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To: Mr. Paul Hoffman
 From: Rowan Gaither
 Subject: Conference Memoranda

1. Objectives of Memoranda

The five attached conference memoranda are presented with the hope and general objective of assisting you and your staff in developing an initial operating program for the Foundation. The more specific objectives of the memoranda are these:

- a. To re-examine the broad recommendations of the Study Committee Report in the light of current conditions;
- b. To offer some frame of reference for conferences on initial program planning;
- c. To venture some suggestions as to the more important or preferred opportunities for Foundation action; and
- d. To make some project suggestions.

2. Basic Assumptions

The recommendations of the memoranda follow the thesis that the advancement of human welfare lies in the realization of democratic objectives. They are influenced by several basic assumptions:

- a. The avoidance of total war and the establishment of the bases for permanent peace is the great task confronting the world.
- b. War is not necessarily inevitable or immediately imminent; however, the threat of total war is so great that the United States and the free peoples of the world must mobilize their economic and human resources to deter aggression, to achieve peace, and to assure victory should war come.
- c. The critical period of international tensions, ideological conflict, limited warfare, and ascending mobilization of our human, material and military resources is of unpredictable duration.
- d. In such a period the free world must do more than arm itself; it must develop its strengths fully, it must overcome its weaknesses, and it must continue to strengthen the underlying institutions and processes upon which freedom and permanent progress toward democratic goals depend.

3. Planning Assumptions

Several planning assumptions seem to follow logically from the basic assumptions.

- a. Since the international crisis is of unpredictable duration, the Foundation's program:
 - (1) Should remain flexible to adjust to changes in the world situation;
 - (2) Should achieve an appropriate balance -- not necessarily equal -- between short-term activities of immediate effectiveness and longer term projects designed to produce more enduring results in order to reflect the need of the United States and the free world for long-run growth and strength.

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b. The gravity of the international situation and the rapidity of our response to it indicate that the Foundation plans should:

(1) Initiate Foundation action at the earliest date practicable, and employ whatever mechanisms or procedures are most likely to yield prompt results;

(2) Give preference to activities which will increase our ability to wage the peace and to prevail if war comes; and

(3) Embrace projects which will strengthen and supplement our governmental efforts in areas where government activity is inappropriate, partisan, or ineffective, including projects which are directly concerned with areas of governmental policy and which, in times of peace, might more appropriately be left to government itself.

4. Summary of Conference Memoranda on Programs One through Five

a. Program One

(1) Attention is focussed on (a) tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, (b) relations between them involving either agreement or unilateral action, and (c) Soviet conduct.

(2) The activities suggested are designed either to (a) lessen the foregoing tensions or (b) enhance the relative strength of the West vs. the East, and relate to the political, military, economic, and ideological fronts of the cold war. They consist of the following:

(a) In the Area of Soviet Conduct

Project #1: Comprehensive analysis of Soviet conduct.

Project #2: Analysis of conduct of particular satellite areas.

(b) In the Area of Agreement Between East and West

Project #1: Analysis of issues between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R.

Project #2: Analysis of ways of strengthening the United Nations.

(c) In the Area of Unilateral Conduct

Project #1: Analysis of Western information policies and propaganda activities abroad.

Project #2: Studies of important non-Soviet areas to ascertain factors most important for Western policy.

Project #3: Analysis of Asia's agricultural problems.

Project #4: Training of local persons in Asia and Middle East in administrative and technical skills.

b. Program Two

(1) Chief attention is directed (a) to protection of the basic principles of freedom and democracy during the period of international tensions and (b) to strengthening the processes of self-government.

(2) The activities suggested are as follows:

(a) Toward (a) above

Project #1: Commission to examine basic principles of freedom and democracy and propose ways for protecting them in period of tension.

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(b) Toward (b) above

Project #1: Analysis of elective process, public apathy, and ways of increasing public participation in democratic affairs.

Project #2: Commission to examine conditions of public service.

Project #3: Special studies of governmental organization and administration.

c. Program Three

(1) The program emphasizes (a) the importance of a strong economy with high output, constructive employment, and a minimum of instability, and (2) the urgent need, in the period of national emergency, for effective planning to maximize production, to make the most efficient use of manpower and material resources, and to avoid destructive inflation.

(2) The following activities are suggested:

Project #1: Commission-type organization to follow problems and policies involved in economic mobilization, and to analyze and report to policy makers and the public on such matters as : manpower utilization, worker productivity, conservation, material allocation, ration and price control, etc.

Project #2: Program of economic education.

Project #3: Development of a body of economic theory of growth.

Project #4: University research for validation of economic theory and development of new theory.

d. Program Four

(1) The emphasis of this program is upon (a) increasing the effectiveness of our educational system in developing leadership and citizenship capabilities, and (b) efficiently using, and safeguarding the strength of, our educational institutions during the national emergency.

(2) Support is suggested for the following activities:

(a) In Adult Education

Project #1: Endeavors to afford fuller awareness of current political and economic issues.

Project #2: Pilot endeavors to present facts concerning critical areas (e.g., India) through motion pictures, television, etc.

Project #3: Scientific study of how adults may best become intelligently informed of current issues.

(b) In General Education at College and Pre-College Level

Project #1: Experiments in educating for more effective citizenship and better development of ability to reason about, and the will to act concerning, social problems (with sub-project particularly related to mobilization period).

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Project #2: Study of environmental and educational factors most influential in development of awareness of democratic values, will to act, and ability to reason critically.

(c) In Professional and Graduate Education

Project #1: Experiments for increased development of social contribution.

Project #2: Identification of ways for more effective development of leadership potentialities and of educational factors influential in development of present leaders.

(d) Extension of Educational Opportunity

Project #1: Commission to examine and publicize the problem of equality of educational opportunity.

(e) Teacher Training

Project #1: Experiments in training teachers for general education at college and pre-college level.

(f) Testing, Guidance and Counselling

Project #1: Improvement in testing for citizenship qualities and in guidance and counselling.

(g) Public Understanding of Educational Problems

Project #1: Commission to publicize major problems confronting our educational system.

(h) Education in the National Emergency

Project #1: Commission on the effective use of, and on safeguarding the strength of, educational resources during the national emergency.

e. Program Five

(1) This program focuses on the following objectives: (a) the more effective use of behavioral knowledge by policy makers, (b) acquisition of new behavioral knowledge, and (c) basic strengthening of the behavioral science field (through increase of trained personnel, improvement of research facilities, etc.).

(2) The following project is suggested:

Project #1: Support for ad hoc committee to appraise continuously the behavioral science field in order to maximize its contribution to the foregoing objectives and to assist in maintaining proper balance between these objectives.

5. Conclusion

It is obvious that each of the five programs could embrace a wide variety of projects. What has been attempted here is to select a comparatively small number of project suggestions as ideas for conference consideration. The selection process has been influenced by the goals and objectives of each program and by the several assumptions.

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No consideration has been given to feasibility -- the availability of persons and institutions -- which presents an important and time-consuming task to be performed before grants can be made.