistic relevance not "thought through". More specifically, I would like to single out, for the East

Asia field in general, the following: the interplay of artistic creativity and societal forces; the classic issue in both China and Japan of intellectuals vs. politicians (which despite several academic treatises is not fully thought through); the problem of orthodoxy and deviance in cultural behavior; the curious lack of interest and knowledge among many American pragmatic policy-makers concerning the intellectual complexities of East Asian cultures; the even more curious lack of knowledge among many political scientists in the areas of pre-modern history, literature, art, philosophy and religion. The list can be lengthened if interested humanists in the field are encouraged to do more thinking along these lines.

It is therefore quite desirable, in my judgement, for the Wilson Center to take the initiative in "serving the field by raising questions which others will not pursue". This in turn brings up the problem of thematic and regional coherence (as reflected in several letters). I think the Center can plan for several interrelated intellectual themes for its regional programs so long as certain flexibility is allowed. More specifically, I would echo Professor Marius Jansen's view that "there ought to be more from humanists" whose major concerns ought to constitute the future orientation of the Center's East Asia Program.

Since I am quite committed to the overall goals of the Wilson Center, I have agreed to serve as an outside reviewer in the hope that the above opinions, however partial and biased, may serve as constructive criticism in the Center's deliberations on its future. I must reiterate my strong support of the East Asia Program and my admiration for the conscientious work of its two capable secretaries--Messers. Harry Harding and Ronald Morse.

Sincerely yours,



Leo Ou-fan Lee
Associate Professor

THE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE WILSON CENTER:

A REVIEW

This panel was charged with the responsibility to review the four international programs of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars as a total entity. The Director and Staff of the Center had no explicit mandate to ask for such a review, and it clearly would have been sufficient for them to satisfy any demand for review by soliciting evaluations of the individual international programs from scholars in the field and from former participants. Those evaluations have been both careful and helpful, and our overall assessment has been informed by them, as well as by our study of the supporting documents and by our visit of March 5, 1982, in the Center. Thus the appropriate way to begin this report is certainly to express our thanks to the colleagues who have undertaken the individual evaluations, and above all to commend the imagination and courage of the Director and Staff of the Center in going the second mile to submit to an analysis that could raise the very questions of survival for their international programs.

The international programs of The Wilson Center are in some ways analogous to the concept of "area studies" as a scheme for organizing research and instruction, though with important differences. On the face of it, it does make scholarly sense to bring together historians, social scientists, intellectuals, journalists, and policy makers (past or present, foreign or domestic)--all of whom deal with a particular region, but many of whom go on doing their own work unencumbered by a knowledge of what their colleagues in other disciplines have been discovering and thinking--and to create an atmosphere in which contemporary "real world issues" and academic "research issues" can shape the discussion in an interactive setting. The idea continues to be attractive and defensible, even though the concrete results of area studies have not always been as exciting as the advance billing sometimes promised. In one way or another, the external evaluators of individual programs and the members of this review panel have all felt obliged to ask whether or not the expenditures of time, money, and energy on the international programs have justified themselves in producing fundamentally new ideas and insights. While the members of the review panel would probably differ, therefore, in the degree of their enthusiasm for a perpetuation of such regionalism, the panel as a whole would nevertheless come down on the side of recommending (a) that some proportion (at the moment, it is roughly half) of the Center's resources be devoted to studies of discrete areas; (b) that the Center continue to preserve its freedom, intellectual and financial,

to move its resources around more flexibly than it could if it were to concentrate its total pool of talent, money, and space on regional studies; and (c) that a reappraisal of all programs be undertaken every three to five years to consider reorientation, consolidation, or possible termination.

That vote of confidence should not be construed to mean, however, that we found ourselves totally satisfied with the particular constellation of specialties now represented by the four programs. There was unanimous consensus that both the requirements of scholarship and the needs of policy demand more focus on Europe (which, for intellectual as well as practical reasons, must include Great Britain). Even if it were to mean that one or another of the current regional programs would have to relinquish staff or space, we feel that European studies, which have always been the stepchild of the area studies trend, present an opportunity and a responsibility uniquely consonant with the mission of the Center and with its location (not to mention the public career of its eponymous patron). We applaud the Center's growing recognition, thanks to the leadership of its current Director, that humanistic scholarship and social scientific research can be of mutual benefit in the activities of the Center. There is unquestionably no area of the world outside the United States to which American scholars in the humanities have devoted more study than Europe: literature and language, music and art history, philosophy and theology have all been dominated by what scholars in other fields have come to disparage as "Eurocentrism." The warning implicit in that label is sound, but the scholarly resources latent in that traditional concentration deserve to play a more direct role than they do. The strength of those scholarly resources happens to be matched, or even exceeded, by the vital importance today of Europe, as a region and as a concept, in American political, economic, and military strategy. Where such a convergence does occur, there seems to be presumptive evidence for the Center to consider the creation of a new program or the conversion of an existing program.

Having made these comments about the convergence between scholarship and policy, we would go on to urge in the strongest of terms that the Center preserve its special definition of itself as an "international center for scholars" (which is not synonymous with "center for international scholars"). What has set it apart from the multitudinous centers for policy studies in Washington and elsewhere has been its clear-eyed recognition of the difference between the immediate and the important, and hence its concentration on historical studies that do not necessarily "cash out" directly into the coinage of contemporary policy. As one of the outside reviewers has noted, it would be unfortunate if the Center were to "drift too much toward current issues." Ironically, such a

concentration on long-range issues often turns out to have been exceedingly relevant and contemporary, as some of the experiences of Fellows in the Kennan Institute have shown. Indeed, we would recommend that, if possible, the Center find the resources for an even more imaginative use of such historical-cultural scholarship, perhaps in the form of rotating appointments of from three to five years for established scholars whose fields may have no immediate relevance to the issues of the day, but who, after a lifetime of research, embody the Geist of an intellectual, literary, or artistic tradition and who are ready to share the fruits of their labors in the setting of the Center. These scholars might have made their mark in the study of one of the regions covered by the Center's programs, but at least some of them should represent other fields. An obvious example of the latter would be Classics.

Conversely, we are equally concerned that the Center should be of direct service to scholars at the other end of the age scale. Facing as we are the depressing prospect of an entire "lost generation" of young scholars, we would express the hope that a center bearing the name of Woodrow Wilson will be, even more than it already is, a place where selected graduate students and recently minted Ph.D.s from universities throughout the nation can carry on their research in association with their contemporaries and with senior scholars from here and abroad who have not been their own mentors. For if the philosophy of the Center and the idea of its international programs are correct, as we firmly believe they are, there need to be ways, within the constraints of space and funds, to help shape the growth of those who will be the interpreters of society and culture in the 21st century. Having prepared its highly illuminating inventories of the scholarly and intellectual riches of the Washington area, the Wilson Center is ideally suited to be a context within which junior scholars can exploit those riches. Can any need be higher on the agenda of the Center, or indeed of the nation, than the need to protect the quality of the intellectual and scholarly future?

None of this comes cheap, and we are convinced that the Center both needs and deserves support that is broader and deeper than present levels. A hand-to-mouth existence that stays no more than a year or so ahead of its funding does not provide an atmosphere conducive to the kind of research and reflection for which the Congress in 1968 created the Center. Solicitation of funds for the existing programs will continue to be a necessity, but the Center is in constant danger of indenturing itself to those programs for the sake of the funding, which it seeks for the sake of the programs. To break out of this circle when a program nears the end of its useful life and to innovate in some of the ways we have proposed, the Center ought to have the flexibility that can come only from unrestricted funds--whether they be public or private in origin, and whether they be for current needs or for endowment. The

members of the panel all expressed surprise at the low level of Federal support, together with admiration for the responsible stewardship that the Center has exercised. For even and especially in an atmosphere of budgetary stringency the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars represents not an expenditure but an investment, whose benefits will surely outweigh its costs.

Professor Jaroslav Pelikan
Chairman of Review Panel;
Sterling Professor of History
Yale University

March 25, 1982

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