ASSEMBLING SMALLNESS
The American Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961

by
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Bachelor of Arts
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
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ABSTRACT

The American Small Industries Exhibition was the first instance during the Cold War wherein the USA assembled a solo exhibit outside the framework of an established trade fair. It toured three non-aligned nations between 1958 and 1961: India, Ghana, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Ceylon's political climate was suffused with mounting anti-West sentiment, and the exhibition constitutes one of the few moments of sustained interaction between Ceylon and the USA.

Using the exhibition's nomenclature as a provocation, this thesis examines the Small Industries Exhibition's aspirations in relation to political realities of 1960s Ceylon. Its aims were apparently clear: to support industrialisation and establish trade ties with three non-aligned, socialist-leaning nations shifting from an agricultural to an industrial economy. It was intended to serve as a clear endorsement of capitalistic modernisation, while refuting the socialist, state-centred models of development embodied in multi-year planning documents released by each of the three host countries. Descriptions of the fair, however, are contradictory and unexpected, commencing with the unusual presentation of the USA as a wellspring of small-scale industry.

This thesis disassembles the exhibition into its many components, making a case for studying the very small to illuminate the very large. When examined closely, objects on view project a range of messages and betray a vast array of physical and ideological infrastructures. However, the thesis also examines the slender site of the suture — the manner in which objects and agents are assembled and deployed — not only to understand the composition of these contradictions, but also to read the act of translation. It argues that to dissect these assemblages is to peel away at the constructed line of the 'national' boundary, prompting an examination of knowledge transfers, affinities, and differences that are simultaneously local and transnational in their scope and impact. In particular, the thesis examines the fragmented, contingent, conflicting processes that are gathered together and described as modernisation, and challenges the measures used to divide the globe into 'developed' and 'developing' nations.

Thesis Supervisor: Arindam Dutta
Title: Associate Professor of the History of Architecture

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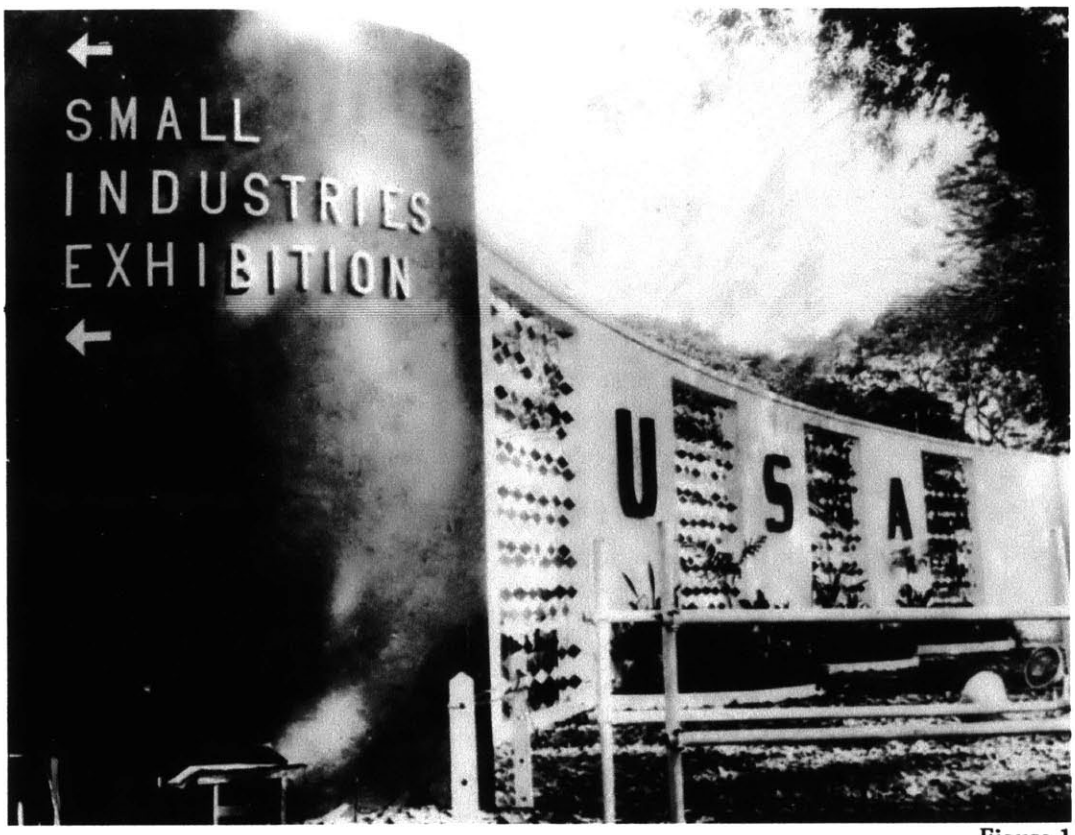

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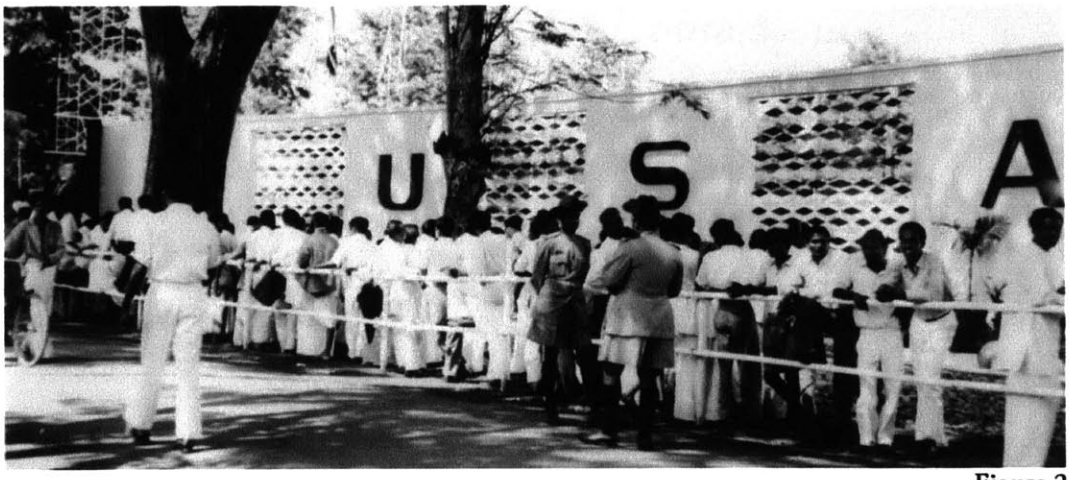

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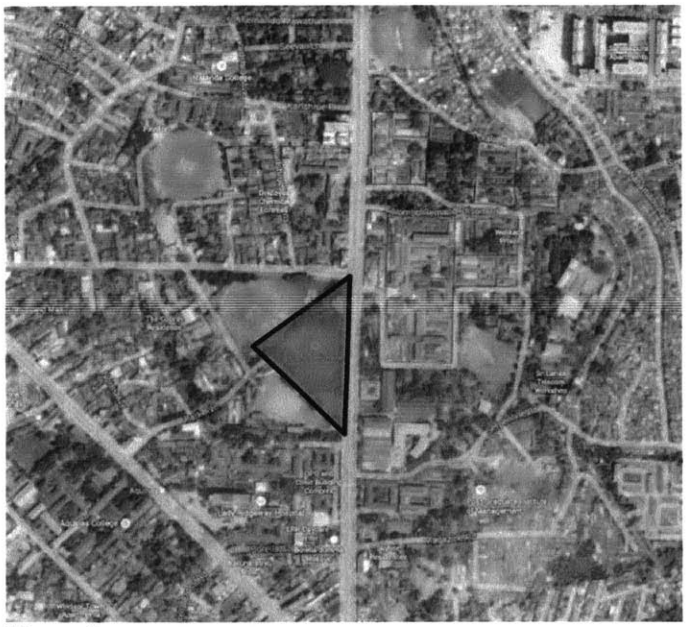

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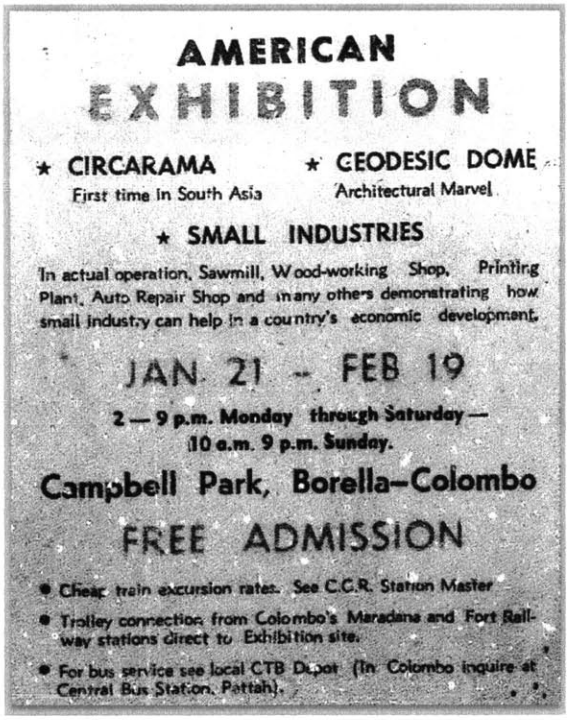

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INTRODUCTION

The Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961

In the early 1960s, the political climate in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka[1]) was suffused with mounting anti-West, particularly anti-American, sentiment.[2] Relations with the USA were on the verge of deteriorating rapidly; by 1963, the USA would temporarily halt its aid programme to the island, following Ceylon's nationalisation of petroleum distribution and a series of failed negotiations over compensation.[3] In light of Ceylon's imminent closing of doors to the West, only to be cautiously re-opened in 1977 with a change in government, this thesis examines one moment of sustained interaction and exchange between Ceylon and the USA in early 1961.

The American Small Industries Exhibition was an itinerant trade fair that toured India, Ceylon, and Ghana between 1958 and 1961.[4] It was the first instance during the Cold War wherein the USA assembled a solo exhibit outside the framework of an established trade fair. The exhibition was positioned as a gesture of generosity in supporting industrialisation programmes in the three recently-decolonised, developing nations. Through the display of machinery and explications by technical and business experts, it aimed to show how small industry operated in the USA and how the host countries might benefit from American experience. The exhibition's organising bodies – the United States Information Agency (USIA), the Department of Commerce's Office of International Trade Fairs (OITF), and the Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) –

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[1] Primary documents from the 1950s and 1960s refer to Sri Lanka as Ceylon (the official country name was changed to Sri Lanka in 1972). This thesis uses both names inter-changeably.

[2] Kingsley M De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2005), 652.

[3] Following Brazilian expropriations of American holdings in 1962 and fears that other states would follow suit, guidelines established by the Hickenlooper Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 stated that the provision of U.S. foreign aid funds was to be halted following uncompensated expropriation.

[4] The locations were as follows: New Delhi, India: December 10, 1958 – January 10, 1959; Calcutta: March 15 – April 15, 1959; Madras: September 1 – October 1, 1959; Bombay: January 31 – February 29, 1960, Colombo, Ceylon: January 21 – February 19, 1961; Accra, Ghana: November 27 – December 23, 1961.

collaborated with over a hundred private American companies to produce the displays at each location[5] (See Appendix I).

The exhibition went on view in Ceylon from 21 January to 19 February 1961 at Campbell Park, a triangular turf of almost four acres in the capital city of Colombo **(Figure 3)**. The park lies wedged between two boys' schools on Baseline Road in Borella, the city's largest suburb. It is named for British diplomat Sir George William Robert Campbell, who took over the police force in British Ceylon in 1866 as its first Inspector-General, and who secured the space for public recreation. It serves as a venue for amateur cricket matches and the occasional musical show, but is largely associated with annual political May Day rallies. The choice of Campbell Park for an exhibition showcasing individualistic capitalism therefore carries a curious irony.

Despite the exhibition's modest nomenclature, the fact that this was anticipated to be a spectacle is clear from a pre-exhibition advertisement in the state-owned daily *The Ceylon Observer*, which provided a summary of the wonders to come **(Figure 4)**. A myriad of machines were shown at work, arranged as indoor and outdoor displays clustered in a large 124-foot geodesic dome and four smaller 40-foot square domes.[6] The lightweight metal geodesic dome, described as an "architectural marvel" in newspapers, must have appeared otherworldly to a nation whose few industrial buildings were largely solid edifices inherited from colonial times. Local construction workers were called upon to assist in assembling the domes **(Figure 5)**, a far cry from their usual brick-and-mortar work. Ceylonese observers who did not quite know what to make of the dome's unusual form and materiality resorted to mildly mocking cartoons in local papers **(Figure 6)**.

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[5] In Ceylon, almost 125 companies collaborated on the exhibition. "Small Industries to the Fore," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.

[6] The displays were spread out over 26,000ft^2 indoors and 11,000 ft^2 outdoors. "US Show Opens on Saturday," *The Sunday Times (Ceylon)*, January 15, 1961.

Figure 5

LOOK, PAPA ESKIMOES!

Figure 6

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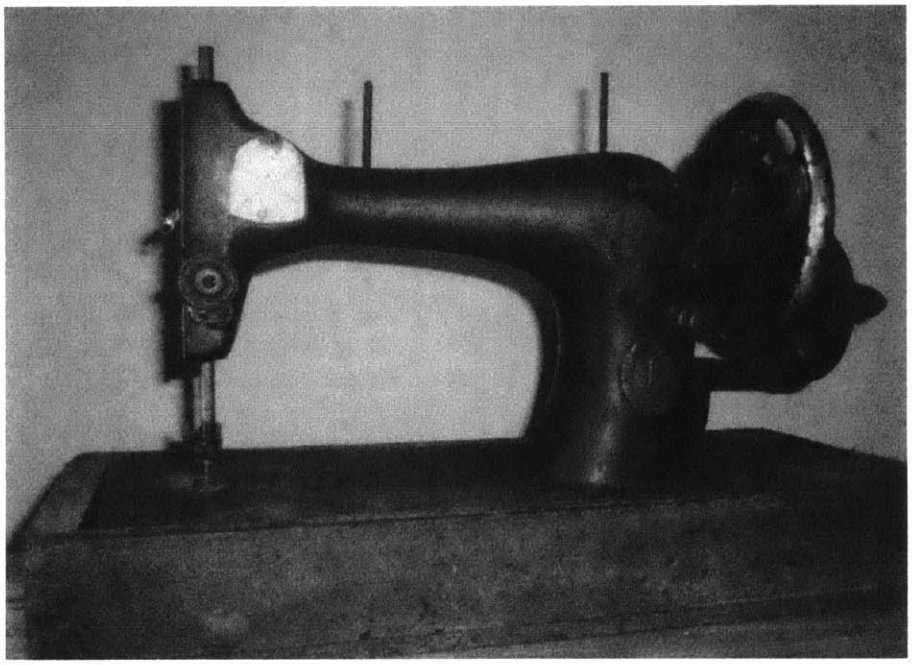

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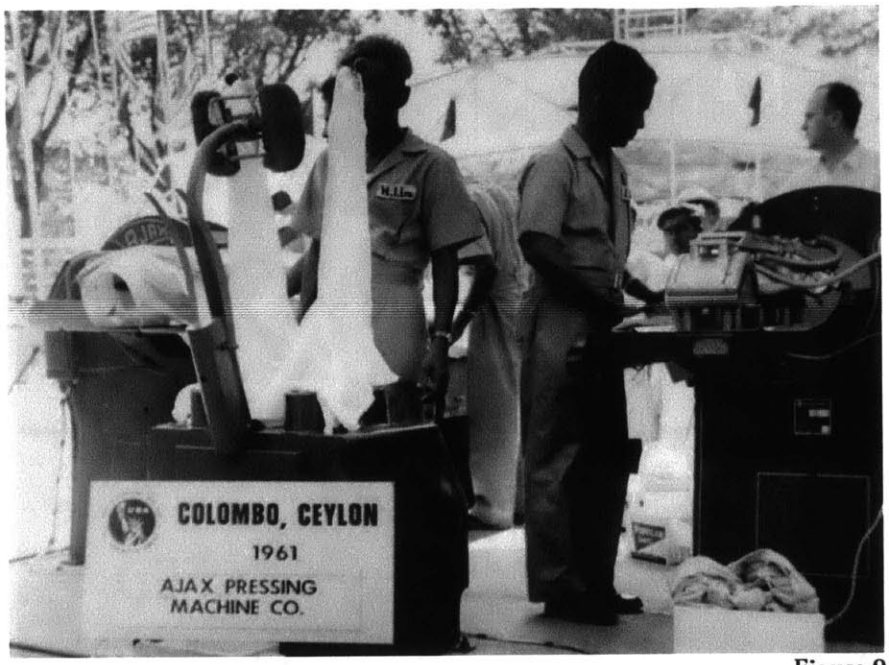

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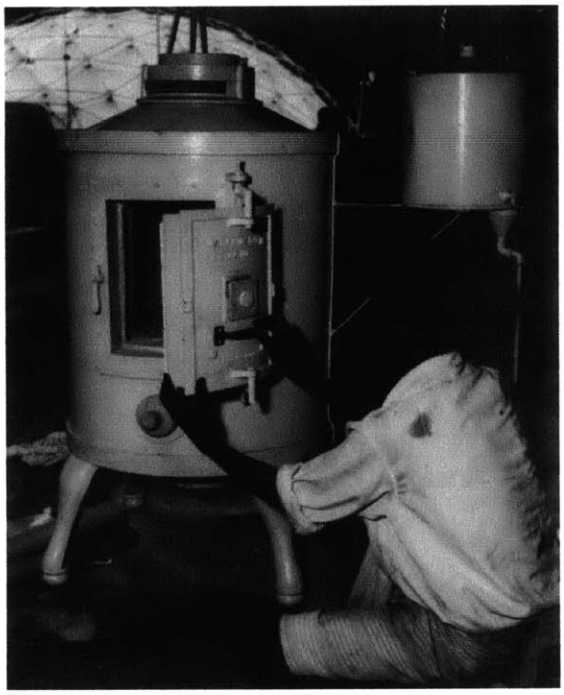

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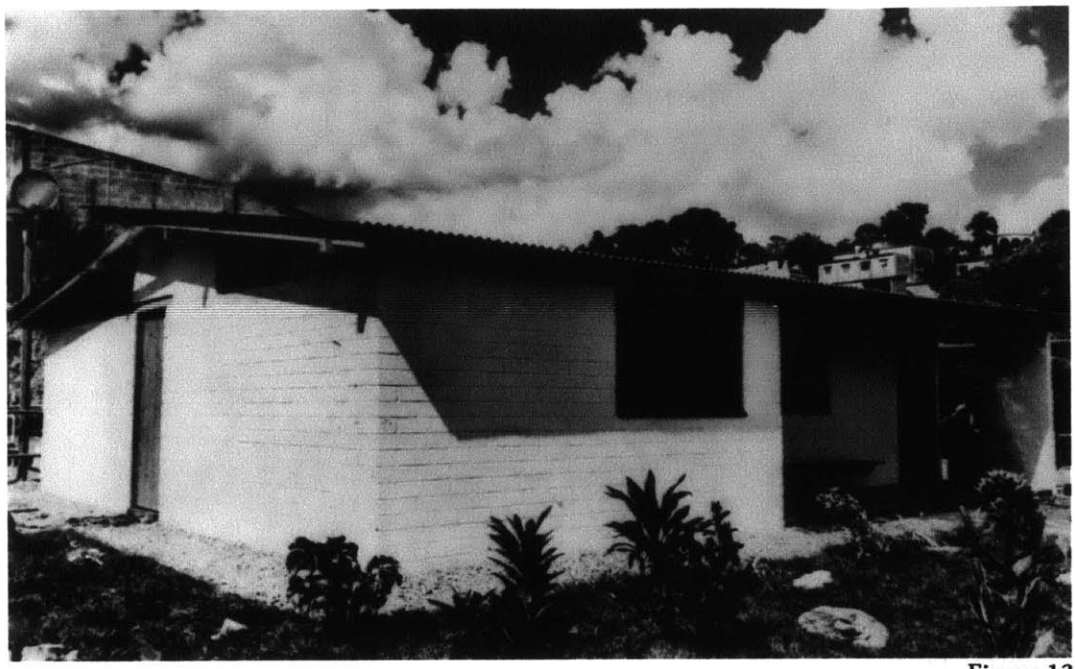

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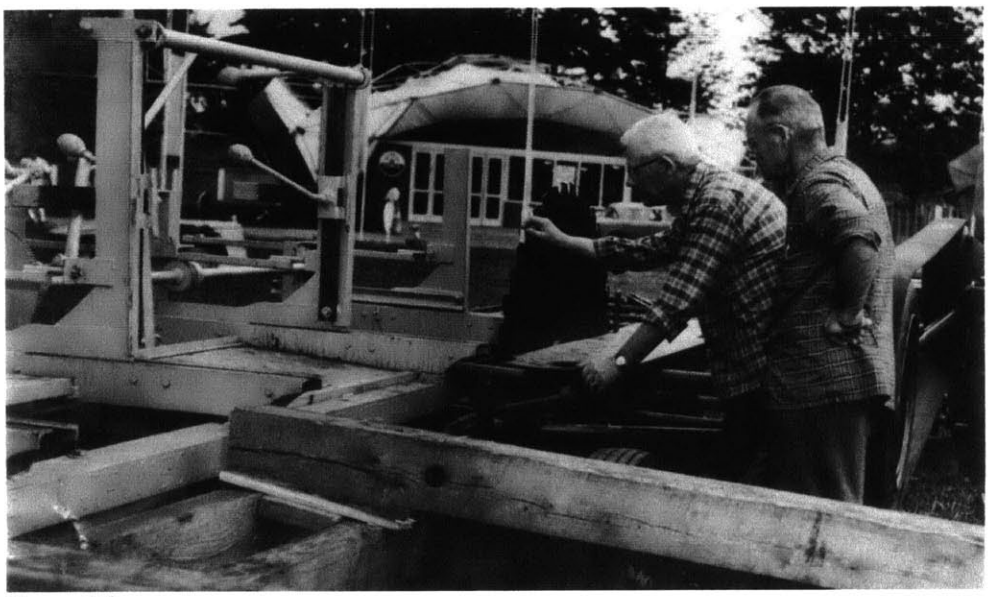

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Some of the wide-ranging displays were familiar to both urban and rural fair-goers.[7] An open dome to the left of the entrance housed a shirt-making exhibit **(Figure 7)**. Eleven volunteers demonstrated the joining of shoulders, sleeves, collars and cuffs, hemming fronts and backs, making button-holes, and sewing on buttons on Singer sewing machines. However, the first Singer sewing machine had been brought to the island as early as 1869, and the first local office of the New Jersey-based firm was established in 1877 in Colombo[8] **(Figure 8)**. 'Singer' soon came to be used by the Ceylonese to describe *all* sewing machines, regardless of make. In fact, the volunteer operators were Ceylonese seamstresses employed by Messrs. Hentley (Garments) Ltd of Colombo, who also provided material for the display. Further on a small model laundry and dry cleaning establishment demonstrated how an Ajax pressing machine functioned **(Figure 9)**, as well as a dry-cleaning machine, ironer, washer-extractor, and drying tumbler, as well as a steam generator. Here again, images of the exhibit reveal that operators were workers at Sitlani's, a well-known laundromat in Colombo **(Figure 10)**.

Some exhibits were of known practices augmented by innovations hitherto unseen by the average Ceylonese. A pottery demonstration in the building on the left near the exit contained potter's wheels demonstrated by locals **(Figure 11)**, kilns **(Figure 12)**, glass shaping tools, and displays of pottery products. This section also included a Cinva-Ram block press, a recent invention which used earth, cement, and lime to make low-cost blocks and tiles for housing **(Figure 13)**. A small print shop was shown in operation at the centre, along with a variety of graphic arts equipment, and a hand-operated printing press popular in U.S. school art departments[9] **(Figure 14)**.

Inside the largest dome was a woodworking exhibit; versatile woodworking equipment was demonstrated along with power and hand tools used by carpenters, hobbyists, and manufacturers in the USA **(Figure 15)**. There was also a sprawling outdoor exhibit on lumber processing. A tractor and wood preserving kiln were shown, as well as "the world's most portable" lumber harvester,

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[7] The following general description of all the exhibits on display is taken from the following news article: "Kennedy Will Send Message for Exhibition," *Ceylon Daily News*, January 16, 1961.

[8] Nira Wickramasinghe, *Metallic Modern: Everyday Machines in Colonial Sri Lanka*, First Edition (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 18.

[9] "Printing Press (Photo)," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.

demonstrated at work cutting and edging logs by its inventors, Clinton and Willard Jackson **(Figure 16)**. The latter, in operation continuously each day, proved so popular that it had to be closed down on several occasions for fear of a stampede. The inventors were themselves a source of wonder; locals who had learned their names via the fair's loudspeaker would cheerily shout "Hello, Jackson!" as they walked through Colombo.[10]

The automobile-related displays were ostensibly the most unfamiliar and exciting to visitors, very few of whom owned one in the 1960s. An extensive auto repair shop was on display around the outer perimeter of the largest dome, consisting of a brake shop, body shop, and radiator repair shop, with areas for wheel balancing, lubrication, and engine rebuilding and tune-up **(Figures 17-18)**. Also on view was an interactive driver trainer machine, which was tested by both men and women **(Figures 19-20)**. Further to the right was a machine shop **(Figure 21-22)**, with an exhibit of inspection equipment, a sheet metal shop, heat treating equipment, and induction heating display. The latest power and precision tools were demonstrated in both the auto repair and machine shops, to show their accuracy, ease of use, and role in augmenting efficiency within industries of any scale. There was also an eight-part demonstration of the properties and applications of fibre glass.

Half the spectacle was the sheer performance of the many humming, buzzing machines at work together. While the organisers provided detailed descriptions of machinery specifications and power consumption, training locals to demonstrate their use, many visitors were simply fascinated by the visual display of machines at work. As fairgoer "A.J.G" observed in the *Ceylon Daily News*, "[T]he explanation[s] get drowned in the whirr of machinery, and equally strident explanations coming from other directions. Nobody minds."[11]

It is likely that the hordes of Ceylonese visitors would have been content to be entertained by the machines on view and their orchestral exertions. The USIA and OITF organisers possibly viewed the

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[10] "Mondovians Win Praise for Ceylon Show," *Winona Daily News*, March 13, 1961.
[11] "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama," *Ceylon Daily News*, January 28, 1961.

machinery as quotidian and merely educational, which would explain the inclusion of entertainment in the form of Walt Disney's Circarama, playing a panoramic film that had proved popular at the Brussels Expo in 1957 and was making its debut in South Asia. This was housed in an additional geodesic dome **(Figures 23-24)**. Views of American landscapes, shot as though viewed from a car, rolled past the 500 viewers who crammed into the dome every twenty minutes.[12]

Finally, a small dome to the east of the largest exhibit housed a model bakery, devoted to presenting the nutritional advantages of wheat consumption **(Figure 25)**. American demonstrators, assisted by locals, prepared doughnuts, cakes, buns, rolls and bread using factory-prepared mixes that included wheat flour. A dedicated machine fried doughnuts and distributed them to Ceylonese fairgoers, the majority of whom had never tasted a doughnut before. While free samples were always welcome, the display was treated with a modicum of suspicion by viewers for whom rice constituted far more than a mere staple food. "A.J.G." opined critically that the doughnut "characterised the exhibition" in its focus on the consumer, and wondered what Ceylonese could possibly do with a doughnut machine.

The displays of machinery and wheat-based confectionery overshadowed what should perhaps have been the crux of the exhibition. A six-person trade mission was on hand to advise persons interested in trade with U.S. firms (with 145 specific business proposals sent in advance[13]) and a three-man labour mission available to confer with Ceylonese trade unionists and employers' representatives on labour-management relations and worker benefits.[14] The labour and trade missions maintained offices at the Exhibition,[15] and the trade mission also held a general meeting for Ceylonese businessmen at the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce to discuss the USA's foreign trade objectives and to answer questions regarding consumer goods.[16]

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[12] "Minister Opens U.S. Exhibition," *The Sunday Times (Ceylon)*, January 22, 1961.
[13] "U.S. Firms Submit Business Offers," *Times of Ceylon*, January 24, 1961.
[14] "Who's Who of U.S. Trade Team," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.; "U.S Labour Officials to Exchange Ideas With Local Leaders," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961 and "Minister Will Open U.S. Show," *Times of Ceylon*, January 20, 1961.
[15] "2 U.S. Labour Officials Due Here," *Times of Ceylon*, January 13, 1961.
[16] "Local Traders to Meet US Mission," *Times of Ceylon*, January 28, 1961.

Crowds thronged to Campbell Park daily during the Exhibition's run.[17] Minister of Industries, Home, and Cultural Affairs Maithripala Senanayake opened the fair[18] **(Figure 26)**; the fair was also graced by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, eight Cabinet Ministers, and Members of Parliament. Labour leaders, businessmen, and other professionals were also in attendance, as evidenced from inquiries made at the Exhibition's attached Trade Information Office.[19]

Admission was free; cheap train excursion rates, trolley connections from major railway stations to the park, and a special bus service enabled ordinary Ceylonese folk from around the island to flock to Borella. These arrangements likely contributed to the high ratio of visitors from provincial towns and villages. More than 100,000 school children visited in guided tour groups,[20] as did several students and teachers from universities and polytechnic institutes.[21] Within four short weeks, attendance figures shot to 1,644,520 – the largest recorded at a trade or industrial exhibition in Ceylon until that time, and the second largest attendance figure in the six-year history of U.S. Trade Exhibitions overseas, despite Ceylon's relatively small population of ten million.[22] It would seem that the American Small Industries Exhibition was a big hit in Ceylon.

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[17] The exhibition was on view from 2.00-9.00pm (10.00am to 9.00pm on Sundays). "American Exhibition," *Ceylon Observer*, January 15, 1961. The one exception was Monday, January 23rd, when it closed at 6pm. "Minister Will Open U.S. Show."

[18] "Minister Will Open U.S. Show."

[19] *Semi-Annual Report, Volume 10: January 1-June 30, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: President's Special International Program (U.S.), 1961), 3, RG 306, P173: Office of Research and Assessment: Reports Relating to the Special International Programs: 1955-1975. Box 2, National Archives and Records Administration.

[20] Ibid.

[21] A photo caption in the *Ceylon Daily News* mentions that on Saturday, January 28th, nearly 1000 university and polytechnic students saw the fair. Among them were about 300 priests and 200 lay students of the Vidyodaya University, an institution of higher education devoted to studying Sinhala language and culture (particularly Buddhism) established 1959. ("Prime Minister Visits American Small Industries Exhibition (PHOTO)," *Ceylon Daily News*, January 30, 1961.)

[22] *Semi-Annual Report, Vol. 10.* Many regional American newspapers reported the news when attendance exceeded one million, on the 13th and 14th of February 1961. Among these smaller newspapers are the *Eugene Register-Guard* (Eugene, OR), *Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), *Petersburg Progress Index* (Petersburg, VA), *The Bee* (Danville, VA), *Daily Independent Journal* (San Rafael, CA), *Lincoln Evening Journal* (Lincoln, NE), *Tucson Daily Citizen* (Tucson, AZ), *The Palladium Times* (Oswego, NY), *Wellsville Daily Reporter* (Wellsville, NY), *Dover Daily Reporter* (Dover, OH), *Kingsport Times* (Kingsport, TN), and *The Vidette-Messenger* (Valparaiso, IN).

Figure 17

Figure 18

Figure 17, Figure 18
Auto tune-up demonstration, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
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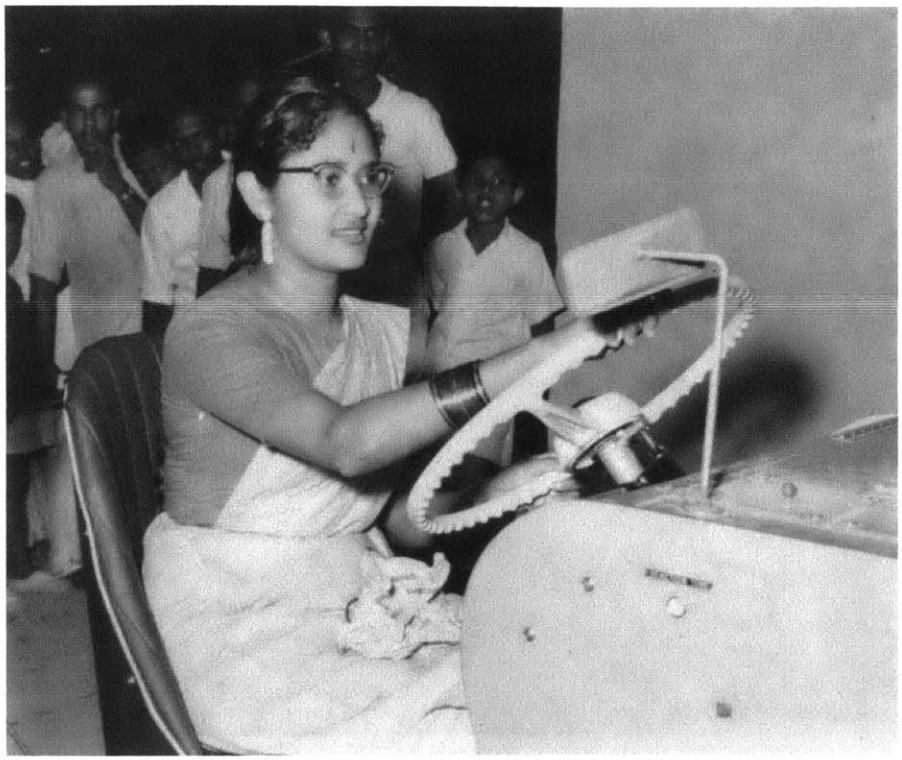

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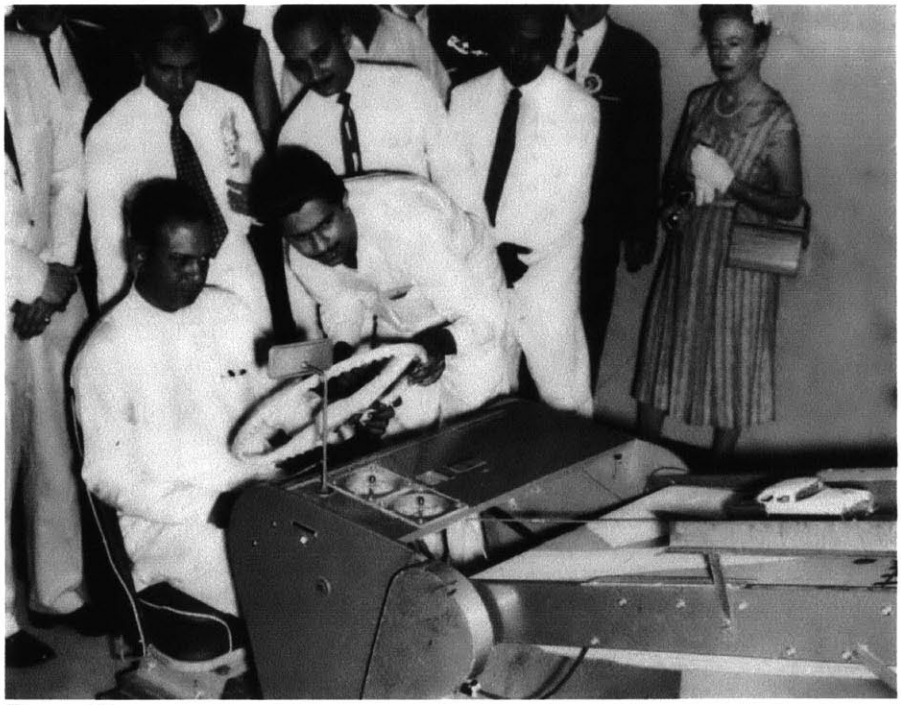

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Figure 19, Figure 20
Driver trainer machine, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
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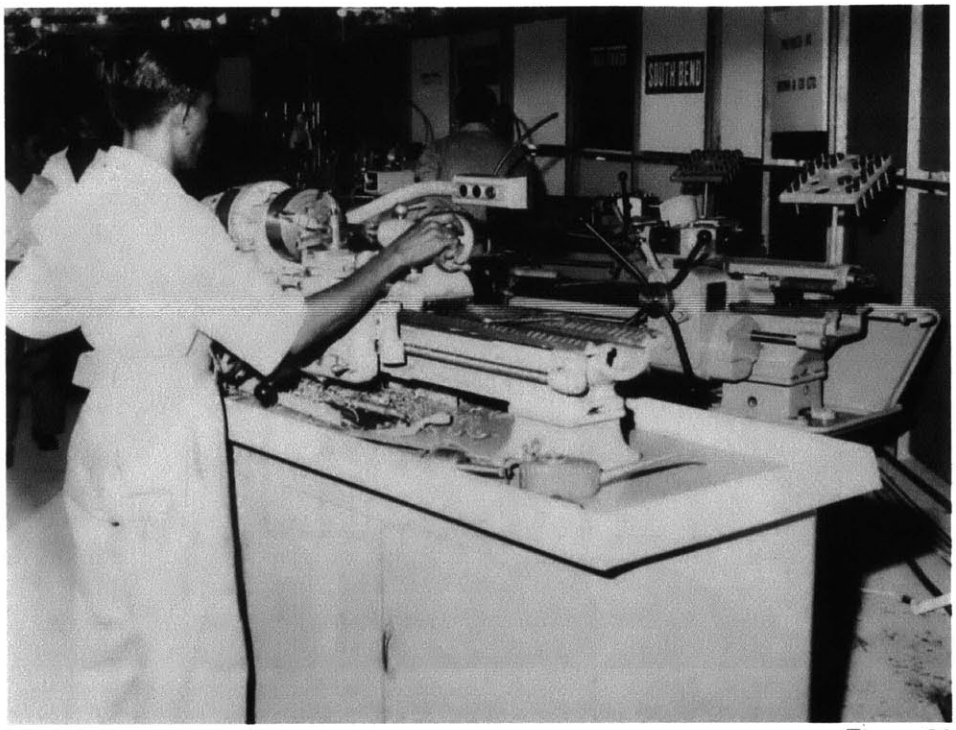

Figure 21

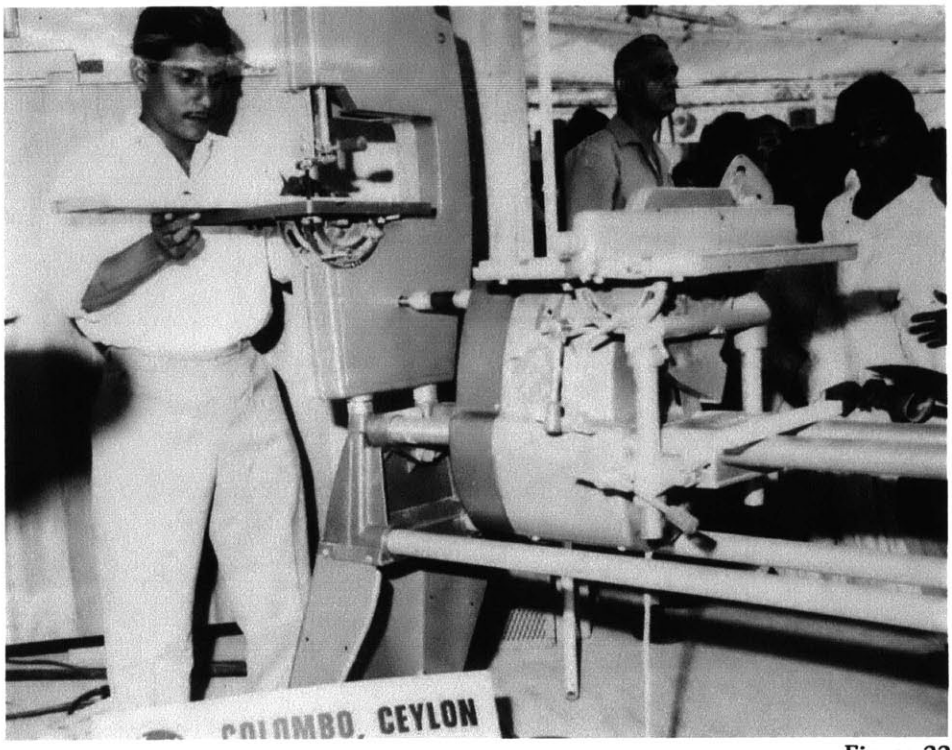

Figure 22

Figure 21, Figure 22
Machine shop demonstration, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
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Figure 23

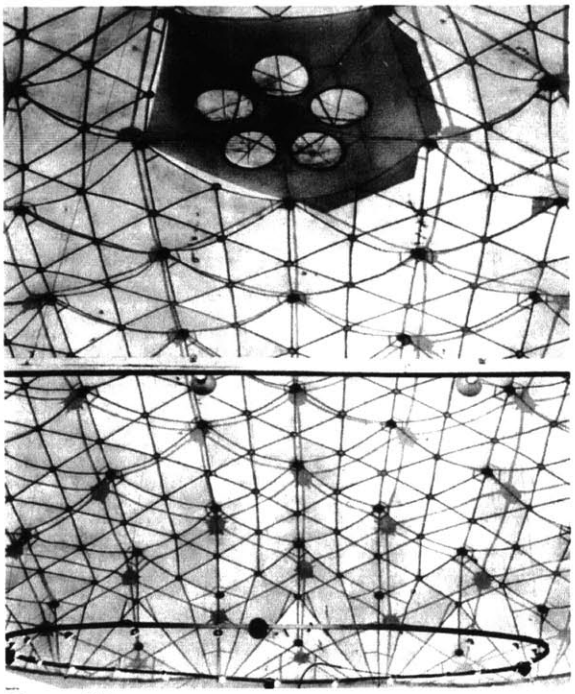

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Figure 23
Circrama USA pavilion, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
Michael John Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller: Designing for Mobility*, (Milan: Skira, 2005), 147
Figure 24
View of interior of Circarama dome, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
Michael John Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller: Designing for Mobility*, (Milan: Skira, 2005), 148

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 25
Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke inspects bread samples, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
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Figure 26
Minister Maithripala Senanayake opens the Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Contemplating Smallness

The aims f the exhibition were apparently clear: to support industrialisation and establish trade ties with three non-aligned, socialist-leaning nations shifting from an agricultural to an industrial economy. It was intended to serve as a clear endorsement of capitalistic modernisation, while refuting the socialist, state-centred models of development embodied in multi-year planning documents released by each of the three host countries. Descriptions of the fair, however, are contradictory and unexpected, commencing with the unusual presentation of the USA as a wellspring of small-scale industry. The choice of locations appears somewhat arbitrary, and it is odd that the exhibition should contain a built-in labour mission, given the Republican presidency of Dwight Eisenhower and the fair's capitalistic bent. Ceylonese Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike was fast forming political alliances with communistic China at the time, and yet the special public transport provisions must have been arranged, if not subsidised, by the Ceylonese state, indicating some sort of support of the exhibit. Photographs show locals demonstrating the rather motley collection of American exhibits, and press releases indicate that volunteers were culled from existing manufacturing businesses in Ceylon, so they clearly possessed some of the skills showcased.

Using the exhibition's nomenclature as a provocation, this thesis examines its aspirations in relation to political realities of 1960s Ceylon. It considers the exhibition as a metonym for the nation; although an assemblage of parts, both the exhibit and the nation it represents are read as a distinct unit. When the pieces are examined minutely, however, they begin to tell a multitude of stories. This thesis disassembles the exhibition into its constituent components (while cognisant that this deconstruction can be continued *ad infinitum*), making a case for studying the very small to illuminate the very large.

When examined closely, objects on view project a range of messages and betray a vast array of physical and ideological infrastructures. However, the thesis also examines the slender site of the suture — the manner in which objects and agents are integrated and deployed — not only to understand the composition of these contradictions, but also to read the act of translation. It argues

that to dissect these assemblages is to peel away at the constructed line of the 'national' boundary, prompting an examination of knowledge transfers, affinities, and differences that are simultaneously local and transnational in their scope and impact. In particular, the thesis examines the fragmented, contingent, conflicting processes that are gathered together and described as modernisation, and challenges the measures used to divide the globe into 'developed' and 'developing' nations.

It examines primary source documents from the exhibition, including newspaper reportage and photographic records from both Sri Lanka and the USA, and recently declassified OITF and USIA reports and press releases. It uses secondary literature on Cold War exhibitions, and economic analyses of Ceylon and the USA, to provide context for the political and economic environment in which the exhibition took place. Because the thesis is primarily concerned with comparing and contrasting competing notions of development, it does not provide an analysis of how urban and rural individuals responded to the fair, but rather compares the aims of the exhibition to development measures undertaken by the Ceylonese state. In doing so, it critiques how leaders in the Third World are characterised and viewed, using political frameworks that risk being reductionist.

In highlighting under-examined relations between Ceylon and the USA, this thesis fills a gap that sits at the intersection of Cold War studies and the field of post-colonialism. Post-colonial studies primarily engage with the production of knowledge and retrieving 'subjugated knowledges' to reveal structures of domination and discrimination. It has largely focused on critiquing the cultural complex known as European modernity.[23] As such, decolonisation and nation-building in Sri Lanka, for example, has been studied largely in relation to departed European colonisers, and less so in terms of the relationship between the recently independent nation's internal economic and political pressures, its strategic regional alliances, and international and transnational organisations who dispensed development-related aid.

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[23] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

Literature on the Cold War still contains gaps that are only beginning to be filled, especially with the opening of Soviet archives and through nascent scholarship on Europe, Asia, and Africa. This thesis intersects four strands of this recent literature: how domestic questions influenced or interacted with foreign affairs in the USA, U.S. public diplomacy and propaganda, the role of transnational institutions in influencing national policies and international alliances, and how South Asia shaped and was shaped by the Cold War.

It should also be noted that, while under-examined, there was an American presence in Ceylon/Sri Laanka between the early 19th and early 20th century, whose impact has not been insignificant. The American Ceylon Mission to the northern and eastern provinces contributed to literacy and education, healthcare institutions, apart from its religious influence. American Theosophist Colonel Henry Steel Olcott was a major contributor to the Buddhist revival in the island in the late 19th century and for establishing a Buddhist 'catechism' and leading Buddhist schools in the island; he is possibly the single greatest American influence in the island and has been hailed as a hero in the island's struggle for independence from the British. Nira Wickramasinghe's work on foreign machines like the Singer sewing machine also points to American influence in the economic sphere during this time. This thesis hopes to contribute to this small body of work on Sri Lankan-American relations, focusing on a much later time when the global balance of power had shifted considerably.

The following chapter, **Assemblage**, sets out theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this thesis, and provides historical context for the Small Industries Exhibition. This chapter accentuates how unexpected events and contingencies, rather than centralised decision-making, shaped Ceylonese political manoeuvres and the construction of American exhibitions during the Cold War, which crucially justifies this thesis' emphasis on disassembling these constructions as a means of honestly reading the exhibition. The first section provides a brief summary on modernisation theory in economic development and its intersections with cultural identity in Ceylon. It outlines the aims of the Five Year Plans of India and Ghana, and the Ten Year Plan of Ceylon, to which the Small Industries Exhibition was keyed, and points to contradictions that stem from internal pressures. The

second section outlines the genesis of the exposition, as well as its use during the Cold War, highlighting the inception of the United States Information Agency and Office of International Trade Fairs, exhibition-related legislation, and the People's Capitalism campaign, from which the Small Industries Exhibition derived much of its rhetoric. The subsequent three chapters analyse the components of the Ceylon exhibition – industrial exhibits, agricultural display, filmic entertainment, and expert missions – to examine how the idea of labour is expressed in these overlapping terrains, paying particular attention to how agents of this labour are described.

The third chapter, **Production**, analyses the industrial displays, arguing that not all objects equally embodied the exhibition's message of capitalism. The chapter offers two sharply contrasting readings of smallness – one aligned with capitalistic values, and the other rejecting the same – and analyses objects that fall squarely on either side as well as those that sit somewhere inbtetween. It examines how exhibition press releases refer to the labourer, craftsman, and ambiguous worker in relation to machines, and compares this with provisions in the Ten Year Plan for endeavours belittled as inefficient and unproductive. It mines the assemblages themselves to flesh out these contradictions, and to step into the territory of translation. The chapter posits that these ambivalences should not be read as two nations textured equally with the 'modern' and 'traditional', but rather that the nation does not constitute a unit of development.

The fourth chapter, **Consumption**, takes the grain of rice and wheat as its point of departure. It provides a close reading of the Small Industries Exhibition's agricultural exhibit, tracing the histories of wheat market development associations who were primary assemblers of the Wheat Kitchen display, and the function of the Wheat Kitchen as a tool for creating a market for American wheat and for controlling aid in developing nations. Returning to the Ten Year Plan, this chapter outlines the policy document's emphasis on agriculture. It employs a study of agricultural fundamentalism in the USA and Ceylon and its effects on the culture of each nation as of 1960 to compare the relative positions of power of the farmer and the peasant. In analysing the US 'failure' to capture the Ceylonese market, the chapter posits that what might be construed as a fundamental point of

difference between nations can also be read as a point of similarity, and that failure stems in part from this competition of ideas.

The concluding chapter briefly discusses how entertainment and education worked together in the exhibition arena to produce images of the nation as a coherent unit and the ways in which they were sewn into the exhibition. The chapter examines in tandem the Circarama and the trade and labour mission. In outlining how Circarama in particular was a potent advocate for American capitalism, the chapter posits that forms of filmic entertainment like Circarama were created expressly to suture the fair's fragments into an singular vision that concurrently overwhelmed and inspired its audience. Circarama projected an image of a single America. Similarly, trade and labour missions preached a gospel of development that presented an America of uniform and unidirectional 'progress'. The trade and labour missions were comprised of professed 'experts', recalling the technical experts sent abroad via private American and international institutions during the same time. Theirs was a valuable contribution to the argument that the 'American way' was the only means to prosperity, in part because of their spectacular performativity.

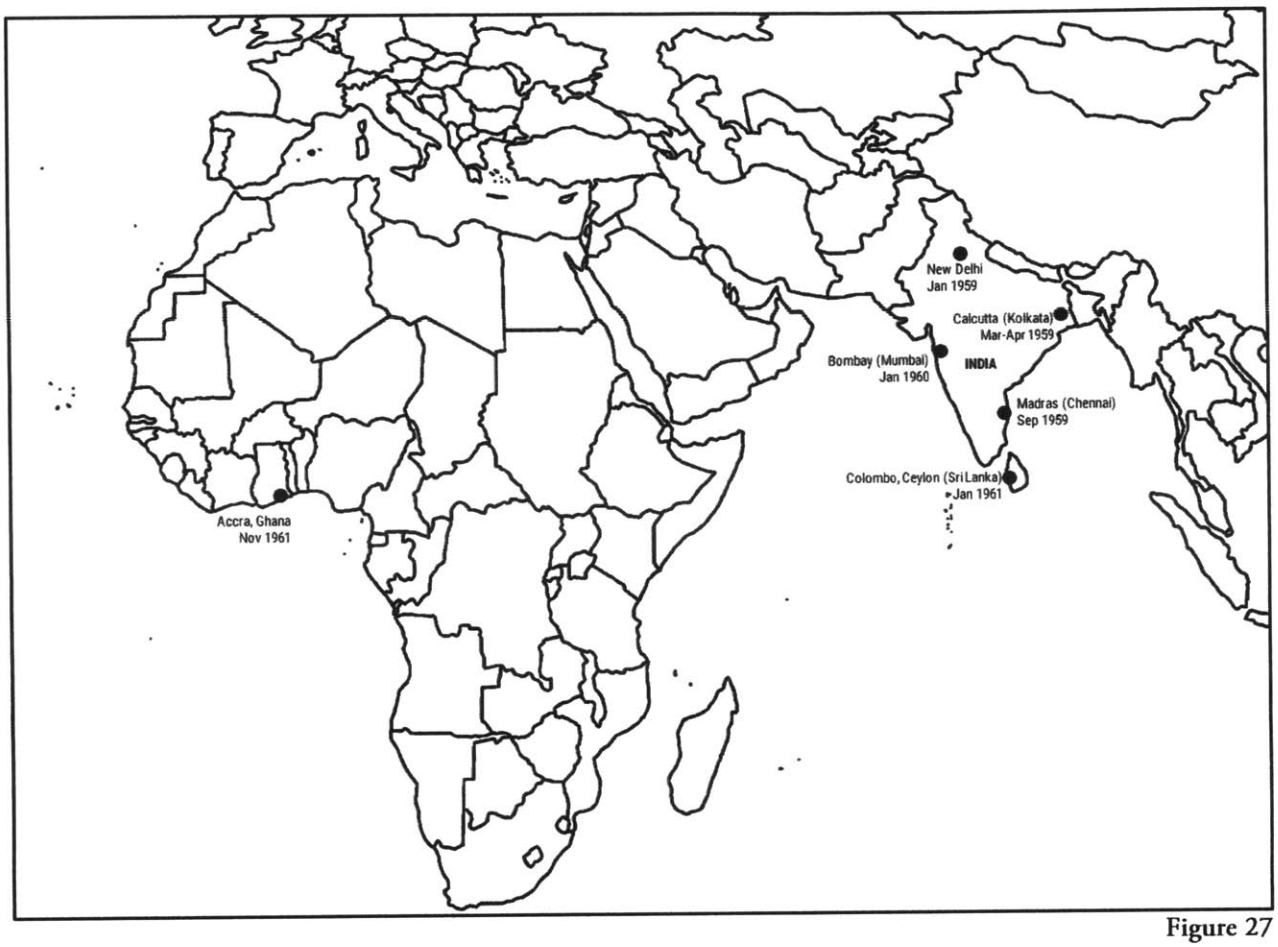

Figure 27

Locations of Small Industries Exhibition, 1958-1961

1 New Delhi, India: December 10, 1958 – January 10, 1959
2 Calcutta: March 15 – April 15, 1959
3 Madras: September 1 – October 1, 1959
4 Bombay: January 31 – February 29, 1960
5 Colombo, Ceylon: January 21 – February 19, 1961
6 Accra, Ghana: November 27 – December 23, 1961

ONE | ASSEMBLAGE

The live demonstrations and accompanying technical descriptions of the machines displayed at the Small Industries Exhibition reveal an attempt to translate the languages of action associated with machine-dominated industry. The machines on view were, in a sense, object-ambassadors for the USA; the local operators versed in specific industrial activities were translators of this language to fairgoers. However, translation is often assumed to necessarily take place at a national scale, even as difference is observed locally, and affinity takes on international dimensions. In order to disassemble the particular pieces of the Small Industries Exhibition in subsequent chapters, this section pinpoints how forces ranging in scale from domestic to transnational affected the shape of Ceylon as a political entity, and the form of U.S. Cold War exhibits, between 1948 and 1961.

I. ASSEMBLING THE NATION

The Cold War

The Cold War began primarily as an ideological confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States over the shape of post-war Europe. At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union set up several pro-communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, creating a political buffer between its borders and Western Europe. Meanwhile, the USA launched several initiatives that directly influenced European affairs, including the 1947 Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which provided substantial aid and assistance to allied governments for strengthening political stability and eliminating communist subversion. These measures were underscored by military alliances formed on either side. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a collective defence coalition whose members were largely from Western Europe and North America, was formed in 1949 after the treaty of the same name. The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance, or the Warsaw Pact, created a similar collective of European communist states formed in 1955. As both

sides gathered support, tensions mounted globally, eventually impacting political, military, and economic institutions around the world. The Cold War significantly impacted developments as diverse as decolonisation and mass culture, exacerbating civil wars in Asia and Africa, and intensifying the American Civil Rights Movement.[1]

Scholarship on the Cold War has evolved considerably since its early days. While many historians trace its origins to the period immediately following World War II, others argue that it began towards the end of World War I, although tensions between the Russian Empire, other European countries, and the United Sates date back to the middle of the 19th century.[2] Initial accounts were concerned with the question of who started the war (which in turn affected *when* it started), and tended to blame the Soviets for widening the rift. A second wave of revisionist historians in the 1960s and 1970s, driven by a critique of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, argued that American capitalistic greed aggravated the breakdown of the U.S.-USSR wartime alliance. Finally, a post-revisionist narrative views it as a series of dynamic interactions between the two superpowers whose defence strategies were characterised by political, economic, and military expansion.[3] Major gaps in Cold War studies, particularly its global and regional impacts, are presently being addressed with the opening of Soviet archives and through nascent scholarship on Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Modernisation and its Ideologies

American and Soviet endeavours to extol the virtues of their respective political systems necessitated the display of how these creeds and their application benefitted their citizens. Success, then, could be measured by the extent to which other nations adopted these ideas. As such, it was not a coincidence that all three host countries had recently launched development plans that followed state-centred socialist models, and that the Small Industries Exhibition was prepared directly in response to these

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[1] Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Craig Daigle, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, Routledge Handbooks (London; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), xvii.
[2] John Lewis Gaddis, *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History*, 2nd ed (New York: McGraw-Hill Pub. Co, 1990), 57.
[3] Kalinovsky and Daigle, *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, xvii.

plans (although this was not always made explicit in publicly-circulated material on the exhibition).[4] Press releases positioned "small" industry as typically American, where smallness was code for private businesses run by enterprising individuals. This system stood in opposition to state-centred models followed by the Soviets. The Small Industries Exhibition attempted to showcase the success of such a system, emphasising that the technologies on view were proof that industrial progress was only viable within the framework of American-style capitalism. President John F. Kennedy's message to the exhibition ran:

> The challenge of the new frontiers which faces all of us in this decade calls, I believe, for a mutual sharing and exchange of ideas, information, techniques and goods. This exhibition is intended to contribute to this goal. We hope you will find it helpful in building Ceylon and a greater prosperity for your peoples.[5]

His message reflects some of the key assumptions made by fair officials: that imparting knowledge was valuable because the system could be replicated elsewhere, and that transferring their ideologies and accompanying physical infrastructures could shape modernisation in the host nations.

These ideas were shaped by modernisation theorists including economists Paul Rosenstein-Rodan and Walt Whitman Rostow. The former theorised a "big push model" of economic growth wherein large-scale industrial investment programmes would enable transitioning agricultural countries to develop while avoiding the low-level equilibrium trap (in which low levels of income leave the populace too poor to invest, resulting in low growth rates). The latter expanded upon this idea in his 1960 work *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, defending capitalism as a harbinger of personal, political, and economic freedom. He argued that "traditional" societies desiring to attain this security and freedom could expect to follow similar trajectories, commencing with an economic "take-off" to the attainment of "maturity" wherein they entered an "age of high

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[4] *Semi-Annual Report, Volume 5: July 1, 1958-December 31, 1958* (Washington, D.C.: President's Special International Program (U.S.), 1959), RG 306, P173: Office of Research and Assessment: Reports Relating to the Special International Programs: 1955-1975. Box 1, National Archives and Records Administration. Also referred to in Volumes 6 and 8.

[5] "Kennedy's Message to People of Ceylon," *Ceylon Observer*, January 21, 1961.

mass-consumption."[6] While the Soviets followed a similar model of economic progress, two marked differences included the role of the state and the emphasis on capital production, not consumption.

This development discourse is what sits between Cold War studies and post-colonial studies, as many of the major ideas underpinning the civilising mission of the European colonial enterprise are applicable to modern development discourse, which crystallised during the Cold War. To confront its rivals, the US-led West set out to re-invent a modern discourse of development, where underdeveloped became a synonym for economic backwardness. Development economics conceived of development as achievable by the straightforward application of savings, investment, and productivity increases. Western progress was the yardstick for measuring success. It has been argued that the development economics owes its emergence to certain historical conjunctures rather than theoretical or methodological advances; as such, it is more a construction of the world than a universal science. Development served as an instrument for serving hidden agendas of hegemonic powers vying for global domination rather than an enterprise to satisfy the needs and desires of "underdeveloped populations". Following this critique, 1950s development economics have been compared and contrasted with local models of the economy, which is turn are argued to be not in a pure state but in complex hybridizations with dominant models.[7]

Industrialising the Independent Nation

Each of the three host nations released multi-year planning documents within a few years of each other; India's Second Five Year Plan was launched in 1956, Ceylon's Ten Year Plan in 1959, and Ghana's Second Five Year Development Plan the same year. India's and Ghana's policy documents have been characterised as unequivocally socialist, although this section attempts to re-frame this categorisation through an examination of Ceylon's political situation at the time. The three plans appeared to focus on rapid industrialisation that assumed a closed economy and the active role of the

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[6] W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, 3rd ed (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[7] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2012), 95–97.

state, and it is true that a multi-year plan for such a programme was initiated with Joseph Stalin in 1928 with the Soviet Union's first Five Year Plan. In particular, India's Second Five Year Plan was nicknamed the "Mahalanobis Plan" after statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, who used resource allocation ideas similar to those of Soviet economist G.A. Feldman to shape its frameworks. The Indian and Ghanaian plans have been criticised for their contradictions, and while the Ceylon plan was never fully implemented to prompt thorough analysis, the chapter discusses some of the island's seemingly contradictory political and social practices that (I argue) fed into the tensions apparent in the planning document, and could be applicable to the cases of both Ghana and India.

India's Second Five Year Plan focused on a shift from agriculture towards developing capital goods and heavy industry for long-term economic benefit. 70 percent of state funds were allocated to large and medium industries, while the rest was for mineral development and village and small industries. It also emphasised public sector activity, particularly the setting up of several steel plants and increased coal production.[8] However, in a conversation with fellow economic journalists Paul Bareau and Andrew Shonfield, Roland Bird noted that politicians in New Delhi were "deeply conscious of the political force of the cottage industries, and of the peasant agriculturalists," and were in effect attempting a compromise between capital-intensive steel and fertiliser plants, and labour-intensive cottage industries. Although 70 percent of the Indian population was engaged in agriculture, only about one-fifth of that number could find work for more than about three or four months in a year. The Plan's encouragement of the "grotesquely inefficient" hand-loom textile industry was a means to employ an enormous volume of labour that could only be employed in its own villages.[9]

Ghana's plan was significantly more nebulous in its exposition. The Second Development Plan of 1959, code-named "Building a Welfare State," called for the expansion of industrial development, communication, power and water (the Volta Dam Project), and outlined agricultural-related

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[8] Shravan Bhat, "Economic Milestone: Second Five Year Plan (1956)," *Forbes India*, August 8, 2014, http://forbesindia.com/article/independence-day-special/economic-milestone-second-five-year-plan-%281956%29/38393/1.

[9] Paul Bareau, Roland Bird, and Andrew Shonfield, "India's Second Five-Year Plan," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 33, no. 3 (July 1957): 305.

progress, particularly in terms of raising the yield of its primary export cocoa and related research.[10] Economist Arthur Lewis, who was involved in the formulation of the plan, observed that the nation's state of agricultural development did not match the government's ambitions for accelerated growth, and that industrialisation should necessarily follow agricultural development. However, it should be noted that here also was a difference between constraints imposed by the fragmentation of peasant production and those resulting from a lack of modernisation.[11]

Ceylon's Ten Year Plan, also released in 1959, followed some similar lines of thought. It charted a shift from a primarily agricultural economy to industry, and made the capital goods and public sectors a priority, focusing on increasing hydropower (like India's first plan and Ghana's second), building large production plants, and implementing housing schemes for the rapidly increasing population. It called for more productive agriculture for capital in industry, and import substitution. While the Ten Year Plan has been discussed in term of its large-scale strategies, it contains two significant references to smallness in the path to progress: small and cottage industries,[12] and a self-help programme.[13] The small industries named in the Plan (textiles, coir, carpentry, pottery, brickwork, smithy-work, rattan and basketry) were by nature low-tech, labour-intensive and independent of a larger power grid, to be applied and developed explicitly in rural regions.[14] It was also necessary that machinery used in these industries was inexpensive, so that villagers could purchase the items, and convenient to use and maintain. Small industries in the island had long been somewhat isolated and peripheral, and the Plan outlined how linking small and large industry would be economically beneficial.[15] These apparently contradictory articulations of smallness (echoed in India's Five Year Plan) are of particular significance, and will be discussed in the following section.

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[10] Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution*, African Studies : History, Politics, Economics, and Culture (New York: Routledge, 2005).

[11] J. H. Frimpong-Ansah, *The Vampire State in Africa: The Political Economy of Decline in Ghana*, 1st American ed (Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press, Inc, 1992).

[12] *The Ten-Year Plan*, (Colombo: The Planning Secretariat, 1959), 393-405

[13] The Ten-Year Plan, 104

[14] The Ten-Year Plan, 394

[15] See satirical cartoon "Simple Simeon" in the *Ceylon Daily News*, January 31, 1961

Politics in Ceylon, 1948-1961

At the time of the Small Industries Exhibition, there were two main political parties in Ceylon, as well as several smaller satellite parties. The Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, represented the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP); its main opposition was the United National Party (UNP).[16] The right-of centre UNP was founded in 1946 by D.S. Senanayake, who served as independent Ceylon's first Prime Minister from 1948 to 1952, and was overtly pro-west and anti-communist. The UNP, while elitist in outlook, adopted certain welfare policies that ensured its early popularity, including a substantial rice subsidy and agricultural development programme. In 1951, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike (Mrs Bandaranaike's husband), broke away from the UNP with a small group of his supporters to form the SLFP, characterised by its left-of-centre stance and populist form of linguistic nationalism that situated it between the right-leaning UNP and Marxist hardliners and made it appealing to a rising wave of chauvinists of the Sinhala-Buddhist ethno-religious majority. The SLFP under S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was "ideologically hazy and politically opportunistic", notes historian K.M. de Silva, and it responded to political pressures by adapting and shifting its stance.[17]

Mrs Bandaranaike's ascension to power was marked by rising chaos and a key tragedy. What should have become a classic confrontation between D.S. Senanayake and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was cut short when Senanayake died in a riding accident in early 1952. He was replaced by his son Dudley, who led the UNP to power in 1952 despite the SLFP's gathering force. Unfortunately for the UNP, the 1950s Korean War commodity boom was followed by a sharp decline in terms of trade. Ceylon's primary exports — tea, rubber, and coconut — began to plummet in price, and Dudley acted on the advice of a 1951 World Bank mission to reduce the substantial rice subsidy. Ensuing public protests resulted in the death of several demonstrators at the hands of the police. The younger Senanayake resigned in response in 1953, and was succeeded by his cousin, Sir John Kotelawala.[18] Kotelawala did not have the Senanayakes' political vision or public support, offending the Buddhist clergy with his

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[16] The following section on Sri Lankan history draws largely from De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 600–662. and Saman Kelegama, *Economic Policy in Sri Lanka Issues and Debates.* (New Delhi: SAGE India, 2004).

[17] De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 633.

[18] This piece of nepotism earned the UNP the nickname "The Uncle-Nephew Party".

decision to bring forward general elections to 1956, the year of the 2500th anniversary of the *parinibbana*[19] of the Buddha. Meanwhile, the SLFP arranged a no-contest pact in 1955 with leading Marxist parties, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and Communist Party (CP); the general election of 1956 resulted in a landslide victory for the SLFP and its satellite parties. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's ethno-linguistic nationalist position manifested itself in the Official Language Act of 1956, replacing English with Sinhala as the official language, failing to accord any recognition to Tamil, spoken by approximately 30 per cent of the country. The Act's passing resulted in communal violence, leading to Bandaranaike back-pedalling on his position. The Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, passed in 1958, was essentially an amendment that allowed for the use of Tamil in administration and education in provinces populated largely by members of the Tamil ethnic group. This in turn angered Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinists, and Bandaranaike was assassinated by a militant member of the Buddhist clergy in September 1959. Two general elections were held in 1960. The UNP briefly returned to office at the first election in March, but was brought down in parliament. For the second election in July, the SLFP rallied under Bandaranaike's widow and arranged another no-contest pact with the left, which brought it back into power.

Complexities and Contradictions

Ceylon's External Policies

This outline of a general national history omits both macro and micro forces shaping its trajectory, all of which coalesced at the Small Industries Exhibition. It is simplistic to think of the SLFP and UNP as unequivocally opposed, and their seemingly contradictory positions on foreign and domestic affairs are explained by these pressures. With regards to external policies, a profound suspicion of India dominated both the UNP and SLFP governments. While D.S. Senanayake was criticised by the Marxists for signing defence agreements with the United Kingdom, this was likely prompted by his awareness that Ceylon would be defenceless should India exert her power over the region. It also explains why Senanayake's government was one of the first to recognise the People's Republic of

[19] When a person attains nirvana during their lifetime, the cycle of rebirth is broken upon their death. *Parinibbana* refers to the state of nirvana-after-death.

China, despite his refusal to establish diplomatic links with other communist nations following the Soviet Union's repeated vetoing of Ceylon's membership in the United Nations (itself prompted by Ceylon's continued ties to Britain). Senanayake's commitment to neutralism was overshadowed by his alliances with Britain; while Bandaranaike was thought to have influenced Ceylon's non-aligned stance considerably, he repeatedly emphasised Ceylon's and the USA's shared democratic way of life. Also, in contrast to his anti-Commonwealth position as a member of the opposition, Bandaranaike firmly maintained said Commonwealth connections while in office. However, in line with a number of emerging Afro-Asian neutralists, he was careful not to offend the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China. Under Dudley's and Kotelawala's purportedly right-wing UNP, relations with communist states expanded, including a rubber-rice agreement with China in 1952, but Kotelawala also permitted landing rights for U.S. air force planes ferrying French troops to Indo-China.

Mrs Bandaranaike's term is framed by historians in terms of increasingly cordial relations with China (including signing a maritime agreement in 1963 and her dogged neutrality during the Sino-Indian crisis the previous year). Relations with the U.S. would, after 1963, deteriorate considerably after her government's decision to nationalise the distribution of petroleum products sans compensation to Western petroleum distributors whose property was expropriated. However, the outwardly contrary actions of her predecessors perhaps illuminate her own decision to host the U.S. Small Industries Exhibition in 1961 despite her overtly anti-Western stance. The Exhibition's particular emphasis was significant. Small, scalable industries would be particularly attractive in light of the increasingly poor plummeting performance of Ceylon's agricultural exports, and its comparatively meagre assets and population. Mrs Bandaranaike hinted as much in her diplomatic message at the exhibition's opening, writing that it would be valuable to the Ceylonese "whose future lies in our ability to diversify our economy as rapidly as possibly, particularly by the setting up of small industrial units."[20]

[20] "Welcome to US Show - From Kennedy," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.

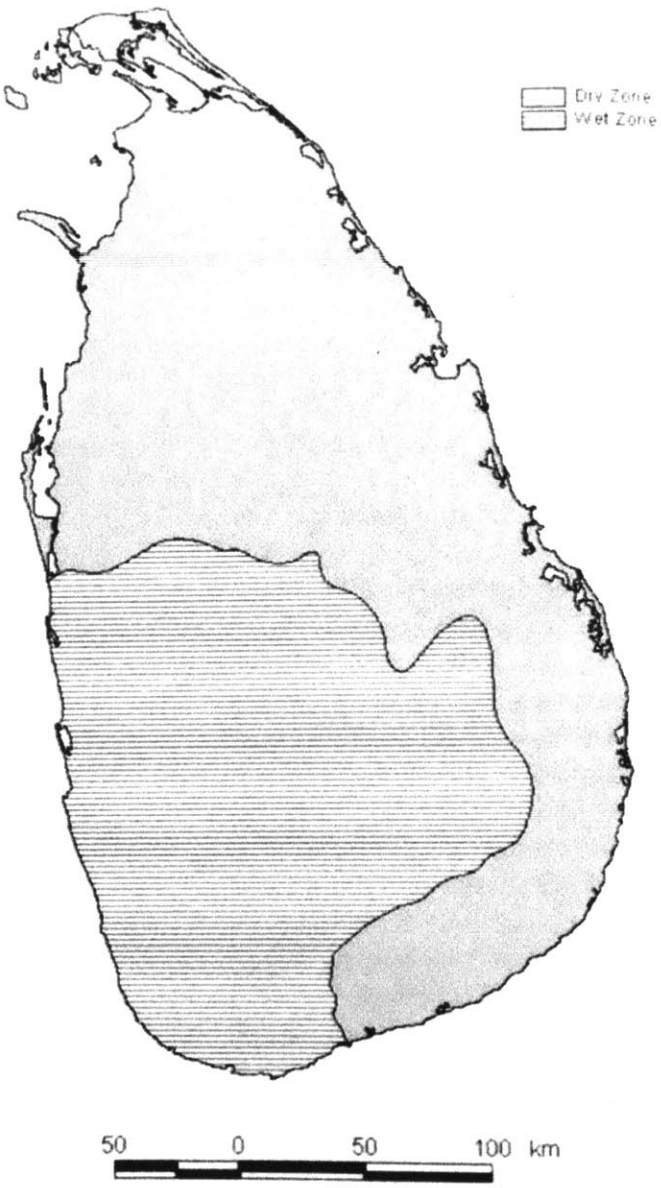

Figure 28
Wet Zone and Dry Zone in Sri Lanka
Nalani Hennayake, *Culture, Politics, and Development in Postcolonial Sri Lanka* (Lexington Books, 2006), 50

Figure 29

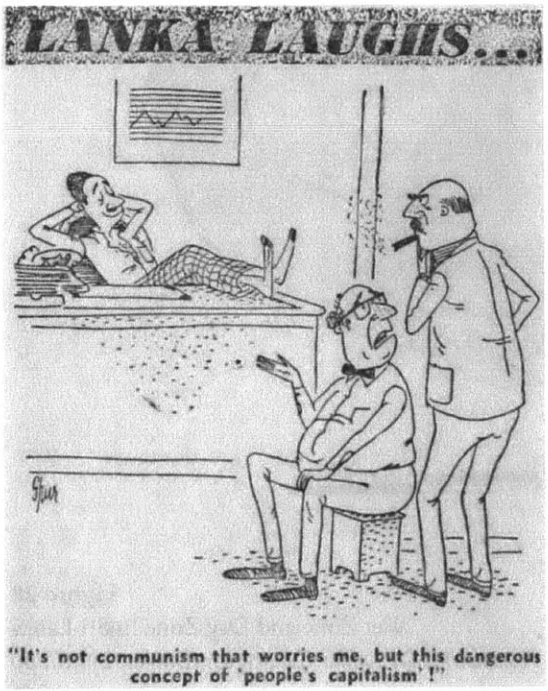

Figure 30

Figure 29
Cartoon in *Ceylon Daily News*, 1 May 1957, p.8
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Figure 30
Cartoon in *Ceylon Daily News*, 2 May 1957, p.6
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Figure 31

Figure 32

Figure 31
Cartoon in *Ceylon Daily News*, 7 May 1957, p.6
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka
Figure 32
Cartoon in *Ceylon Daily News*, 16 May 1957, p.6
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

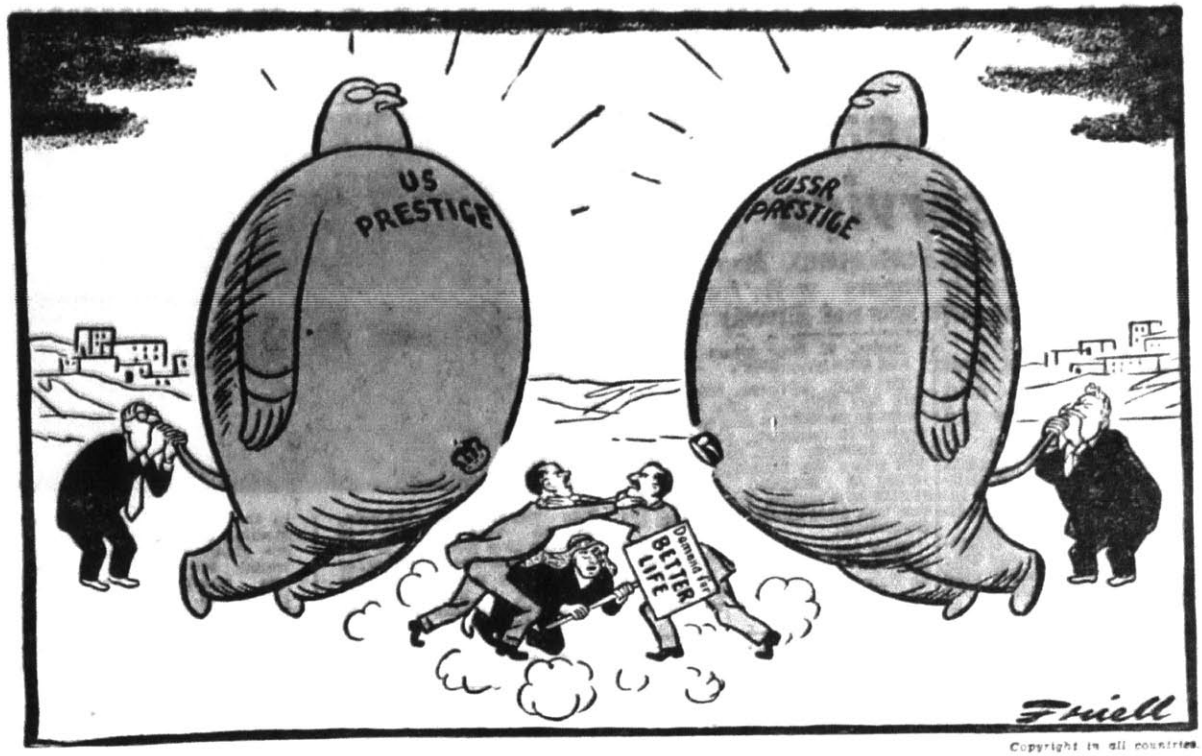

Figure 33
Cartoon in *The Ceylon Observer*, 15 May 1957, p.4
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Internal Conceptions of Development

The Small Industries Exhibition series was originally conceived to be deployed at four locations in India, and was keyed to India's Second Five Year Plan's emphasis on rapid industrialisation.[21] While the following sections will discuss more fully the multi-year development programmes deployed by the three host countries, it is necessary to first discuss how development was perceived in Ceylon. The manner in which indigenous ideas seeped into 'capitalist' and 'socialist' conceptualisations of modernisation illuminate individual and state responses to the exhibition.

Geographer Nalani Hennayake provides a discussion of the significance of the island's indigenous discourses on development in her book, *Culture, Politics, and Development in Postcolonial Sri Lanka*;

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[21] *Semi-Annual Report, Volume 6: January 1, 1959-June 30, 1959* (Washington, D.C.: President's Special International Program (U.S.), 1959), RG 306, P173: Office of Research and Assessment: Reports Relating to the Special International Programs: 1955-1975. Box 1, National Archives and Records Administration.

this section draws from its insights, particularly in terms of the Sri Lankan position on agriculture and welfare. Hennayake posits that the indigenous conceptualisation of development is fed by three inter-related notions. Firstly, Sinhala-Buddhist ideology—influenced by ideas put forth in a sixth-century text, the *Mahawamsa* — revolves around the conviction that Sinhala-Buddhists are the true heirs of the island, resulting in several ideas affecting the island's political history, including the belief that the major cultural and economic obligation of the state is to preserve Sinhala-Buddhist culture and to protect and help the peasantry. Secondly, a belief in a 'glorious past' — bolstered by evidence of sophisticated architecture and hydraulic engineering systems in the ruins of ancient kingdoms — is premised on an agricultural fundamentalist belief that economic prosperity is dependent on the provision of irrigation (the highest responsibility of the state) and that this golden era was eroded by foreign invasion. The self-sufficient, sustainable village is the unit of development within this notion; the dry zone **(Figure 28)** its heartland and the peasantry its backbone. Thirdly, a belief that prosperity follows the adherence to Buddhism, bolstered by global conversations on alternative and sustainable forms of development, has led to view of progress as both internal (spiritual and cultural) and external (material) well-being. As such, while the production of material goods is seen as necessary, exploitation should be minimal, production should be fair and consumed systematically, and giving to others should be emphasised to avoid excess accumulation.[22]

These views clarify many common views in Ceylon at the time of the Small Industries Exhibition. In line with many similar decolonised nations, the Ceylonese were suspicious of capitalism and its potentials for exploitation in light of experiences as a colony. The apparently people-centred and welfare-oriented nature of socialism was appealing, although a failed socialist experiment by Mrs Bandaranaike's government between 1970 and 1977 would eventually disillusion the populace as to its efficacy **(Figures 29-33)**. However, the Marxist emphasis on industry rather than agriculture alienated the peasantry, who crucially formed the largest voting bloc in the island. State control was seen as a natural mechanism of this socialist system, which took place under both the UNP and the

[22] Nalani Hennayake, *Culture, Politics, and Development in Postcolonial Sri Lanka* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 47–59.

SLFP to varying degrees. Efforts to satisfy their largely rural constituencies shaped the policies of both parties, and erased some of their would-be ideological differences. The third chapter, **Production**, examines the implications of reading the village, not the city, as the primary unit of development, while the fourth chapter, **Consumption**, is concerned with the impacts of agriculture-related welfare and development. These were particularly significant at the Small Industries Exhibition, especially in light of U.S. development and agricultural policies.

Nation-Making and Nation-Building

The indigenous outlook on development is significant in its influence over a development policy that was simultaneously shaped by external political and economic factors. Contextualising Ceylon's trajectory, there are noteworthy similarities between India, Ceylon, and Ghana in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As of 1959, all were newly independent states. India gained its independence from the British Empire in 1947, with Ceylon on its heels in 1948, while Ghana followed in 1957. Indian and Ceylonese leaders were instrumental in organising the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, which promoted economic and cultural cooperation between the two continents and a joint effort to oppose colonialism. The conference was a historic first step in forming the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961, a group of states not allied with or against the Eastern or Western Blocs. Again, this movement was conceived largely by a small group of leaders, including those of India and Ghana. The SLFP's and UNP's views did not diverge on the commitment to the emerging unity of action among the non-aligned states, although it should be noted that Kotelawala advocated the adoption of a resolution condemning 'aggressive communism' in addition to the one critical of colonialism.[23]

Leaders of these states were aware of their individually vulnerable position, and the importance of strategic alliances. In this context, to term Mrs Bandaranaike's government socialist is misleading, as it confuses distinct internal and external influences. It fails to acknowledge that her post-colonial nation-building project was rooted in home-grown articulations of welfare that resonated with socialist ideals (not wholly influenced them), and her recognition of a need for opportunism. This is

[23] De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 624.

also true of the other Prime Ministers — Jawaharlal Nehru of India, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana[24] — who were vocally committed to shaping the national identities of their nations, conflating agendas of national identity with programmes for economic and industrial 'progress'.

Given their vulnerable position, it is possible to understand why these leaders were willing to accept external aid from whoever offered assistance first. As Mahalanobis said bluntly to financial journalist Paul Bareau following some criticisms on the Five Year Plan, "In this competitive world we shall get outside capital. If you do not give it to us, somebody else will." Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah's address at the Small Industries Exhibition expressed a similar sentiment:

> Ghana and the United States of America have maintained very happy trade relations over the years...[which] are very important to us. I am sure that this exhibition will lead to the opening up of further resources of trade and commerce between the two nations. True to our policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment, we are against any form of discrimination in economic matters...We make no apology, therefore, for the steps we have taken recently to strengthen our trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. Our main interest is to seek opportunities for the rapid industrialisation and mechanisation of our agriculture and to diversify our economy generally.[25]

Similarly, the contradictions and equivocations of all the leaders point to the ways in which they tried to game a system that they found themselves inextricably bound to and at a disadvantage. Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras, commented that the fair in Madras would help Indians emulate American use of machines and modern techniques to build an efficient decentralised sector, integrated with agriculture and large-scale industries.[26] However, the Second Five Year Plan assumed a closed economy, the active role of the state, and a de-emphasis on agriculture, running counter to some of his comments. Nkrumah announced that although the ultimate goal was a socialistic society there was still room for private capital.[27]

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[24] Kwame Nkrumah served as Prime Minister of independent Ghana from 1957 to 1960; when Ghana became a republic in 1960, Nkrumah became President.
[25] Kwame Nkrumah, "Strengthening the Bonds of Industry," 1961.
[26] "Role of Small Industries," *The Hindu*, September 2, 1959.
[27] "U.S. Trade Fair in Ghana," *Ebony*, November 1961, 28.

Edward Said observed that "all cultures are involved in one another, none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic." While current literature on international development no longer lumps 'developing nations' together as an undifferentiated mass, there is a continued assumption of the nation (and especially the 'developing' nation) as a monolithic political unit. This problem is compounded by the manner in which fairs like the Small Industries Exhibition are curated to present a homogeneous image of the nation on display. These create the impression, for example, that there is in fact a singular American way to sell. It is productive to acknowledge that leaders in the host nation similarly engaged in practices of image-crafting to take advantage of dominant linguistic infrastructures defining acceptable shapes and forms of development. In the face of these ideas and of potential external aid to facilitate these processes, these leaders are opportunists rather than pure capitalists or socialists.

Similarly, the area wherein transferrals of ideas are attempted occupies not only physical nation-spaces but also intangible political terrains that are distinct despite the persistent conflation of the two. In part, this divergence is assisted by transnational agencies and institutions, whose shaping of comparative (and fuzzy) terms like 'development' create unusual pockets of international resonance. In particular, in the 1950s, ideologies and theories of development championed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD; today World Bank), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and United Nations Extended Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA; now United Nations Development Programme) significantly shaped how progress was viewed, and how aid could be obtained. It is important to note that these were ideologically driven, and very much grounded in the Cold War; the USIA, for example, received advice from experts at MIT's Center for International Studies (CENIS) that generous foreign aid and assistance could act as a form of national security.[28]

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[28] Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 103. See also Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 116–120. Arguments made in these sessions can be found in books including Max Frank Millikan's and Walt Whitman Rostow's *A Proposal: Key to an Effective Foreign Policy*, and Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960)

II. ASSEMBLING THE EXHIBITION

The Birth of the Exposition

In his authoritative work, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Exhibitions*, art historian Paul Greenhalgh observes that as the industrial revolution unfolded in 18th-century Europe, government-backed institutions were formed in Britain and France to promote the principle of display. These displays would be a tool for enhancing trade, promoting new technologies, educating the ignorant middle classes, and elaborating a political stance. Early French shows were intended to inspire local manufacturers in the face of superior British production, while British displays were fuelled instead by a desire to reward liberal arts ventures that benefitted commerce and industry. The idea of inviting all nations of the world to participate in a single industrial exhibition was seeded in France but took root in Britain, culminating in the 1851 expo, the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations.[29]

Greenhalgh notes that expos orbited around certain themes, including peace among nations, education of the masses, trade, and progress. The rhetoric of international understanding loomed large, contrasting oddly with displays of military technology and imperial conquest. As global conflicts escalated throughout the 20th century, the 'peace among nations' theme lingered but was often thought ironic, as fairgrounds became the site for simmering upsets.[30]

Education of the masses, however, was a theme seized upon with seriousness; the Americans, especially, emphasised the democratic spirit of education and its importance for family life. The World's Fair also became a venue for academic and business conferences, as early as the Chicago Exhibition of 1893. Learning became a staple of expos globally, with an increasing focus on science and the environment.[31]

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[29] Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai, 1851-2010* (Winterbourne, Berkshire, UK: Papadakis, 2011), 15–25.
[30] Ibid., 32–34.
[31] Ibid., 34–36.

Trade, of course, was the expo's *raison d'être*, although carefully cloaked by its secondary, but less mercenary, ideals. In a private unpublished survey from 1908, most nations identified economy and politics as key motives for being involved in expo activity. This has always been a key factor, as trade created Western power and expositions were expressions of that power. Fair literature recognised that European hegemony resulted from an ability to control and manipulate trading systems.[32]

Greenhalgh argues that the most important theme in the exposition tradition was progress, as the point of an exhibition was to show the advancement of humankind. The exhibition was both a celebration of the past and preparation for the future. Especially in times of unrest and uncertainty, this theme manifested itself in optimistic visions of an abundant future. Progress as an idea to drive society forward was an Enlightenment development, and was a theme that gained traction with early national exhibitions, culminating in the Great Exhibition of 1851. This was particularly true in America, especially with the Century of Progress International Exposition held in Chicago, 1933-4. Progress was often demonstrated through biological and cultural developments, and through demonstrations of technology.[33] Other fairs followed this logic, particularly during the Cold War, wherein the desire to control through trade and demonstrate superior development was camouflaged by messages of peaceful international interaction and the sharing of knowledge. It is into this narrative that I fit the Small Industries Exhibition.

Domestic Influences on International Affairs

Arguments put forth in Rostow's book were widely accepted by Americans who believed that the USA, as a model of modernity and democracy, both could and *should* lead the rest of the world towards a global order governed by American standards of freedom, productivity, and rationality. Foreign policy programmes of the time were essentially exercises in capitalistic proselytising. Officials were also concerned about conflicts sparked by resentment of American success, so a number of

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[32] Ibid., 36–39.
[33] Ibid., 39–43.

initiatives (including exhibitions) were dedicated to explaining the U.S. economic system to foreign audiences, linking the defence of liberal capitalism to preserving world peace.[34] Historian Laura Belmonte points out that early Cold War advertisements and propaganda materials reeked of American exceptionalism and Rostow's ideas of 'modernisation', as its acolytes were all consultants to America's psychological warfare programmes. These included social scientists such as Rostow, Alex Inkeles, and Daniel Lerner, and advertising executives like Theodore Repplier (who worked on the People's Capitalism campaign discussed later in this chapter), Sigmund Larmon of Young and Rubicam, and William B. Benton of Benton and Bowles.[35]

Jack Masey observes that exhibitions were powerful platforms for propaganda because of the scale of their reach.[36] However, between 1941 and 1954, while communist nations entered 133 trade fairs, the Americans did not take part in any.[37] This section discusses the how the Eisenhower administration created its exhibition apparatus, in relation to both external and internal pressures. This section draws from a swath of recent scholarship on the role of American psychological warfare during the Cold War, with particular emphasis on its manifestation in travelling exhibits. It draws from the work of Robert Haddow and Walter Hixson on American exhibitions and on the People's Capitalism campaign in particular; newer research by Greg Castillo, Laura Belmonte, and Nicholas Cull augments this work by drawing from the recently declassified United States Information Agency (USIA) archives, as does a recent publication by former USIA design director Jack Masey.[38]

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[34] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 117.

[35] Ibid.

[36] "Visitors were businessmen and government officials, tourists and local people alike...These exhibitions...were an opportunity to speak to and influence diverse groups, and because of the size of the exhibitions, also a pretext to address a broad number of issues and present a myriad of opportunities for involvement and connection at the same time." Jack Masey, *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War* (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller, 2008), 11.

[37] See U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956.* Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 84th, Cong., 2nd sess., February 21, 1956. Quoted in Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 227. See also Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 39.

[38] See: Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*; Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*; Nicholas John Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Masey, *Cold War Confrontations.*

This section underscores how domestic political upheavals within U.S. borders moulded both the medium and the message that the USIA exported abroad, and how the USIA was not necessarily synonymous with America.

A series of events during the 1940s and 50s served to constrain American propaganda,[39] beginning with the 1948 Smith-Mundt Act, which specified the terms in which the U.S. government would engage this global audience.[40] A National Security Council Report from 1947showed how Soviet marketing strategies were undermining the non-communist stance of the United States, leading to an acknowledgement that the U.S. would need to respond accordingly in this "propaganda war". Foreign aid programmes (including the Marshall Plan) would be accompanied by a clear explanation of American aims, disproving Soviet claims that the aid amounted to nothing more than U.S. 'imperialism'.[41] However, concern about government propaganda being used to influence the American people led to a stipulation in the Act that these programmes be created *solely* for dissemination to international audiences, circulation of which in the U.S. would be banned.[42] To protect commercial media, the law also required that the State Department maximise private resources in producing the materials. These decisions led to diplomacy materials that Americans could not legally access (and thus could not critique), and that heavily depended on private industry for content.

When Eisenhower took office in January 1953, he launched an inquiry into American information overseas; key advisors believed that foreign information dissemination required an independent agency, so the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) was institutionalised that same year to craft a consistent message about America. Its mission was "to understand, inform and influence foreign

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[39] See Nicholas John Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*, 36-42 and 81-132 for a detailed discussion about the creation of US "public diplomacy" programmes.

[40] Otherwise known as the US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 80-402). See Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 32–33 for a summary of the Smith-Mundt Act's origins and implications.

[41] Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 32.

[42] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 32.

publics in promotion of the US national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and US institutions, and their counterparts abroad". The next year, Eisenhower established the President's *Emergency Fund for International Affairs in 1954* to generate broader participation at trade fairs.[43] In 1955, as a response to the recommendations made in the 1954 Randall Report[44] regarding trade and foreign aid, the Office of International Trade Fairs (OITF) was created within the Department of Commerce, and the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act (Public Law 860) was passed in 1956.

People's Capitalism and Private Enterprise

Cold War historian John Lewis Gaddis notes that post-revisionist histories of the Cold War show American expansion as patterned by defensive and improvisatory strategies, rather than embodying a model of careful planning.[45] Few events attest to this as much as the responses to Senator Joseph McCarthy's (R-WI) infamous anti-Communist mission. Until 1954, when McCarthy was censured by Congress, foreign audiences considered him to be antithetical to the very democracy that U.S. diplomacy strategists aimed to promote. His most public attacks were on the federal government's official external broadcast institution, Voice of America, in 1953, accusing editors of 'softening language to support communism.'[46] Meanwhile, McCarthy "minions" visited several American information centres abroad, systematically weeding out books allegedly written by Communist agitators.[47] Additionally, recent "anti-leftist laws" made doubtful the assertion that the Communist

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[43] Masey, *Cold War Confrontations*, 35.

[44] U.S. Commission On Foreign Economic Policy, *Report to the President and the Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954).

[45] John Lewis Gaddis, "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 7, no. 3 (1983): 171–90.

[46] The accusation, according to Cull, "rested on an account of a demonstration in support of the inauguration of Eisenhower held outside of the U.S. embassy in Guatemala on 21 January 1953. As copy editor, Goldmann had removed a particularly repetitious adjective 'anti-Communist' and substituted the synonyms 'citizens' and 'democratic elements.'" Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 88–89.

[47] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 14. Also see Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 123.

Party was on "equal terms with other parties", and US policies on this front gave global leaders (including those in Europe) reason to gaze askance at America.[48]

Partly in response to McCarthy's detrimental vendettas, Eisenhower used private enterprise to camouflage federal propaganda at international trade fairs. Architectural historian Greg Castillo notes that the OITF was created as part of this initiative, and would "disassociate its operations from those of the beleaguered USIA, depicting its activities as a support service for U.S. private enterprise seeking foreign markets." American businesses supplied the OITF with product displays and personnel for foreign exhibits, who shipped these segments abroad, designed and oversaw their collective installation, and provided assistance to overseas corporate sales agents. The role of OITF agents was to weave these highly individual components into a cohesive narrative about American culture and values to carefully disguise the efforts of federal propaganda specialists and elude the attention of McCarthy and his colleagues. While they were successful, an unintended consequence (bolstered by limitations enforced by the Smith-Mundt Act) was an "unofficial federal endorsement...suddenly available to any business willing to pay for the privilege."[49]

Eisenhower also worked with Advertising Council President Theodore S. Repplier[50] to take this privatisation a step further, who devised an entirely new "McCarthy-proof" publicity campaign to promote the American economic system abroad. Art historian Robert Haddow argues that this campaign, "People's Capitalism", provided ideological unity for the trade fair exhibitions of the 1950s, giving Eisenhower's Republican party a positive ideology that contrasted sharply both with

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[48] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 111. Here, Belmonte cites *Communism is Losing*, May 22, 1952, USIA Pamphlets, USIAA.

[49] Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 118–119.

[50] Following roundtable discussions from 1951-53 sponsored by Advertising Council, Repplier was awarded an Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship to travel abroad and compile review of American propaganda effort. Following his travels, he reported that he wanted to show "how prosperity arises from the spread of productivity" and came up with a new campaign built around ideas of Marshall Plan and Point Four programmes – the elimination of poverty everywhere. Repplier's campaign also embellished upon ideas articulated in Paul Hoffman's *Peace Can Be Won*. See Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 47–48, Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 124, and Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 133–139. For more on the Advertising Council's role, see Robert Griffith, "The Selling of America: The Advertising Council and American Politics, 1942-1960," *Business History Review 57* (Autumn 1983), 393.

McCarthy's fanatical isolationism, and Rockefeller's proposed New Deal-esque foreign aid. If the title appeared to have Soviet traces, Repplier explained that it was only because the word "people's" had been "kidnapped by the Russians."[51] It is possible that People's Capitalism responded to Soviet officials' use of the phrase "People's Democracy" when advocating communism (and who likely argued that the Americans had sabotaged the word "democracy").[52]

The exhibition attached to People's Capitalism revolved around the life of Ed Barnes **(Figure 34)**, a millwright at U.S. Steel. He and his family were photographed in a prefabricated model home along with "innocuous anecdotes" about his life, juxtaposed with an exhibit of a log cabin from 1775[53], to show how capitalism had dramatically improved the quality of life for modern workers.[54] A trial exhibition took place in February 1956 in Washington, D.C. (which directly contravened the Smith-Mundt Act on foreign propaganda[55]), to test the campaign before it was sent abroad to South America and Ceylon.[56] It was abandoned in 1957 before it could commence its tour of India. The overall assessment of the campaign and its travelling exhibition by historians is mixed.[57] The USIA was convinced of the exhibition's success, while foreign audiences were sceptical that capitalism

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[51] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 14. However, Greg Castillo notes that "an unmentioned (and unwelcomed) precedent" for People's Capitalism was J. George Frederick's *The New Deal: A People's Capitalism* (1944), and Eric Johnston's *America Unlimited*, publicised the same year as "the case for a people's capitalism" – both of which "lauded the New Deal's reconciliation of competing interests among labor, management, the public sector, and private enterprise." (Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, xxi, 118–119, 123.)

[52] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 97. Belmonte cites: U.S. Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Smith) to Secretary of State, January 17, 1947, *FRUs, 1947*, 4: 521-22; Annual USIS Assessment Report, November 5, 1957, RG 306, Office of research, Country Project Correspondence, 1952-1963, India, Box 10, NA2.)

[53] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 139.

[54] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 50–51.

[55] Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 124.

[56] Ibid., 129. See also Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 50, 56–57.

[57] Belmonte notes that while the USIA considered People's Capitalism to be a "smash hit" on account of the crowds it pulled in, that it is difficult to assess whether it changed foreign perceptions of capitalism." (Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 133.) Art historian Robert Haddow observes that it ironed out faults in American society in a manner that "bordered on the insidious" but was difficult to criticise, as it was "essentially a conservative propaganda program masquerading as liberal, enlightened capitalism." (Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 50, 52–53.) Both Haddow (Ibid., 62.) and *Industrial Design* editor Jane Mitarachi (Jane Fiske Mitarachi, "Design as a Political Force," *Industrial Design*, February 1957, 54.) considered the exhibition formulaic, but Haddow asserts that it paved the way for trade fairs of the 1950s. Architectural historian Greg Castillo, however, excoriates the exhibition as "text-heavy, graphically inept, and factually inaccurate" and "an unqualified failure", having not drawn from lessons learned in previous exhibitions. (Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 129–130.

alone contributed to efficiency and high standards of living in the USA.[58] Americans were disturbed by its sweeping under the carpet of troubled race relations,[59] and administrators were concerned that while it displayed American resources impressively, it did not state "how, or even whether, we propose to use our wealth, our resources, our great good fortune, our energies, and our hearts to help solve the world's problems."[60]

The People's Capitalism campaign is an important predecessor of the Small Industries Exhibition for two reasons. During its Washington trial, the exhibition was criticised roundly for its display of an eerily white America.[61] In particular, a prefabricated home gifted to the campaign by U.S. Steel was a model for residences in all-white communities of workers who had persistently refused to change their segregation policies. It remained part of the exhibition, however, fusing the nation's reputation to that of a corporate donor.[62] This conflation between national and private corporate identity seeped into the Small Industries Exhibition, not in small part because of the emphasis on individualism and private industry as the mainstay of successful economic development.

Secondly, People's Capitalism created a language for discussing capitalism abroad that was woven into future international exhibitions and adopted by the commerce world **(Figure 35)**. It made a clear, if rigid and rather inaccurate, argument about how American capitalism functioned, directly countering in press releases Marx's assertions about capitalism to illuminate foreign audiences with 'antiquated' views of U.S. systems. Historian Laura Belmonte outlines its main arguments:

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[58] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 133.

[59] "The greatest threat to [People's Capitalism's] ideology was not the willful resistance of the Communists, however, but the fact that millions of Americans (especially racial minorities) were unable to participate – as capitalists – in the burgeoning Western economy."Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 171–172.

[60] Ibid., 54. Qtd from *Congressional Record*, 84th Cong., 2nd sess., 1956, 102, pt. 6.8515-16

[61] "People's Capitalism is not only a new economic system but a new social system, too. The exhibit shows that the proportions of the very rich and the very poor have steadily diminished in America...to the point where America is becoming classless. Already worker and boss have much the same comforts and recreations." Haddow quotes here from "People's Capitalism – Man's Newest Way of Life," press release, February 1956, Lambie Papers, box 31, folder "People's Capitalism, 1956," p. 3. Haddow notes that the exhibition emphasised that people had savings accounts, owned life insurance, stocks, and had pension funds – but this was only true of those who belonged to unions and corporations, offering nothing to the disenfranchised and underprivileged. Ibid., 52.

[62] Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 128.

> "Contrary to Marx's economic determinism, "People's Capitalism" encompassed political, spiritual, and cultural elements as well as economics. Although communists presented themselves as the guardians of working people, only capitalist nations gave their citizens "*complete freedom* to choose their jobs, to work where they wished, to invest, to start a business or a labor union." Where Marx predicted monopolies, instability, and low wages, "People's Capitalism" proved the vitality of capitalism. Under a competitive economic system, American wages *increased.* Instead of concentrating property in the hands of a few, U.S. capitalism made it possible for almost everyone to own property. Rather than abusing their workers, U.S. companies protected them through generous insurance policies and pension plans. In contrast to communist censorship of culture and religion, Americans enjoyed rich intellectual and spiritual lives."[63] [italics in original]

This way of life was characterised by a growing classlessness[64], richness of both high art[65] and popular culture,[66] freedom of consumer and religious choice,[67] an abundance of goods, and a proliferation of labour-saving gadgets.[68] The economy thrived through free competitive enterprise, free trade unionism, and limited government intervention.[69] Increased leisure time led to the popularity of DIY techniques and self-improvement schemes, disproving the notion that technology was accessible only to the wealthy."[70] For the Small Industries Exhibition, these values were redeployed in press releases with an emphasis on individualism, self-improvement, DIY, and ideas that appeared to translate well for circulation in Ceylon, and were emphasised as being inextricably tied to much bigger philosophies on, for example, trade unionism and government intervention. The following chapters will discuss these values and their relation to smallness.

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[63] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 132–133.

[64] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 52. Haddow quotes here from "People's Capitalism – Man's Newest Way of Life," press release, February 1956, Lambie Papers, box 31, folder "People's Capitalism, 1956," p. 3; see also Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 123.

[65] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 120.

[66] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 97.

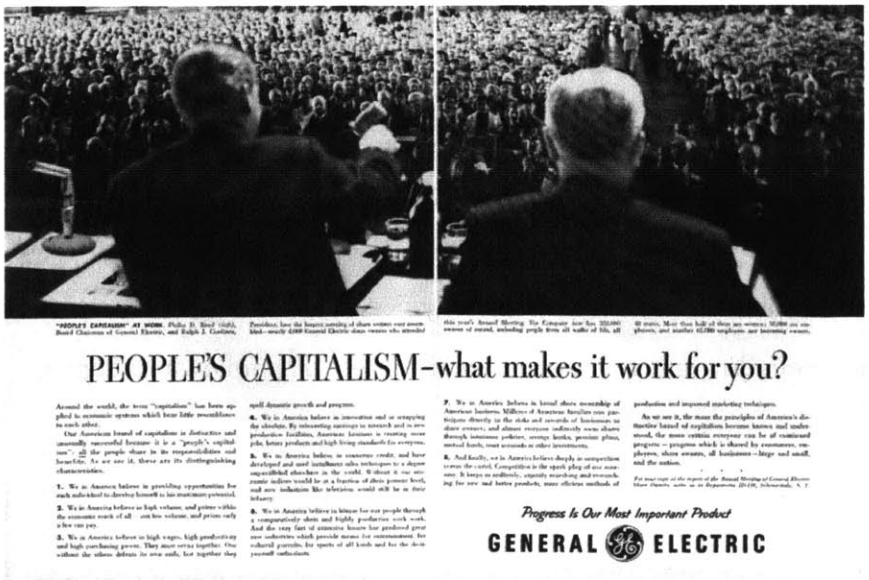
[67] Ibid., 16.

[68] Ibid., 36–37, 51. See also Sarah Nilsen, *Projecting America, 1958 Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2011), 64, and Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 139.

[69] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 120. Belmonte references here U.S. Information Agency Basic Guidance and Planning Paper No. 11, "The American Economy," July 16, 1959, Subject Files on Policy, USIAA; see also Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 125, and Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 139.

[70] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 97, 99. Here, Haddow quotes from "Interview with Nelson Rockefeller and Theodore Streibert," January 9, 1957, Max Frank Millikan Papers, MC 188, box 4, folder "Cambridge Study Group for the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition, 1956-58," p.1, MIT Archives

Figure 34



PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM–what makes it work for you?

Progress Is Our Most Important Product

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Figure 35

Figure 34
The Barnes Family in front of their photographic likeness at People's Capitalism opening ceremony
Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 125 (original from Advertising Council Archives, University of Illinois, 13/2/305.58)

Figure 35
1956 General Electric advertisement detailing the benefits of People's Capitalism
Trust and Wealth Management Marketing blog:
http://trustmarketing.blogspot.com/2011/07/nifty-fifties-peoples-capitalism.html (accessed 24 March 2015)

The Small Industries Exhibition as an Assemblage

The Small Industries Exhibition was one component of the American Trade Fair Program's constellation of displays, deployed to global trade fairs and expositions over the course of several years. Clustering the Small Industries Exhibition as a coherent unit of six exhibits belies the messy reality of how displays were conceived and deployed abroad. References to the exhibition in the press underscore how the exhibition grew out of a larger body of American exhibits, assembled from existing parts rather than conceived from scratch. While Fritz Berliner, manager of the exhibition in Ceylon, counted the Ceylon exhibition as the fifth in its series[71] (after the four in India), *Ebony* Magazine listed the Ghana show as the 103rd in a six-year programme by the Department of Commerce.[72] The fair's nomenclature in the press was equally fuzzy. For example, when the exhibit first travelled to New Delhi, the press gave it no specific name at all.[73] The exhibition in Calcutta was referred to as the Small Industries Exhibition, the U.S. Solo Small Industries Fair, and the Calcutta Trade Fair.[74] The press was similarly liberal in referencing other exhibits – the exhibition in Sri Lanka was a "World Trade Fair" and the one in Ghana was a "U.S. National Exhibition."[75] As such, the exhibition's journey is best traced through the pieces – namely, the itineraries of individual businesses, rather than a coherently articulated event.

While the exhibits were often sponsored by the USIA and Department of Commerce, the Smith-Mundt Act's resource restrictions led to collaboration with private businesses that prepared and managed their own displays.[76] Press releases for the Small Industries Exhibition in India, for example, note that the displays represented "the combined efforts of the American government and private

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[71] "Greetings from Fritz Berliner," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.
[72] "U.S. Trade Fair in Ghana."
[73] An article in the Milwaukee Journal simply called it "a capitalist show". "Capitalist Show Is Put On The Road For India," *The Milwaukee Journal*, December 4, 1958.
[74] Small Industries Exhibition: "Greetings from Fritz Berliner." U.S. Solo Small Industries Fair: "Hafner in Charge of Exhibit at Calcutta," *Soybean Digest*, March 1959. Calcutta Trade Fair: "5 Grants for Wheat Research Total More than $28,000," *Tri-City Herald*, March 10, 1959.
[75] Sri Lanka: World Trade Fair ("News Briefs," *The Daily Telegram*, March 31, 1961.) Ghana: U.S. National Exhibition ("U.S. Trade Fair in Ghana.")
[76] U.S. wheat growers, for example, did just that. "Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India," *Tri-City Herald*, April 10, 1959. "Calcutta Citizens Turning to Wheat," *Garden City Telegram*, April 27, 1959.

enterprise[.]"[77] Architectural historian Greg Castillo observes that the OITF "produced a new generation of exhibits on a shoe-string budget by artfully editing a grab bag of material donated by businesses into thematically coherent installations."[78]. Changes and adjustments owed more to decisions of individual organisations and businesses attached to the fair than to the USIA or OITF acting upon evaluations of how the exhibition was received, which calls into question how, or even whether, exhibitions could be evaluated for making improvements in the future. It is clear, and should not be surprising, that the USIA and OITF constantly recycled displays for future exhibits, but the fact that they did not necessarily focus on themes of small industry muddies the underlying message, calling into question how smallness is defined. The following chapters discuss a number of these displays, both as individual objects and the methods by which they became an assemblage.

[77] "Indian Trade Fair Exhibits Attract Interest, Says Spiruta," *Ritzville Adams County Journal*, February 25, 1960.
[78] Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 119.

TWO | PRODUCTION

Reading the Industrial Exhibits

The multi-year plans produced in the mid-1950s by Ceylon, India, and Ghana were arguably influenced by a Soviet approach to economic development: centralised state-controlled planning, substantial outlay of funds towards industrialisation, and the production of capital goods. In turn, the purported aim of the Small Industries Exhibition was to "emphasize the contribution which small industries can make to an industrially emerging economy."[1] If the Exhibition is read as a single unit, then in accordance with reports by the USIA and OITF, its unequivocal aim was to position American progress in opposition to the development approach embodied in the multi-year plans, instead underscoring individualism and self-improvement, free competitive enterprise sans state intervention, and freedom of consumer choice.

This chapter posits that when disassembled into its many components, the exhibition reads quite differently. It offers two ways of reading the exhibits. First, examining the industrial objects themselves as discrete units (with the understanding that each object itself constitutes much smaller parts), the Exhibition's relationship to capitalism quickly becomes muddied, and the very large infrastructural and ideological systems tucked under the very small objects soon become apparent. Secondly, and more interestingly, analysing the object-object, object-agent, and agent-agent relationships on display invites the consideration of the pertinent act of translation, and the *infra mince*[2] smallness of the space wherein one entity becomes another. It demonstrates how the exhibition's inability to serve as an unambiguous advocate for capitalistic modernisation can be a means for appreciating the mechanisms by which the nation is assembled.

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[1] *Semi-Annual Report, Vol. 5.*

[2] As articulated (vaguely) by Marcel Duchamp, *Notes*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), 21-22

The Individualistic Capitalism of Small Industry

> "You will see here the manner in which myriads of small businesses are woven into the fabric of the American economic system and how effectively this system works to enrich the lives of the *individual citizens* who make up our nation [italics added]."[3]

A writer for *The Ceylon Observer* admitted that "[we] don't somehow associate small industries with the massive American economy – 'Big Business' is the term which readily comes to mind."[4] While fair officials could not deny the presence of sprawling industries dominating the American economy, press releases stressed the apparently vital role played by smaller firms, and attributed the success of the American economic system to mutual inter-dependence between large and small businesses.[5] Research by larger companies brought new opportunities for smaller enterprises, whose flexibility, in turn, enabled swift production alterations that were trickier for more rigidly controlled large firms. Statistics claimed that almost half of all retail establishments in the USA were run by the proprietor, with no paid employees, while another third had three or fewer employees. Combined, their sales volume was over a quarter of all retail sales. Meanwhile, over 40 per cent of the 140,000 manufacturing firms in the USA operated with fewer than four workers, while over 90 per cent employed fewer than 50 persons.[6]

These somewhat doubtful examples were intended to resonate with South Asian audiences, as small enterprises in the region were so often run by individuals and families out of their homes. Relatedly, a 1960s report on expanding markets for agriculture in Asia by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's 'Far East Extension Team' illuminated how small industry and capitalism could be conflated, as it was in the Small Industries Exhibition:

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[3] "Kennedy's Message to People of Ceylon." Also see "Kennedy Will Send Message for Exhibition."
[4] "Small Industries in Big Business," *Ceylon Observer*, January 19, 1961.
[5] The article mentioned General Motors and General Electric in particular, and the symbiotic relationship between these 'giants' and their smaller suppliers and distributors. "Big or Small, They Have a Place in America's Economy," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.
[6] Ibid. A slightly altered set of facts and figures was, somewhat confusingly, quoted further down the supplement. ("Small Industries to the Fore.") This statistic is "quoted" in a piece written by a local journalist in the *Observer* from two days prior ("Small Industries in Big Business.") indicating that the USIA gave these press releases to all newspaper syndicates, although only the *Times* published all as a cohesive supplement to the Exhibition.

> "In thousands of villages and cities [in India] the vast majority of "shops" are very small. If we were to step through the back door of one of these shops, we would likely see a larger room which is used as the factory for producing the items found in the shop. This represents a perfect example of a private enterprise system and is basically opposed to the Communistic way of life."[7]

To strengthen their argument that Asians were naturally inclined to be capitalistic, propaganda from the People's Capitalism campaign was re-worked to fit with the operation of small industry, where smallness was synonymous with the individual. Because individualism was a hallmark of capitalism, it was a small step to infuse small industry with other capitalistic values.

Individualism as Autonomy, Autonomy as Appropriateness

On display at the Small Industries Exhibition were not small industries themselves, but machines claimed to facilitate their operation. These were repeatedly framed in terms of their autonomy, which was positioned as interchangeable with the (capitalistic) individualism of small industries. Importantly, this autonomy was also used as a synonym for appropriateness, or suitability, for implementation in developing nations whose shifts from agricultural to industrial economies resulted in fluctuating infrastructural systems. The idea put forth was that these compact, portable devices could be easily transferred and translated from an American to an Asian context.

Appropriateness also took on a second meaning in the context of the exhibition itself. American displays at exhibitions in the half-decade preceding the Small Industries Exhibition were lavish, intended to indicate that importing American ideologies and their consumables brought wealth and abundance. However, fair officials found themselves walking a dangerously thin line; technological novelties might be so unfamiliar as to seem irrelevant, and so advanced that they appeared repulsively arrogant. Jane Mitarachi, editor of *Industrial Design* magazine, observed in its February 1957 issue that Americans were "accustomed to equating popular success with impressiveness and

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[7] John O. Dunbar et al., "Foreign Agricultural Policy and Far East Farm Markets," *Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies*, 1960, 65.

extravagance."[8] This was not construed so clearly by foreign audiences, both in Asia[9] and in Europe.[10] It is likely, therefore, that fair officials attempted to craft an accessible image of the U.S. for the Small Industries Exhibition. After all, Mitarachi considered the problem to be one of interpretation (or translation), and felt that the OITF's decision to employ outside designers to consider visual communication issues was sound.[11] In this circuitous manner, capitalism was inferred to be easily transferrable from the U.S. to Ceylon via ideology-infused industrial equipment.

Analysing Autonomy

This section extracts selected machines from the exhibition and examines them individually, inspecting how autonomy of the object itself is described. It shows how expressions of autonomy varied across objects in terms of size, types of technology, and mediation of labour and time. Some mapped neatly to previously-articulated capitalistic values, while others emphatically did not.

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[8] Mitarachi, "Design as a Political Force," 54.

[9] The U.S. pavilion at the 1955 Bangkok Constitution Fair, the first under President Eisenhower's emergency trade programme, hosted a fashion show, showed a film in Cinerama, and Thunderbird sports car, among other exhibits. *Life* magazine described the assemblage of pieces as a "trail-blazing effort," Haddow points out that few of these were relevant to Thai culture, with the fashion show teetering treacherously close to disrespectful. A particularly tragic example of this dissonance was U.S. ambassador to Thailand John E Peurifoy's later purchase of the Thunderbird; he "drove it head-on into a truck on a primitive one-way bridge shortly thereafter." Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 43. Haddow paraphrases from G. Lewis Schmidt, "An Interview with Earl Wilson, October 1988," oral history, pp. 94-95, USIA Historical Collections, Washington, D.C. See also Sarah Nilsen, *Projecting America, 1958 Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair*, 7.

[10] A model house installation prepared by *House Beautiful* inspired Americans when it was market-tested at the Texas State Fair and the Los Angeles County Fair,[10] but met with criticism when it toured in Milan. One young Italian complained that the profusion of fully operational American displays overwhelmed and did not relate to the reality of their lives, wherein electricity was costly, scarce, and unreliable. Moreover, the exhibits appeared to "cast a negative light on what we have struggled to accomplish." Mitarachi, "Design as a Political Force." See also Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front*, 120, and Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 44.

[11] Mitarachi, "Design as a Political Force," 54–55.

Figure 36

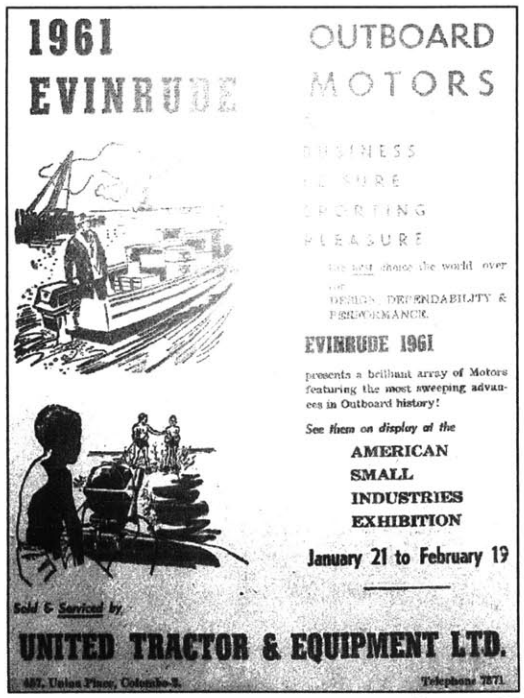

Figure 37

Figure 36, Figure 37
Advertisements from the *Times of Ceylon* Small Industries Exhibition Supplement, 21 January, 1961, p.8-13
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

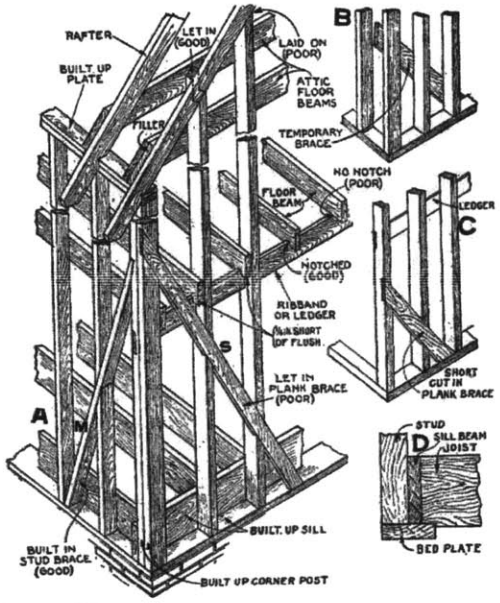

Figure 38

Figure 39

Figure 38
Diagram of balloon frame construction
Wikimedia Commons
en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Framing_(construction)#/media/File:Balloon_frame.jpg (accessed 24 March 2015)

Figure 39
Nail-making machine demonstrates benefits of automation in People's Capitalism Exhibit, Washington, D.C., 1956
Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 51 (original National Archives)

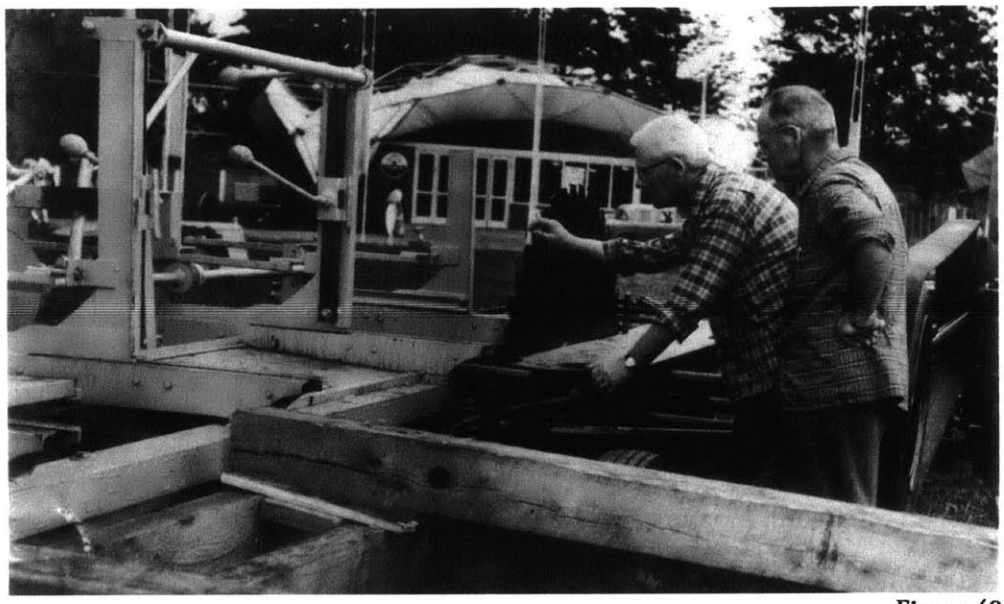

Figure 40

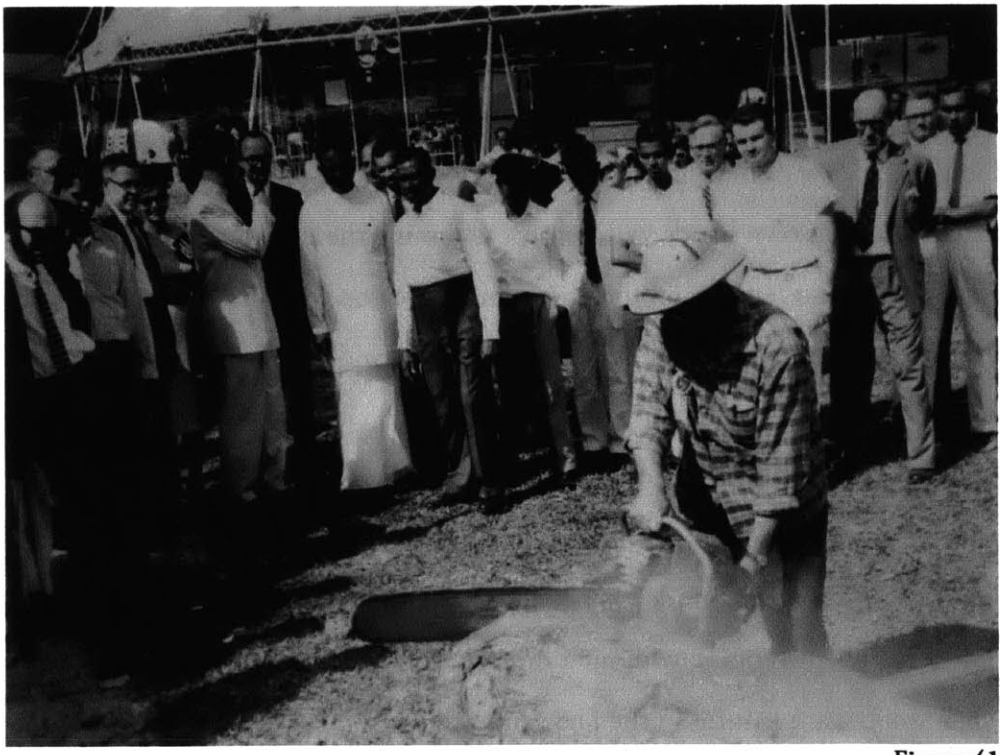

Figure 41

Figure 40
Clinton and Willard Jackson test the lumber harvester, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Figure 41
Clinton Jackson demonstrates using a chain saw, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Gadgets and Gizmos

In his 1965 essay, "The Great Gizmo," architectural historian Reyner Banham posited that the 'gizmo' (also called a gadget) was a peculiarly American tool for bettering the human condition.[12] As he described it, a gizmo was

> "a small self-contained unit of high performance in relation to its size and cost, whose function is to transform some undifferentiated set of circumstances to a condition nearer human desires. The minimum of skills is required in its installation and use, and it is independent of any physical or social infrastructure beyond that by which it may be ordered from catalogue and delivered to its prospective user."[13]

Banham referred in particular to the Evinrude outboard motor and Sony transistor radio as gizmos, and it is noteworthy that both objects, including many others that fit Banham's description, were advertised in the exhibition supplement in Ceylonese newspapers **(Figures 36-37)**. These objects were means by which the sprawling American wilderness could be transformed rapidly from an "undifferentiated" mess to the city, a form easily equated with human progress and in contrast to the indigenous view of the village as unit of development. These enabled the individual to literally take matters into his own hands with respect to taming the unknown and replicating familiar capitalistic systems, with no reliance on the state. For this reason, the gizmo was particularly suited for transferral to the 'wilderness' of the developing world.[14]

Two inter-connected 19th century inventions served as crucial examples of Banham's claim. The first of these was balloon frame construction **(Figure 38)**, a method of wood construction that required minimal skill, which considerably changed the American approach to building. Any farmer could now build his own house without a time-consuming learning curve, which was valuable at a time when wood was plentiful in the U.S., but skilled labour was not.[15] Secondly, the invention of the automated nail-making machine **(Figure 39)** dramatically cut the cost of nails (from 25 cents a pound in 1790 to 3 cents a pound in 1842), allowing houses to spring up rapidly on the prairies

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[12] Reyner Banham, *A Critic Writes: Essays by Reyner Banham* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 109.
[13] Ibid., 113.
[14] Ibid., 115.
[15] Ibid., 112.

stretching westward. Architectural historian Sigfried Giedion argues that if not for balloon frame construction, "Chicago and San Francisco could never have arisen as they did, from little villages to great cities in a single year."[16]

The gizmo, then, was quintessentially American. It pioneered progress, and its freedom from larger infrastructures neatly followed the exhibition's linguistic trajectory from capitalistic individualism to autonomy to inter-cultural appropriateness. Any object at the exhibition that could be characterised as a gizmo served as a perfect example of an all-American smallness, especially as exhibition organisers were of the view that 'dazzling gadgets' could *only* be the product of a democracy.[17]

The outdoor exhibit on lumber processing at the Small Industries Exhibition in Ceylon included a portable lumber harvester demonstrated by its inventors, Clinton and Willard Jackson of Mondovi, Wisconsin **(Figures 40-41)**. Although the six exhibitions in India, Ceylon, and Ghana were similar in many respects, the lumber harvester demonstration was exclusive to the Ceylon fair – reports compiled for the President by the OITF and USIA on the fairs make no mention of a lumber exhibit in India and Ghana, and neither do local Wisconsin newspapers that covered the Jacksons' visit to Ceylon extensively. However, the Jacksons regularly demonstrated their lumber harvester at other exhibitions whose message had nothing to do with smallness, in accordance with the OITF's partnerships with private businesses.[18]

Clinton D. Jackson, an engineer from Wisconsin, invented his portable saw-mill in 1936, so that he might take the rig into the woods and haul out finished lumber instead of wasting time and energy transporting rough logs to the mill. By 1961, more than 500 of his lumber harvesters had been shipped around the U.S. and the globe, and had become standard equipment for the U.S. armed

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[16] Lewis Mumford, *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture; a Series of Thirty-Seven Essays Dating from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 202.
[17] Sarah Nilsen, *Projecting America, 1958 Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair*, 64. See also Reyner Banham's essay, "The Great Gizmo" in *A Critic Writes: Essays by Reyner Banham* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
[18] "Mondovi Firm to Exhibit in Poland," *Winona Daily News*, March 21, 1962. See also "Mondovi Firm Given Award," *Winona Daily News*, April 27, 1962.

services.[19] The lumber harvester was marketed as the "world's most portable saw mill" and could be set up in 30 minutes for operation. It required little skill, and could potentially produce well-cut lumber at five man-hours per 1,000 board feet.[20] Representatives from the Department of Commerce asserted that it was "outstandingly appropriate" for Ceylonese needs[21] and the harvester was reportedly purchased for use in the Hambantota area in southern Ceylon.[22]

The Jackson Lumber Harvester was compact, portable, and labour-saving, it enabled standardisation, and was capable of being handled by an unskilled worker, the last being of particular importance in its clarification of the agent who would use it. Its autonomy was characterised by efficiency and ease of use. As such, the Jackson Lumber Harvester arguably followed the trajectory of the gizmo, taking its taming of the wilderness into the woods.

'Gizmos' like the Jackson Lumber Harvester uncomplicatedly embodied an American refutation of the socialist policies of the Ten Year Plan. It is therefore no surprise that American newspapers chronicling the Jacksons' sojourns east to demonstrate their lumber harvester describe them as helping to "sell democracy to underprivileged countries in the world."[23] It is also in keeping with this narrative that the Jacksons would, in 1962, receive a U.S. Department of Commerce recognition award from the OITF for their "service" in "aiding significantly the advancement of world understanding of peace and prosperity under the American system of competitive free enterprise."[24]

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[19] "Mondovi Product Going To Ceylon," *Winona Daily News*, August 29, 1960. Also in "Mondovi Sawmill On Exhibition At Ceylon Fair," *Winona Daily News*, February 21, 1961.; "You Might Call This An Industrial Town," *Winona Daily News*, April 22, 1962.
[20] "Mondovi Sawmill On Exhibition At Ceylon Fair."
[21] Ibid.
[22] "You Might Call This An Industrial Town."
[23] "Mondovi Sawmill On Exhibition At Ceylon Fair."
[24] "Mondovi Firm Given Award."

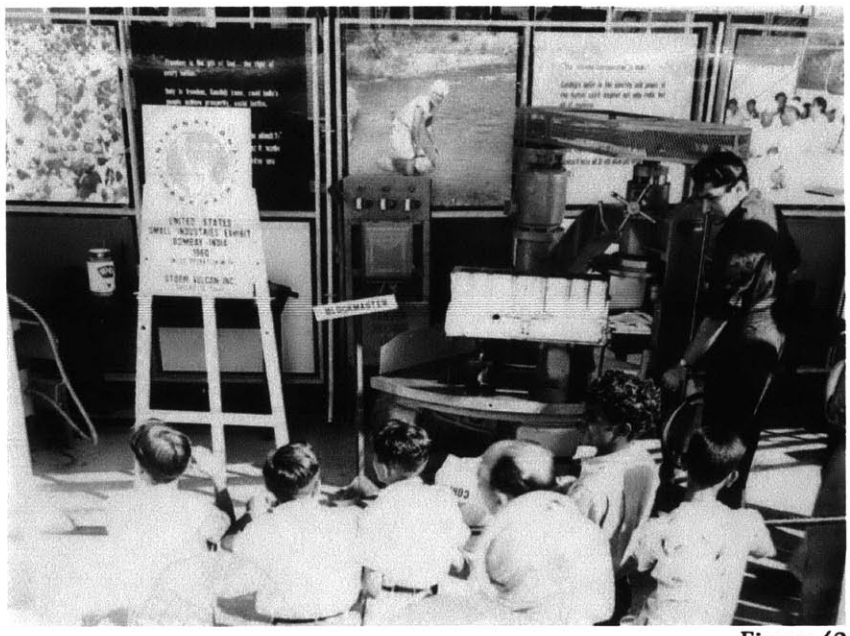

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 42
Auto Repair, Small Industries Exhibition, Bombay 1960; panels contain quotes attributed to Gandhi: "Freedom is the gift of God...the right of every nation.' (top left); "The supreme consideration is man." (top right)
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 43
Automotive Shop, Small Industries Exhibition, Madras 1959; panels contain quotes attributed to Gandhi: "Machinery...must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour." (top left)
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

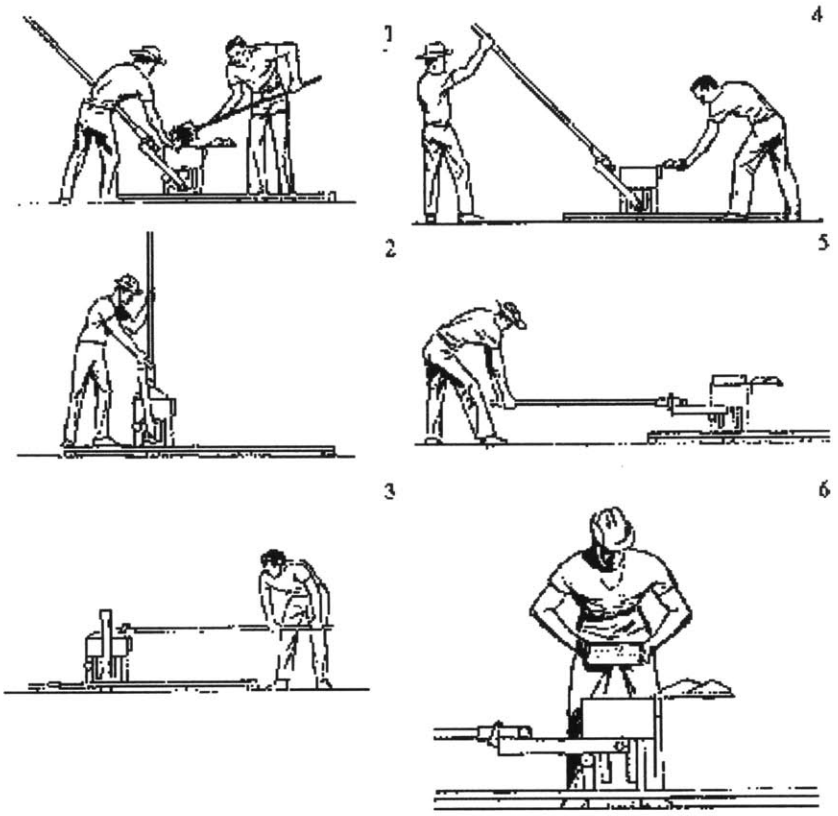

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 44
Diagram depicting method of using CINVA-RAM block maker
Humanity Development Library 2.0, http://www.nzdl.org, accessed May 20, 2015
Figure 45
Cartoon, *Ceylon Daily News*, 31 January 1961, p13
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Appropriate Technologies

The exhibition's emphasis on objects as 'appropriate' for international transfer (particularly in the developing world) recalls the concurrent Appropriate Technology movement. Inspired by Gandhian values, E. F. Schumacher's 1973 book *Small is Beautiful* challenged the idea that "bigger is better", urging a shift to sustainable development.[25] Schumacher believed that the scale of mass production dehumanised people, and was to be replaced by craftsmanship, which also produced personal satisfaction. He envisioned a holistically sustainable people-centred economics; health and happiness, he argued, were more important factors in a nation's well-being than its gross national product. The book echoed Gandhi's position against technology as benefitting the minority at the expense of the majority, and putting people out of work for profit.

On the one hand, it appears ironic that exhibition organisers also invoked Mohandas Gandhi's tenet, "For the Welfare of All,"[26] for an exhibit recommending rapid industrialisation and free competitive enterprise **(Figures 42-43)**. On the other, there were objects at the exhibition that fitted with these beliefs, facilitating the autonomy of deliberately *removing* oneself from established capitalistic infrastructural systems, in opposition to machines like the Jackson Lumber Harvester.

Alongside the lumber processing display was a pottery exhibit that showcased "the newest tools of this age-old trade".[27] Among these was a Cinva-Ram block press, which produced building blocks and tiles from earth, cement, and lime. Invented in 1956 by Chilean engineer Raul Ramirez for the Inter-American Housing Centre in Bogota, Colombia, Cinva-Ram was intended as a cost-effective and environmentally-friendly method for block-making. Press releases for the Small Industries Exhibition called it a "solution to the housing problem"[28], but to market it as such was misleading

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[25] Ernst Friedrich Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as If People Mattered*, Repr. (New York, N.Y: Harper Perennial, 1989).

[26] *Semi-Annual Report, Volume 7: July 1, 1959 – December 31, 1959* (Washington, D.C.: President's Special International Program (U.S.), 1960), RG 306, P173: Office of Research and Assessment: Reports Relating to the Special International Programs: 1955-1975. Box 1, National Archives and Records Administration.

[27] "Kennedy Will Send Message for Exhibition."

[28] "A Solution to the Housing Problem?," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.

for several reasons. Intentionally labour-intensive in its production of each block and dependent only on the earth for building materials, it symbolised the burgeoning movement's values of environmental mindfulness and the joy of personal labour **(Figure 44)**.

Also in the "appropriate" category were an economical kerosene bake oven designed by American engineers to operate continuously for 16 hours with a few bottles of kerosene oil, and a kerosene-fired pottery kiln. Regardless of whether these objects could really be used successfully by the Ceylonese or not, they were clearly designed with a South Asian user in mind. This set them apart from the Jackson lumber harvester, which brought a distinctly American method of wooden building construction to a nation where construction methods ranged from brick to wattle and daub. Also displayed at the Small Industries Exhibitions in Madras and Calcutta was a solar exhibit by pioneer in passive solar energy John Yellott. The values demonstrated by businesses like these provide insight into the ways in which a small but significant minority of Americans were taking a stand against the ideals set forth by Rostow and his ilk, even if the values they espoused were slipped into exhibitions entirely unintentionally because of collaboration with private enterprises.

Because AT ideals were not officially advocated at the Small Industries Exhibition, organisers failed to take note of a similar undertaking that was gaining momentum in Ceylon. The Sarvodaya Shramadana movement, founded by philanthropist Dr A.T. Ariyaratne in 1958, was also deeply influenced by similar ideals, and took its name from Gandhi's book elaborating his principles on progress for all (*sarvodaya*) and on self-governance (*swaraj*). Dr. Ariyaratne used the word *shramadana* (gift of labour) not as a means to extort free labour from individuals, but as a "positive force for the total liberation of man and society from their present social, economic and political deterioration,"[29] in line with indigenous ideas on giving to others as a form of progress.

[29] "Role of Shramadana," *Sarvodaya*, accessed April 17, 2015, http://www.sarvodaya.org/about/philosophy/collected-works-vol-2/role-of-shramadana-in-rural-development.

It is noteworthy these two conceptualisations of smallness were given space to be aired at the Small Industries Exhibition. The aims of the AT movement arguably ran counter to the views held by Reyner Banham, who commented that AT missionaries did not realise "how deeply some Africans and Asians resent the apparent determination to sentence their continents to a pedal-driven future."[30] Banham felt that to import a gadget was to introduce a previously unavailable standard of technical performance, suggesting that small sophisticated devices that worked without much capital investment could produce better immediate results, making room for more sophisticated progress in the developing world later on. Proponents of appropriate technology, meanwhile, were driven by factors of 'social good'. Their contention was that as developing regions did not have complex technological infrastructures to replace, their path to progress could ultimately be more holistic than in the already developed world. However, these apparently opposing ideals shared strong threads of similarity, including the emphasis on small scale as well as the ability to be used by unskilled workers. Although their DIY methods and invocation of the rural[31] stood in for very different articulations of self-improvement,[32] these could be conflated for purposes of the exhibition. Because of this, objects that were either appropriate technologies or gizmos were both suggested as potentially useful for the developing world, albeit for completely different reasons.

Autonomy as an Impossibility

When the Exhibition is analysed in terms of its individual objects, a strong argument can be made for the displays as being in deep conflict with each other. Moreover, scrutinising objects' histories *outside* the Exhibition provides context for the environments in which they are produced and function. Despite the Exhibition's conflation of small industries run by individualistic capitalists with small autonomous machines, the smallness of the machine itself did not necessarily correspond to the smallness of an industry. At times, a single process was extracted and displayed in isolation as an independent entity, sans the complex infrastructure that undergirded its operation. This shrewd

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[30] Nigel Whiteley, *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT, 2003), 301.
[31] "Rural happiness in US was never to be the privilege of the few, but was to be the common property of every member of the family, thanks to domestic mechanization." Banham, *A Critic Writes*.
[32] For example, as articulated by Nelson Rockefeller. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*.

fragmentation appeared to link industrial progress to the purchase and operation of individual machines, even though these machines were often operated within organisations that were not necessarily small even by American standards. Moreover, as one reviewer commented:

> In Ceylon...these "small industries" take on the appearance of big industries because our "small industries" are those which use the most primitive kind of machinery, if any is used at all.[33]

A cartoon in a Ceylonese daily newspaper mined the question of smallness with cynicism, depicting Ceylonese 'small industries' as the invisible businesses producing illicit home-brewed liquor and garden-grown marijuana.[34] The depiction of slothful, drunken visitors to this mock exhibition contrasted starkly with the bright efficiency of American small industries **(Figure 45)**.

One of the problems with the two presentations of smallness described above was that although both were characterised as autonomous and independent of the grid, they required specific and relatively complex infrastructures to function. The first of these was a mail-order system. When Banham semi-facetiously called the Sears-Roebuck catalogue "one of the great and basic documents of U.S. civilization," he noted that the catalogue included shipping weights.[35] This infrastructure was already in place to catapult the gizmos to their apparently independent user. The Sears archives makes note of several other arrangements that facilitated this process. The growth of railroads and the Homestead Act of 1862 fuelled westward expansion, the postal system allowed mail order publications to be classified as aids to the dissemination of knowledge which entitled them to the lower postage rate of one cent per pound, and the advent of Rural Free Delivery in 1896 also made catalogue distribution economical.[36] Equally importantly, these goods required being produced in ***bulk*** to be cost-effective, necessitating large centralised industrial plants and a critical mass of users. Banham's contention that "the great American gizmo can get by without any infrastructure" cannot then be true. These systems also applied to appropriate technology; the counter-culture catalogue

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[33] "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama."
[34] "Simple Simeon (Cartoon)," *Ceylon Daily News*, January 31, 1961.
[35] Banham, *A Critic Writes*, 112.
[36] "History of the Sears Catalog," *Sears Archives*, accessed March 14, 2015, http://www.searsarchives.com/catalogs/history.htm.

Whole Earth functioned in a similar manner to that of the Sears catalogue, and the defining characteristics of AT – its small scale, low cost, and decentralised nature – are most efficiently achieved through an initial production system that is in fact centralised, hierarchical, and subject to the fragmentation of work. *Whole Earth* also assumed its readers would have a telephone to call suppliers in order to purchase tools themselves, providing contact details in the catalogue.

Finally, in presenting small businesses as being in a symbiotic relationship with large industry, press releases directly contradicted the actual (purportedly autonomous) objects. However, to exhibition officials, the contradictions and stretches of the imagination were probably necessary, perhaps even unavoidable. The newspapers provided a brief history of American industry (again recycled from People's Capitalism[37]) emphasising that in its early days, "the United States depended largely on private capital from abroad to develop its basic industries."[38] A Cultural Affairs Officer from the USIA, visiting Ceylon to educate citizens on the American economy, stressed that one reason for America's economic advancement was its willingness to buy materials from abroad if they were not available within the country.[39] While the exhibition needed to show people apparently independent objects that they could potentially imagine as appropriate or adaptable for Ceylon, press releases were required to show local leaders a favourable account of the U.S., so that they would turn to capitalists, not communists, for the inevitable foreign aid for development.

Hybrids

This object-based analysis also reveals objects that sit uncomfortably between these two types of smallness, opposing though they may be. The geodesic domes housing the exhibits **(Figures 46–48)** have both been hailed as the epitome of capitalistic American 'smallness' and also adopted as the symbol of the counter-culture movement. Even within the realm of the exhibition alone, the dome stood in for a variety of values, depending on the context in which it was displayed. The geodesic

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[37] See Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 55–56 for how this history was articulated for People's Capitalism.
[38] "A Dynamic, Expanding Economy," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.
[39] "No Place in US for Millionaires," *Times of Ceylon*, January 31, 1961.

dome, an attempt by inventor Buckminster Fuller to create machines for living in, was intended to be air-dropped to appropriate locations **(Figure 49)**, which made it conducive for use by the military (usually the first to use experimental technologies) rather than for civilian purchase.[40] However, by the mid-1950s, Fuller's domes had begun to rise in popularity, leading to their use in other arenas.

A late American entry to the 1956 Jeshyn International Fair in Kabul, Afghanistan resulted in a desperate scramble to build an American pavilion in a couple of weeks. USIA's Jack Masey called in Buckminster Fuller, inventor of the geodesic dome, to build a pavilion for the fair **(Figure 50)**. Geodesic domes were easy to transport and construct, and were in themselves a hallmark of American ingenuity. Masey commented that the dome formally resembled an Afghan yurt, and officials could "invite" locals to help construct them (purportedly giving them a sense of ownership), which encouraged the USIA to keep using domes for future pavilions.[41]

By June 1957 geodesic domes had been raised in Casablanca, Barcelona, Poznan, Madras, Rangoon, and Surabaya; the Kabul dome itself was shown at trade fairs at Bangkok in December 1956 and in Tokyo in 1957.[42] Moreover, the dome's strength, structural simplicity, cost-effectiveness, and ease of transportation made it a logical choice for travelling exhibits. Officials went so far as to say that the "spontaneous acceptance" of the geodesic dome in both the western and non-western worlds was now "a daily occurrence in the life of the man responsible for it all."[43] There, then, was a 'smallness' apparently equal to that of the Jackson Lumber Harvester – easily mass-produced[44] and independent of external infrastructures to function. The domes were also versatile enough to act as spectacle. The gold-anodised dome at the 1959 American National Exhibition in Moscow and the intricate bubble

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[40] Michael John Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller: Designing for Mobility*, 1st ed (Milan : New York: Skira ; Distributed in North America by Rizzzoli International Publications, 2005). Hsiao-yun Chu and Roberto G. Trujillo, eds., *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009).

[41] Masey, *Cold War Confrontations*, 61.

[42] "The Geodesic Dome: Facts and Figures in a Nutshell," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.

[43] Ibid.

[44] For some models, as many as 30,000 to 40,000 domes a day. Ibid.

of a dome at the 1967 Expo in Montreal were clearly used as architectural propaganda, intended to reinforce an argument for abundance and gadgetry as the fruits of capitalism.[45]

Critics are divided in their opinion of the dome. Art historian Robert Haddow prioritises the object, arguing for reading the domes as embracing radical ideals. They showed how American technology could be "ingenious rather than lavish,"[46] corresponding to the 1960s re-evaluation of consumerism that called for fewer but better things.[47] They also fitted Masey's vision for displaying the U.S. not as rigidly homogeneous, but a "dramatic, on-going experiment...a flexible, even radical, system that could accommodate conflicting points of view."[48] As such, they embodied the ideologies of the counter-culture movement, famously co-opted in pioneering Colorado commune Drop City **(Figure 51)**, where a creative humanism that shunned excess consumption, political tyranny, and violence, replaced the obsession with productivity of both capitalist and communist systems. Hsiao-yun Chu and Roberto G. Trujillo's *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller*, and Michael John Gorman's *Buckminster Fuller: Designing for Mobility*, both of which draw from Fuller's archives, privilege (Buckminster Fuller's) human intention, claiming that while Drop City was bestowed with the 1966 Dymaxion Award, Fuller misunderstood and did not espouse their views on conscious self-removal from the capitalistic political system.[49] Furthermore, as the counter-culture movement progressed, leaders began to consider Fuller's ideas too individualistic as they began to focus more on community and ecology.

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[45] Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller.*
[46] Mitarachi, "Design as a Political Force," 50.
[47] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 227–228.
[48] Ibid., 203.
[49] Chu and Trujillo, *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller*, 170. Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller.*

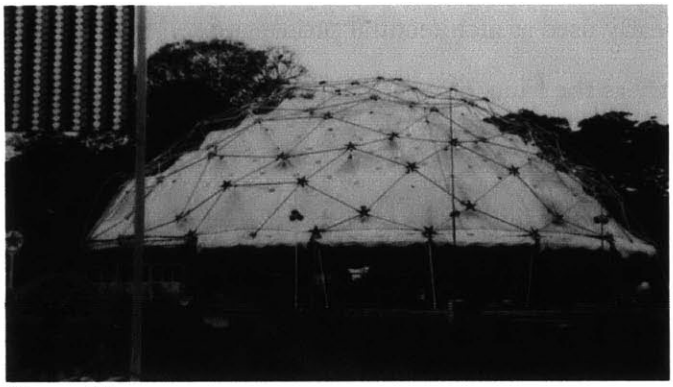

Figure 46

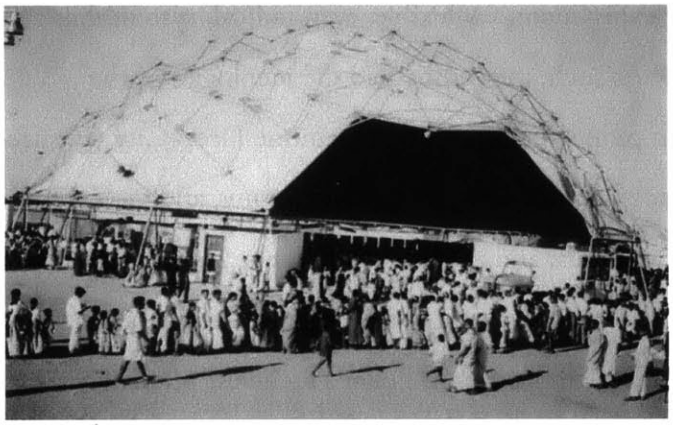

Figure 47

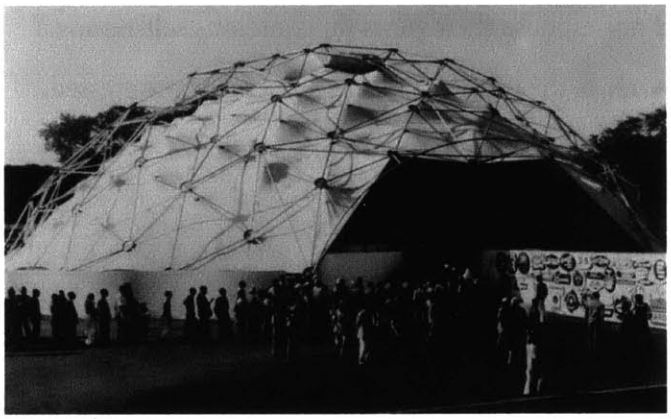

Figure 48

Figure 46
Main exhibition dome, Small Industries Exhition, Ceylon 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka
Figure 47
Industrial Pavilion, Small Industries Exhibition, Madras, 1959
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
Figure 48
Industrial Dome, Small Industries Exhibition, New Delhi, 1959
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 49

Figure 50

Figure 51

Figure 49
U.S. Marine Corps heli-lifting a 56-foot dome, 1954
Michael John Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller: Designing for Mobility*, (Milan: Skira, 2005)
Figure 50
US pavilion in Kabul, Afghanistan, 1956
Michael John Gorman, *Buckminster Fuller: Designing for Mobility*, (Milan: Skira, 2005), 146
Figure 51
Drop city dome
http://museumarteutil.net/projects/drop-city/, accessed 24 March 2015

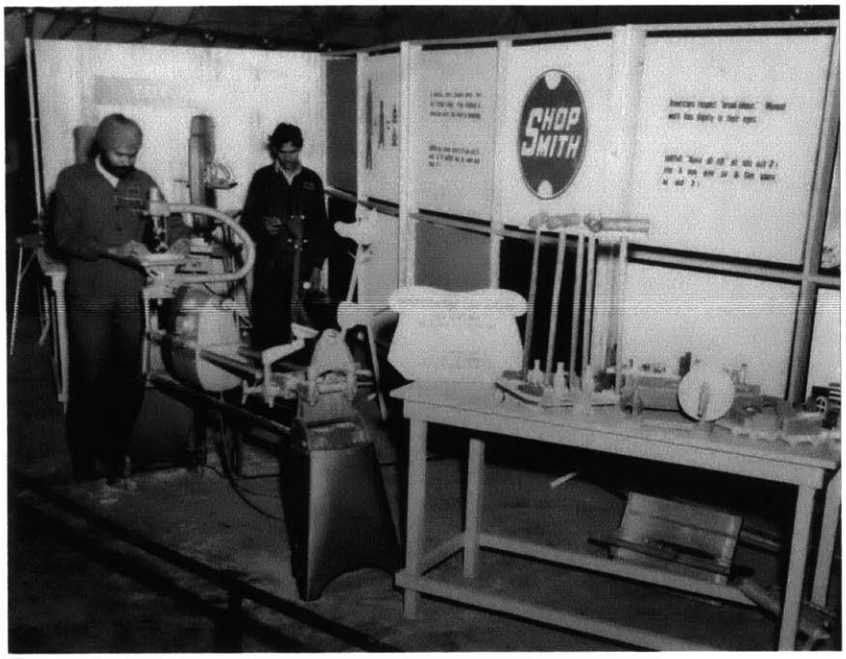

Figure 52

Figure 53

Figure 52
Toy Shop Demonstration, Small Industries Exhibition, New Delhi 1959
Left panel states, "In America, many students work their way through school. From childhood on, Americans learn that work is honourable." Right panel states, "Americans respect 'bread-labour. Manual work has dignity in their eyes.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 53
Testing Exhibit, Small Industries Exhibition, Madras 1959
top right panel states, "Carpentry and other handicrafts are pursued by teachers, business men, writers."
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 54

Figure 55

Figure 54
Advertisement in *Times of Ceylon*, 28 January 1961, p.5
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka
Figure 55
Advertisement in *Times of Ceylon*, 04 February 1961, p.5 (Independence Day)
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Machine Anxiety

In official reports, exhibition organisers also compounded this confusion with their statements on the role of the agent and their machine. The Clintons emphasised how Ceylon's abundance of natural resources (in this case, wood) would ease the unskilled labour surplus.[50] Some emphasised the role of the craftsman, and the fact that the proportion of skilled craftsmen in the labour force was increasing despite advances in mass production techniques[51] **(Figures 52-53)**. Press releases displayed a similar discomfort with committing to this idea of the machine displacing human skill. An article that outlined the professed aims of the exhibition claimed that

> Small industry is the basic ingredient of the American economy. Machines are producing the greatest flood of consumer goods the world as ever known...The exhibition in Colombo will make clear that machines do not replace people. Machines create more and more jobs for people, and at the same time produce those consumer items which boost the living standard.[52]

On the same page, a message from exhibition manager Fritz Berliner ran thus:

> Machines are the heart of industry, small or large. With machines more products can be produced for more people at lower cost. But machines do not replace people in in the sense of reducing employment opportunities. Rather than that, machines create more jobs and help raise the standard of living. Small industry, of course, is not built by machines but by people.[53]

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[50] "After sawing through a large log in almost seconds with the modern American Chain saw, Clinton heard the comment that so many Ceylonese already need jobs, why make their labor problem more acute by using labor-saving devices. It would have taken two laborers hours to saw through the same log that he cut in seconds. Jackson responded by reminding the Ceylonese of the large quantity of wonderful wood in their country for which they could easily find foreign markets. He found also that lumber there is relatively high priced in spite of cheap labor." "Mondovians Win Praise for Ceylon Show."

[51] "Mr. Brown emphasized significant role small industries in United States in employing large masses of people. Fears that machines would displace skilled workers have proved groundless in the United States, he said. Instead, proportion of skilled craftsmen in labour force increasing despite great advance in mass production techniques. "What we are proudest of in success of our economic system is not so much overall prosperity as the degree to which that prosperity is spread through every segment of our people," he said." *Cable Report Digest: United States Small Industries Exhibit – Madras, India* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, Office of International Trade Fairs, Public Information Office, September 1, 1959), RG 489: Records of the International Trade Administration: Prints: Photographs of U.S. Exhibits at Overseas Trade Fairs 1957-1965 Box 2, National Archives and Records Administration.

[52] "The Aims of the Exhibition," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961.

[53] "Greetings from Fritz Berliner."

These equivocations and anxieties were apparent in displays predating the Small Industries Exhibition by several years, as well as several subsequent expositions thereafter. American pavilions at the 1955 spring and summer fairs in Europe, and the 1956 People's Capitalism exhibit in Washington, D.C., were both themed "Industry in the Service of Mankind".[54] The People's Capitalism exhibit further assured viewers in its display headlines that "machines were invented to do the hard work."[55] Press releases accompanying the Small Industries Exhibition referenced the New York World's Fair to be held in 1964, wherein the United States would "emphasise not its industrial achievements, but human values of life and the dignity of man."[56] These displays signal a concerted effort to put machines in their place, even if that place was decidedly fuzzy.

The contradictions and loopholes for 'inefficiency' in Ceylon's centralised multi-year plan show definite affinities to this approach. "Industrialisation" was apparently impeded in order to allow for a sense of control over formerly specialised areas of production where machines were now either muddying caste lines or displacing the human altogether. Concern about the place of machines appears to be a means by which to simultaneously address and deflect anxiety about human labour and its bounds, with pockets of resonance between exhibitors and recipients.

This feeds into a number of related issues. On the one hand, there is confusion about scale, as illustrated by an exhibition that used the term 'small' to describe large and complex structures and processes. This stems in part from ideas about development whose smallest unit did not remain constant; the Appropriate Technology movement, for example, first awarded primacy to individuals, and then shifted towards an emphasis on community and interdependence. Similarly, the nuclear family was a much smaller primary unit than the agricultural village community. This in turn raises questions about relationships between individuals and community, and between industry and the state. What is the line between 'democracy' (the dissemination and sharing of information) and domination (a dictating of how precisely to live)? Equally, there is confusion about how the subject –

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[54] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 43, 51.
[55] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, 139.
[56] "US to Stress Human Values at World's Fair," *Times of Ceylon*, February 2, 1961.

the user of these machine objects – is to be defined at a time when objects appeared to be both shaping their users and changing the environments in which they lived.

Accepting Ambivalence

These contradictions can be understood as a means for appreciating the mechanisms by which the nation, as a seemingly coherent unit, is assembled. 'Traditional' and 'modern' are perhaps false dichotomies in part *because* they take the nation as their unit of measure. These contradictions engender issues that seep between constructed national boundaries, propelled by international transfers of information. Tracing the ideas behind Appropriate Technology, for example, yields a journey from John Ruskin to Mohandas Gandhi, and then simultaneously to E.F. Schumacher and Ceylonese philanthropist A.T. Ariyaratne. The ideas are not easily classified either nationally or even geographically. This section considers the suggestion that modernisation without what is termed 'unmodern' (the apparently inefficient, labour-intensive work that often takes place a particular, highly charged sphere) is impossible, and that the 'unmodern' has its own productive work to do.

Historian Manu Goswami notes that in India, the fusing of *swaraj* (self-rule) and *swadeshi* (indigenous manufactures) pointed to the contradictions of Indian nationalism, where it both "sought participation in the universalist promise of national development" and displayed "unease with modernity in a territorially grounded nativist particularism".[57] She also observes the close links between nationalisation and globalisation, calling into question historical narratives that assume a spatially bounded national society.[58]

These contradictions also manifested in Ceylon. Advertisements exhorting citizens to patronise left-leaning SLFP government's state textile corporation, also called "Swadeshi", jostled for space in the same newspapers that publicised the Small Industries Exhibition **(Figures 54-55)**. While the Ceylonese were almost coerced into buying goods mainly from the state's Co-operative Wholesale

[57] Manu Goswami, "From Swadeshi to Swaraj: Nation, Economy, Territory in Colonial South Asia, 1870 to 1907," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 4 (October 1998): 611.
[58] Ibid., 631.

Establishment (CWE), Prime Minister Bandaranaike also praised the Small Industries Exhibition as being of great value to Ceylon, given its attempts to rapidly diversify its economy,[59] and Minister of Industries, Home and Cultural Affairs Maithripala Senanayake stated that creating enthusiasm among Ceylonese industrialists to start small scale industries would help raise standards of living."[60]

Arindam Dutta furthers these observations in his descriptions of the independence movement, and the manner in which Gandhi and his colleagues capitalised on methods of work that were deemed inefficient and unproductive. The village, in particular, took on a significant position in its role as an active machine, bearing some resemblances to Hennayake's observations about the Ceylonese/Sri Lankan village. Dutta goes on to define the particular relationship between agent and machine in effecting work that appeared to embody productive inefficiency, but was recast as efficient agency. Pulling together the conflicting readings of *khadi* (the production of locally-spun cloth) as out of step with modern industry and as disciplinary force, he posits that Gandhi's reinvention of the nationalist activist as spinner rendered Gandhi a cyborg that functioned as a bridge between nationalism and native capitalism. Reading Gandhi's relationship to his machine of choice provides a means to understand how he managed a sleight of hand that required any path to capitalist accumulation to pass through the 'un-modern' frames of caste, rurality, religion, and craft.[61]

Assemblages at the Small Industries Exhibition

The OITF's partnership with private industry led to a series of displays that appeared coherent and unified, but were in reality a patchwork of variegated products. In addition, the USIA employed a series of particular exhibition strategies that they believed were their "best chance of convincing foreign audiences that the United States was a benign, as well as a powerful, world leader."[62] In particular, their involvement of locals stands out, both in assembling the exhibits and elucidating their contents to their country-people (perhaps recalling the dragomen of the previous century). This

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[59] "Welcome to US Show - From Kennedy."
[60] "Minister Opens U.S. Exhibition."
[61] Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 250–260.
[62] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 68.

constituted a very particular kind of grouping that speaks directly to the act of translation. These fusions occurred between objects, between objects and agents, and between agents, blurring both national and man/machine boundaries. Here, perhaps, was an acceptance of the impossibility of deflecting or circumnavigating the Gandhian cyborg on the 'path to progress'; instead, Americans hit upon a method to take the hybrid a step further with the display of a transnational cyborg. This cyborg signals not only an attempt to mediate the boundary between agent and unfamiliar machine, but also the constructed demarcations between nations.

Object-Object Assemblages

Many, if not all, the object-object assemblages were created out of necessity, given the USIA and OITF's limited budget and dependence on private firms. Reports cabled from the Small Industries Exhibitions in India described the make-up of these displays, showing that a 'single' exhibit consisted of deftly assembled parts, donated by a plethora of private manufacturers:

> Visitors at engine repairing shop with Lempco, Tamco, Kwikway, Sunnen machines, the Aro lubricator, and Saylor Beall compressor created biggest blockade in industrial dome as visitors – men from automobile and transport operation and maintenance field – crowded, demanding repeated demonstrations. Adjacent clutch repair shop with Maremont clutch builder and Chicago brake reliner had same people asking "We want them. How can we buy them?"[63] **(Figure 56)**

Examining how these pieces were put together yields a richer understanding of the contingencies and pressures that exhibition organisers faced as they endeavoured to pull together the pieces and stitch them together as a legible picture of the shape of industry. Analysing why this method was employed at all leads back to McCarthyism, to the Smith-Mundt Act and related exhibition legislation, and serves as a means to appreciate the ways in which the exhibition deviated from a monolithic view of 'America', even if the sutures were constructed so as to hide the fragmentation from its viewers. It gives a particularly potent agency to the USIA and OITF agents, and also serves as a poetic metonym for the national project that Bandaranaike and her contemporaries were engaged in.

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[63] *Cabled Report from Calcutta*, 1959, RG 489: Records of the International Trade Administration: Prints: Photographs of U.S. Exhibits at Overseas Trade Fairs 1957-1965 Box 2, National Archives and Records Administration.

Figure 56

General view of operating shops. Small Industries Exhibition, New Delhi 1959.
Image shows featured manufaturers: Sunnen, Tamco, Lempco, Pexto.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

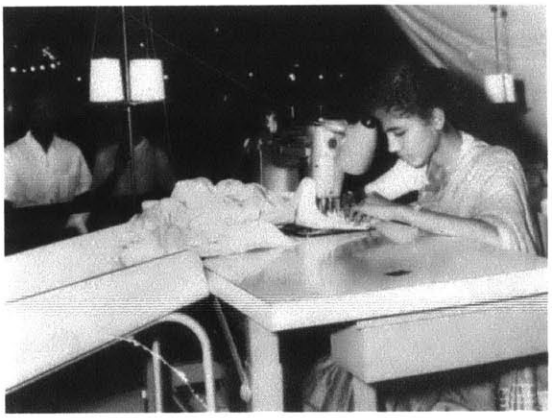

Figure 57

Figure 58

Figure 59

Figure 57, Figure 58, Figure 59
Object-Agent Assemblages, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
On view are operators from Hentleys (top), Brown and Co (middle), and Sitlani's (bottom).
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka (top)
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (middle, bottom)

Object-Agent Assemblages

The object-agent assemblages have been discussed, from the labourers who assisted in constructing the geodesic domes[64], to the technicians who operated and explained the displays in the three languages spoken in Ceylon.[65] Both were well-worn USIA ploys. Masey considered the employment of local Afghans to set up the geodesic dome pavilion to be one of the more successful features of the Jeshyn Exhibition of 1956,[66] and for the Indian Industries Fair in 1955, 60 young Indian guides (all graduate students in physics or other scientific disciplines) fluent in multiple languages, were trained to welcome and explain atomic energy to visitors. In Ceylon, Messrs. Hentley (Garments) Ltd of Colombo provided operators and material for the shirt-making display, for which Singer Manufacturing Company provided (American) machines. For the machine shop, operators were provided by Brown and Company of Ceylon (itself launched in 1875 to manufacture and repair agricultural machinery); the model laundry exhibit was assisted by Sitlani's Dryers and Cleaners of Colombo **(Figures 57-59)**.

USIA writings on this method of exhibiting describe these groupings as evidence of success – of familiarising locals with American ideology through mechanical methodologies. At the same time, however, note should be taken of the ways in which the local body was de-familiarised through this process. Masey casually refers to the fact that 'Atoms for India' demonstrators were dressed in Brookhaven jumpsuits; Ceylonese reviewer A.J.G. similarly notes that the operators were easily recognised by their "unaccustomed overalls".[67] While to Masey, the provision of a standardised outfit merely provides visibility and exerts a type of visual control on the part of the organisers, for the Ceylonese viewers, the operators become merged with the unfamiliarity of the spectacle on view, even though their employment in similar firms indicates that they engaged in these mechanical practices on a daily basis. It also recalls a re-working of the 'native on display' at exhibitions from the previous century.

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[64] "Work on U.S. Exhibition Almost Over," *Times of Ceylon*, January 11, 1961.
[65] "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama."
[66] Masey, *Cold War Confrontations.*
[67] "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama."

Agent-Agent Assemblages

These last, perhaps, came closer to a type of diplomatic exchange than any of the following. On numerous occasions throughout the Exhibition's run, organisers employed local designers to collaborate with USIA officials to lay out the exhibition design. In Calcutta, Shakut Rai of the firm Kanvinde and Rai was employed as designer.[68]

Organisers employed a Ceylonese designer, Terry Jonklaas, to assist in designing the Small Industries Exhibition in both Ceylon and Bombay the previous year, as well as another exhibition in Kabul.[69] Press releases in Ceylonese newspapers erroneously reported:

> "the exhibition is the first to be designed by a man outside the United States. The Ceylonese designer, who has won the praise of the American exhibition staff is Terry Jonklaas of Decorators & Furnishers Ltd, Colombo. Except for the geodesic domes, everything else was planned by Mr. Jonklaas. In designing this mammoth exhibition he had to take into consideration many complicating factors like traffic flow pattern, lighting, colour schemes, noise factors, etc. In an area of 3½ acres, it has three miles of wiring and over 400kw of electricity. Mr Jonklaas first got the assignment in March last year when he was flown to Bombay and asked to design the exhibition. The plans were then sent to America and approved. Subsequently he was flown to Kabul where Mr. Fritz Berliner, manager of the exhibition, was holding a similar fair at the time. Mr. Jonklaas returned to Ceylon in August and worked on the project ever since."[70]

Here was a particularly rich partnership, and although documentation is sparse, it might serve as a means to gain a more nuanced understanding of diplomatic relations, not between state leaders but between their mediating agents. Jonklaas was a particularly well-known interior designer in Colombo, and his inclusion would have resonated with the urban elite.

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[68] *Popular U.S. Exhibit Repeats Solo Trade Fair in Calcutta* (Department of Commerce, Office of International Trade Fairs, Public Information Office, February 24, 1959), RG 489-OF: Records of the International Trade Administration; Prints: Photographs of U.S. Exhibits at Overseas Trade Fairs 1957-1965, Box 2, National Archives and Records Administration.

[69] "The exhibition is the first to be designed by a man outside the United States...Except for the geodesic domes, everything else was planned by [Ceylonese] Mr Jonklaas." ("A Ceylonese Designed It," *Times of Ceylon*, January 20, 1961.) However, "designed" is an ambiguous term. Given relatively little change between descriptions of exhibition layout in Bombay, Ceylon, and Ghana, it would seem that Jonklaas designed interiors rather than external pieces. given that he was well-known in Ceylon for interiors and furnishings.

[70] Ibid.

In Ghana, however, there was a slightly odd variation on this theme, and one that speaks to the colonial role of white Americans even within their borders. The designer was Thomas P. Rock from Brooklyn who studied industrial designing at New York's Pratt Institute. It may not have been a coincidence, however, that he was African-American. He had assisted on designs for U.S. fairs in Sweden, Poland, Greece, and Russia in the past, but not taken the lead role before.[71] *Ebony* Magazine, which covered the Ghana exhibition, wrote that "Office of International Trade Fairs spokesmen agree that Rock got the job not because of his colour but because of his ability," which indicates that there may have been some speculation as to the former.[72]

The above observations begin to speak to the nuanced relationships that took place between the USIA and OITF officials and the Ceylonese. In observing that the Jackson Lumber Harvester had been shipped abroad to countries including Ethiopia, Southern Rhodesia, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Afghanistan, and Korea,[73] there is a sense that certain nations are inter-changeable units in the sphere of development. This is also clear from the Small Industries Exhibition itself, hosted in India, Ceylon, and Ghana, who appear 'similar' when painted in broad political strokes.

The next chapter examines a particularly poignant moment of miscalculation within the Small Industries Exhibition about how ideas might be translated, which manifested in the Wheat Kitchen. Building upon Dutta's observations about *khadi* – the cloth used by Gandhi's *swadeshi* movement to promote ideas of self-reliancy and freedom – I argue that the doughnut maker, and the larger Wheat Kitchen of which is was part, acted as an antithetical device, not only dictating to the Ceylonese how 'free' wheat-consuming workers looked and acted, but also attempting to re-create (with the importation of wheat) the kind of cultural dependency that the British created with cotton in India.

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[71] "U.S. Trade Fair in Ghana," 30.
[72] "U.S. Trade Fair in Ghana."
[73] "You Might Call This An Industrial Town."

THREE | CONSUMPTION

It was not unusual for U.S. exhibits to combine domestic and industrial displays as a visual argument for the ways in which technological advances had changed lifestyles for the better in America. Art historian Robert Haddow has commented that this "additive approach to exhibiting the American Way of Life implied that its replication entailed importing an entire economic system, not just isolated products."[1] A similar argument could be made of the significantly-sized agricultural exhibit that accompanied the industrial displays at the Small Industries Exhibition.

This chapter examines the Wheat Kitchen and its functions at the Exhibition, in light of Ceylon-U.S. relations and domestic food and agricultural policies of both nations at the time. It argues that the exhibit's emphasis on food consumption provides an extreme example of how the worker was viewed (and catered to) as consumer rather than producer. The Wheat Kitchen makes clear that to espouse American-style 'small business' would be to also adopt much larger frameworks of political, economic, and cultural thought. The acts of baking bread and distributing free doughnuts to Ceylonese fairgoers served as forms of American diplomacy and control writ small. The exhibit, with its accompanying dogmatic declarations about nutrition, tried to control the non-aligned body at a personal level, while the U.S. export and aid policies that shaped the exhibit aimed to create dependence at the national scale, providing and withholding essential goods based on compliance. The chapter examines reports from a larger American food aid programme, as well as Ceylonese food policies from the 1940s to 1960s, to explain American failure to 'proselytise' Ceylonese rice-consumers at the Small Industries Exhibition, while showing how the strings attached to aid contributed to creating long-term dependence on external aid.

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[1] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 60–61.

Workers as Consumers

The USIA-penned supplement on the Small Industries Exhibition in the *Times of Ceylon* discussed the success of the American economic system, and one article in particular discussed comparative purchasing power. It claimed that at current wages (as of 1961), U.S. workers could earn enough in five minutes to buy nearly half a kilo of rice or over a kilo of potatoes. A good pair of children's shoes cost about two and a half hours pay. A four valve radio required ten hours, and a new automobile 29 weeks. Four litres of petrol equalled ten minutes of work. The written description sounds uncannily like an illustration prepared for the USIA by the US Department of Labor in 1953 **(Figure 60)**; its message appears to have been inserted with virtually no alteration into press releases on the Small Industries Exhibition eight years later. Labour was framed in terms of potential consumer rewards.

It is perhaps natural, then, that this emphasis on consumption should be extended literally into the realm of food consumption. There was a significant agricultural exhibit at the Small Industries Exhibition that displayed American food products and their preparation. While industrial exhibits were given prominence, the agricultural exhibit appeared to elicit the greatest audience response, perhaps because of the free samples distributed to fairgoers. This display was divided into dairy, soy, and wheat sections (although it is unclear whether all three sections were represented at each of the six fairs) and was assembled by the USIA, OITF, and FAS, which was reinstated in the Department of Agriculture in 1953, and shifted its focus from national security-related technical assistance to foreign market development for U.S agricultural commodities. The display was produced in collaboration with Dairy Society International, the Soybean Council of America, and regional American wheat grower associations from the Great Plains and Pacific Northwest states, in accordance with this shift in focus.

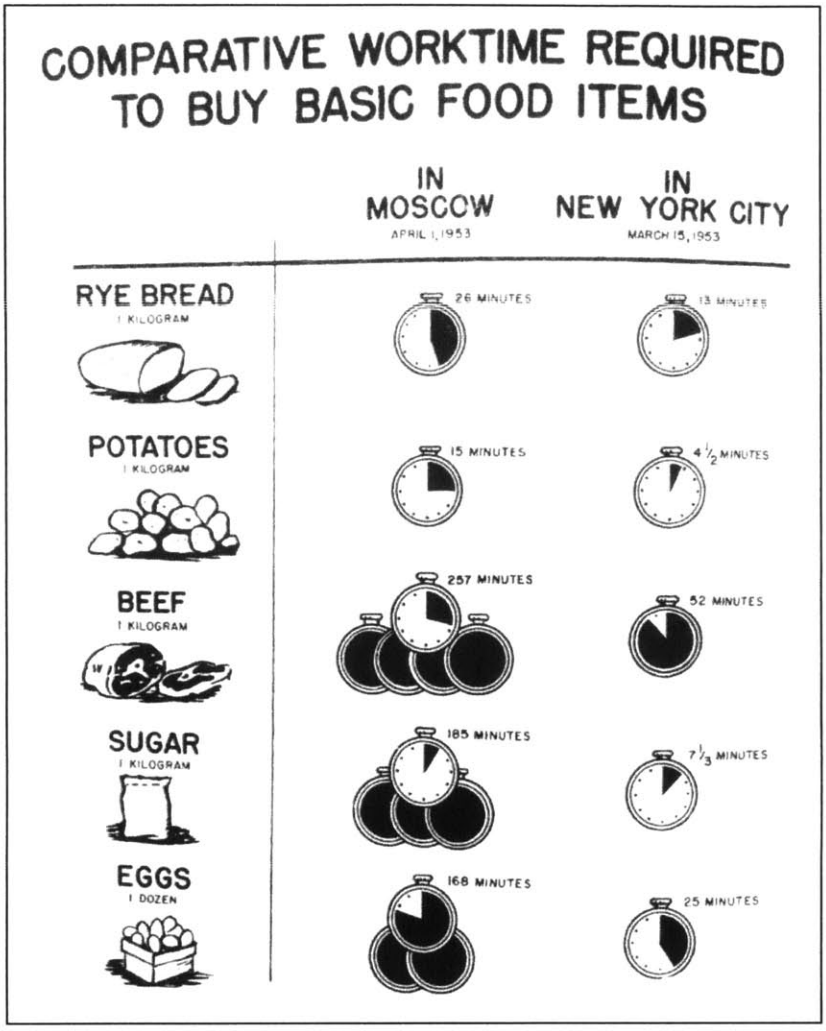

Figure 60
Chart on comparative purchasing power, prepared for USIA by U.S. Department of Labor
Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 130 (original National Archives)

Figure 61

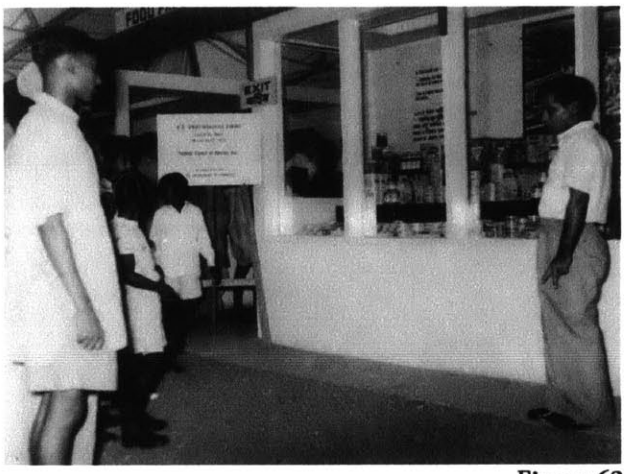

Figure 62

Figure 63

Figure 61, Figure 62, Figure 63
Soybean Council of America Exhibit at Small Industries Exhibition, at New Delhi, Calutta, Madras, respectively.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 64

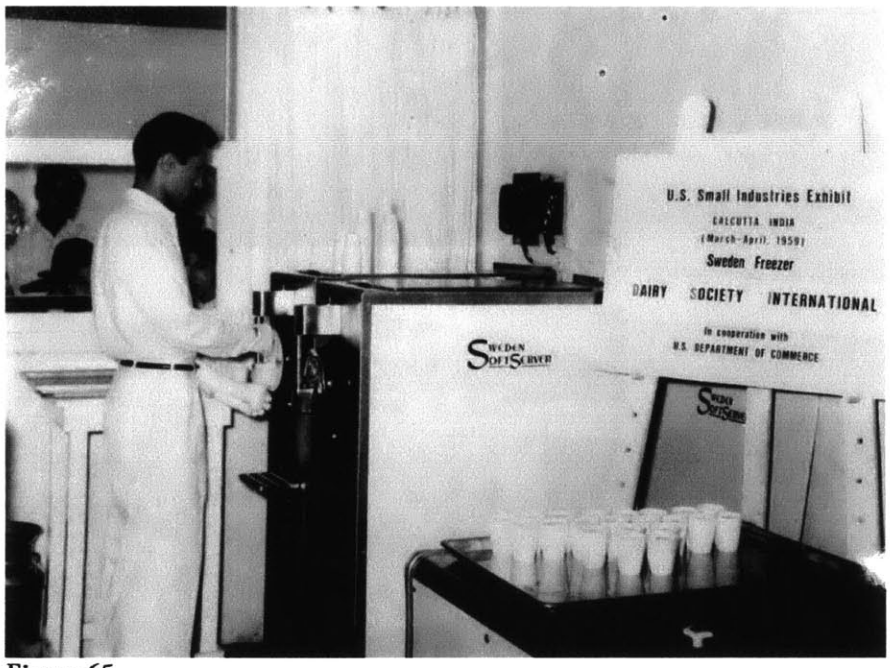

Figure 65

Figure 64
Ice cream samples distributed to visitors. Small Industries Exhibition, New Delhi 1959.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
Figure 65
Milk Dispenser – one of the displays of the Modern Dairy. Small Industries Exhibition, Calcutta 1959.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 66

Figure 67

Figure 66
Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke inspects bread samples, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka
Figure 67
Daily cooking demonstrations for American and Indian wheat food dishes. Small Industries Exhibition, Calcutta 1959.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

The Agricultural Exhibit

In the agricultural exhibit, a section demonstrating the methods of planting and harvesting soybeans, cooking with soybean oils, and the incorporation of soybeans and soybean products into the Indian diet was demonstrated at the second Small Industries Exhibition in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras[2] **(Figures 61-63)**. In New Delhi,[3] powdered milk products were introduced to India by a team of dairy experts.[4] They demonstrated how to combine local agricultural products with American dairy ingredients to create 'inexpensive' new food products, and served reconstituted milk to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, and Charles Witt of the U.S. Department of Commerce.[5] In Madras, chocolate milk and ice cream were made on the premises and distributed freely to fairgoers[6] **(Figures 64-65)**. A myriad of suppliers contributed to the exhibit, highlighting its object-object assemblage:

> Recombined milk dairy sponsored by Dairy Society International was, as one young Indian scholar recently returned from America stated, "quite delightfully American". It represented team work of Girton Manufacturing equipment, Damrow pasteurisers, Manton-Gaulin homogenizer, Taylor thermometers, Jusel coolers, King Zero ice builders. Assisted by Waukesha positive pump, General Dairy equipment automatic glass bottle filler. American Sealkap cappers, Alloy pipes, fittings, Snyder tubing clamps, Tyler and Wilson refrigeration storage boxes, vapour steam generators and National Combustion water heaters. Dispensing of milk being done by Monitor. Steady in supply of almost unending flow ice cream for distinguished invitees was the Sweden freezer whose surplus products were being stored Savage Arms cabinet. The Germantown stabilizer helped process, while Foote and Jenks vanilla gave it flavour. In long line assistance to visitors at dairy came the American Can Company, Sparta brushes ending with Diversey sanitizing agents and Emery Thompson tools that helped install machine

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[2] Calcutta: "Hafner in Charge of Exhibit at Calcutta." (Fred Hafner of Minneapolis, director of protein operations for General Mills' oilseeds division, served as technical consultant for the Soybean Council of America for the Calcutta exhibit.) Bombay: Robert G Spears, "Nature's Miracle Bean," *Times of India*, February 14, 1960. Madras: "From Madras, India: Ice Cream Makes A Big Hit," *Arizona Republic*, September 22, 1959.

[3] This paper assumes that the "12th International Trade Fair" reported on in the *Pasadena Independent* is in fact the Small Industries Exhibition as the dates match, Kenworthy then went on to Calcutta (the second location of the Small Industries Exhibition), and the Dairy Society was also involved in the Madras exhibit. See: "Pasadenan Shows India Powdered Milk Products," *Pasadena Independent*, January 29, 1959. "Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India," *Idaho State Journal*, August 28, 1959.

[4] L. Clifford Kenworthy, president of Meadow Gold Dairies; George McConnell, dairy engineer with the International Dairy Supply Co., San Francisco; Dr. Khem M. Shahani, a native of India and associate professor of dairy husbandry at the University of Nebraska.

[5] "Pasadenan Shows India Powdered Milk Products."

[6] "From Madras, India: Traveler Tells Of Sights," *Arizona Republic*, August 27, 1959.

> and keep them in sanitary condition in a place that was picture of efficiency and good health. Only Indian elements in dairy were Indian made paper cups serving recombined milk and ice cream, and the Indians who relished them by hundreds.[7]

The Wheat Kitchen

The wheat exhibit, funded by wheat grower organisations,[8] overshadowed both the dairy and soy sections **(Figures 66-67)**. The earliest example of this didactic Wheat Kitchen appears to be the one at the Small Industries Exhibition in Madras in September 1959, displayed by these wheat promotion organisations[9] on behalf of the Department of Agriculture, and incorporated into subsequent iterations. In Ceylon, it showcased industrial products, machinery, and modern equipment made available by the Department of Commerce, and produced samples of baked bread, cakes, and hotcakes to be distributed to the Ceylonese each day.[10] A wheat foods information office answered questions on procuring equipment, milling, baking, and retailing wheat products.[11] Although presented as a single display, the model Wheat Kitchen was a cleverly constructed assemblage of products and exhibition strategies; that is, similar-seeming actions had very different intentions and desired outcomes. For example, the Wheat Kitchen demonstrated how bread and other wheat-based foods were prepared and also distributed doughnuts to the fairgoers. While it is possible to read these two undertakings as a single action, I would argue that the organisers skilfully combined two actions with diverging functions that capture the dual nature of American diplomacy.

The doughnut machine on display garnered a great deal of attention[12], perhaps because it was a novelty to many fairgoers.[13] It was an integral part of the exhibition, providing a constant supply of

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[7] *Cabled Report from Calcutta.*

[8] A grant of $1,200, approved by the Washington Wheat Commission, was used to fund the exhibit. "5 Grants for Wheat Research Total More than $28,000."

[9] Ceylon: Western Wheat Associates("Idahoans Man Ceylon Exhibition," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, February 13, 1961.); not so clear-cut who was organising it before.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid. See also, "2 U.S. Experts for 'Wheat Kitchen,'" *Times of Ceylon*, January 19, 1961.

[12] An article in the *Idaho State Journal* referred to it as a "showstopper" ("Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India.") while a piece in the *Arizona Republic* by exhibitor Barbara Yellott agreed that the agricultural display's free samples were the "favorite of our show". ("Ice Cream Makes A Big Hit.")

[13] "Doughnut-Less Africa Won't Be Much Longer," *Lincoln Evening Journal*, August 15, 1961.

fresh samples in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon.[14] Political leaders, including Governor Sri Prakasa in Bombay, and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Ceylon, were invited to view the wheat kitchen and to sample doughnuts, and reportedly showed "keen interest" in the kitchen demonstrations; Bandaranaike was given 20 boxes of American doughnuts as a gift.[15]

In the case of the doughnut, the key action was distribution as an example of productivity and profusion. Distributing free American food samples was an easy means by which to demonstrate American efficiency, abundance and magnanimity, and this idea was developed long before the Small Industries Exhibition. Jane Mitarachi, writing for *Industrial Design* in 1957, noted that

> our habit of giving out free doughnuts and ice cream, for instance, drew crowds in many countries and dramatically demonstrated our productivity and the effectiveness of our machinery. It also drew criticism in many quarters, particularly from other exhibiting nations who could not afford the lure of hand-outs.[16]

This strategy was employed globally, from the 1959 American National Exhibition in Moscow to food fairs and agricultural exhibitions in Hamburg[17] and Egypt.[18] The doughnut machine at the Small Industries Exhibition followed this trajectory.

On the other hand, the bread bakery was a newer venture undertaken by promotional organisations for wheat that were established in 1958 and 1959: the Great Plains Wheat Market Development Association and Western Wheat Associates. Some explanation is necessary here about their presence at the Small Industries Exhibition. Following World War II, U.S. wheat production rose

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[14] Calcutta: "Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India." Madras: "Ice Cream Makes A Big Hit." Bombay: "Indian Trade Fair Exhibits Attract Interest, Says Spiruta."

[15] Bombay: "Indian Trade Fair Exhibits Attract Interest, Says Spiruta." Ceylon: "Wheat Boosted (Photo)," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, February 23, 1961. Both reports use the phrase "keen interest" to describe Sri Prakasa's and Bandaranaike's response to the exhibit.

[16] Mitarachi, "Design as a Political Force," 54.

[17] Held in November 1961, it was deemed an "immediate success with fried chicken and doughnuts...The doughnut machine, turning out 350 dozen an hour, worked overtime to keep up with the demand." United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; United States. Foreign Agricultural Service; United States. Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, "U.S. Stages Food Fair in Hamburg -- and Makes Hit with American Fried Chicken," December 1961, https://archive.org/details/foreignagricultu2512unit.

[18] "Big Fair In Egypt," *The Kansas City Star*, March 26, 1961.

significantly, but a poorly standardised marketing system led to the creation of two regional organisations to coordinate export market development for wheat from the Great Plains and Pacific Northwest states. The Great Plains Wheat Market Development Association was chartered in December 1958 by wheat growers in Kansas, Colorado, and Nebraska, and Western Wheat Associates in April 1959 by growers in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, to expand their international markets (the two merged in 1980 to form U.S. Wheat Associates).[19] Representatives at the Small Industries Exhibitions between 1959 and 1961 reflected these organisational changes.[20] As such, the doughnut maker and the oven had two different roles – it would seem that while the doughnut maker was a clear American ambassador, the oven might have had a role akin to the English-speaking local Indian and Sri Lankan whose role was to translate displays to viewers.

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[19] http://www.uswheat.org/aboutUs; Also Bartholomew, David M. et al. *Marketing Kansas Wheat.* Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1959.

[20] There appears to have been more collaboration than competition between representatives of various wheat commissions, perhaps because the types of wheat grown in each area were suitable for very different types of food. At the time of the New Delhi and Calcutta exhibitions, the Great Plains Association had been newly formed, but Western Wheat Associates had not. As such, wheat representatives in Calcutta included Ivan Packard, executive secretary of the Washington Association of Wheat Growers, assisted by Wayne Gentry, representative in South Asia of the Great Plains Association. ("Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India." and "Calcutta Citizens Turning to Wheat.") A grant of $1,200 was approved to finance the exhibit at the Calcutta fair. ("5 Grants for Wheat Research Total More than $28,000.") At the time of the Madras exhibition, Western Wheat Associates had been formed and was expanding into Asia, particularly India, Pakistan, and Japan. Wayne Gentry had been appointed director of Western Wheat Associates' New Delhi office, and planned the Madras exhibit. He was joined by Herman Zollinger, special consultant for the Foreign Agricultural Service. Director of Idaho State Wheat Growers' Association, he then went on to Japan to review project activities with Jim Hutchinson, director of Western Wheat Associates' Japan area office. ("Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India.") During the time of the Bombay and Ceylon exhibits, Joseph Spiruta had taken over as director of the New Delhi office of Western Wheat Associates and headed the exhibit. ("Indian Trade Fair Exhibits Attract Interest, Says Spiruta."; "2 U.S. Experts for 'Wheat Kitchen.'"; "'Wheat Kitchen,'" *Ceylon Daily News*, January 20, 1961.) He was joined in Bombay by Chester Stonecipher, chairman of the Washington Wheat Commission and a board member of Western Wheat Associates, ("Indian Trade Fair Exhibits Attract Interest, Says Spiruta.") and Mr and Mrs H.W. "Glen" Henderson – also representatives of Western Wheat – in Ceylon. Henderson was the president of the Idaho state agriculture stabilisation committee, and a "prominent grower of wheat, peas, barley and clover." ("Idahoans Man Ceylon Exhibition."

The Wheat Kitchen as Diplomatic Instrument

The wheat kitchen's purported objective was to "show how American wheat flour can be made into wholesome and nutritious food."[21] However, its real function was to facilitate the export of surplus American wheat stocks through popularising the use of wheat in nations with different staple foods. To provide further incentive for purchasing American wheat, a bread bakery was added in Madras (and all following exhibits), turning out 25 1lb loaves of bread every hour in ¼lb loaves for easy distribution.[22] Samples of bread and hotcakes were freely distributed in Bombay and Ceylon.[23]

Baking bread symbolised an attempt to manage the developing world both at a personal and a national level. An oven and proofer designed and constructed almost entirely of indigenous materials by an American food processing technician and priced for South Asian markets, was exhibited in the hope that it might be promoted for use in cities and villages as a small-scale profit-making venture.[24] This was supplemented by recipes for bread, hotcakes and doughnuts in the women's sections of local newspapers.[25] Press releases in local newspapers from each host country promoted these foods as being a more nutritious and inexpensive[26] alternative to rice, and described the superiority of the wheat-consumer's physique[27] to that of the rice-consumer, even as contemporaneous regional American newspapers acknowledged that the exhibits on view were attempts to expand the secondary[28] market for U.S. agricultural products in the region.[29] Indian dependency on rice (which

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[21] "2 U.S. Experts for 'Wheat Kitchen.'" "'Wheat Kitchen,'" January 20, 1961. The two articles, published a day apart in newspapers from two different syndicates, report the same information almost word-for-word, suggesting a USIA master document from which the news was copied.

[22] "Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India."

[23] "Bread for India," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, February 23, 1960. "Idahoans Man Ceylon Exhibition."

[24] "Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India." Local newspapers in Ceylon featured an economical kerosene bake oven, apparently able to operate continuously for 16 hours with a few bottles of kerosene oil, that was demonstrated at the exhibition. It is possible this refers to the same object. ("Recipes from the Wheat Kitchen," *Times of Ceylon*, January 30, 1961.)

[25] "Recipes from the Wheat Kitchen."

[26] As claimed by Chuck Gabby, president of Western Wheat Associates. "Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India."

[27] "[E]nriched bread plays an essential role in the day's diet. It supplies important amounts of food iron and three B-vitamins, plus food energy and protein. That's why nutritionists recommend four or more servings of enriched or whole grain bread and cereals every day." "Recipes from the Wheat Kitchen."

[28] This report mentions the exhibition in Bombay: U.S. Government Printing Office, *The 12th Semiannnual Report On Activities Carried On Under Public Law 480, 83D Congress, As Amended* (Washington, D.C., August 12, 1960).

was often in short supply), was reported in regional U.S. newspapers as a contributing factor to nutritional deficiency diseases in India.[30] This was less entertainment than dogmatic education in appropriately capitalistic food consumption.

This economic function was underpinned by political intent; namely, a race to feed the hungry 'third world' before the Soviets did. Clifford R. Hope, a former member of Congress from Kansas and president of the Great Plains Wheat Market Development Association, commented on the function of the wheat kitchens, saying, "In fighting communism and preserving world peace, our reserve wheat supplies are equal to fleets of planes and stockpiles of atomic bombs."[31] In 1959, postwar recovery aid programmes in East and South Asia (with the aim of deterring communism) totalled $1 billion.[32]

Wheat was framed in terms of its "resemblance" to rice; and highlighted any overlaps between lifestyle choices, however tenuous.[33] At the Calcutta exhibition, American home economists demonstrated the preparation of bulgur wheat, which was marketed as low in cost, requiring minimum fuel for cooking, and similar to rice in its consumption.[34] Local Ceylonese newspapers reported that two experts were in Ceylon to manage the Wheat Kitchen, whose role was to "supply technical information on the equipment regarding their procurement, production problems and any other matters local bakers and other food processing people may require."[35] U.S. engineers and technicians put their minds to creating technologies like the kerosene-fired oven **(Figure 68)**

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[29] At the time, the U.S. was the world's largest producer and exporter of soybeans Spears, "Nature's Miracle Bean." See following for wheat over-abundance: [29] "Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India." See also "Calcutta Citizens Turning to Wheat."

[30] "Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India." See also "Calcutta Citizens Turning to Wheat."

[31] Donald J. Sorensen, "Kansas to the World: 'Eat More Wheat!,'" *The Kansas City Times*, December 9, 1959.

[32] Dunbar et al., "Foreign Agricultural Policy and Far East Farm Markets," 66.

[33] Bulgur wheat was marketed as a grain that could be prepared and eaten in a similar fashion to rice. "Calcutta Citizens Turning to Wheat."

[34] A parboiled wheat, it was made from different varieties grown in eastern Washington. "Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India."

[35] The experts were J.J. Spiruta, permanent representative in South Asia to the U.S. Wheat Associates, and H.W. Henderson, who also represented the Wheat Associates. "2 U.S. Experts for 'Wheat Kitchen.'" "'Wheat Kitchen,'" January 20, 1961.

potentially useful only in South Asia. Officials likely hoped that as a hybrid between American cultural values and South Asian modes of food production, the oven might serve as a starting-point for discussion. The stream of goods and technologies directed at targeted nations required a certain amount of self-reflection, positioning, and image-crafting.

The bakery display at the Exhibition quickly became a stand-alone Wheat Kitchen that exhibited at trade fairs in Lima[36] and Karachi[37], and travelled around South Asia.[38] It made a show of American efficiency in food production, distributing the resulting baked goods to nearby charitable organisations in a shrewd public relations move.[39] These displays were often accompanied by travelling experts who schooled locals in the preparation and consumption of wheat.[40] The Wheat Kitchen also spawned a curious brand of food-centred diplomacy in the states it travelled to.[41]

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[36] Pacific International Trade Fair, Lima, October 1-18, 1959; in addition to the Lima fair, Great Plains Wheat market Development Association representative Byrd Hardy travelled to Bogota, Colombia, and the Caribbean to survey market development work. ("Greensburg Man to Pacific Fair," *Garden City Telegram*, September 22, 1959.).

[37] "The kitchen's doughnut machine, for instance, turns out 900 doughnuts an hour. They are distributed to orphanages, hospitals and schools. The bakery produces 25 loaves of bread an hour and these, too, are given to charitable organizations."("The Distaff Side," *Garden City Telegram*, November 15, 1962.)

[38] A permanent wheat kitchen was established at the Medical Centre in East Pakistan, in September 1963. "Wheat Kitchen," *The Monroe County News*, September 23, 1963.

[39] "At a trade fair in Lima, Peru, a model bakery turned out some 1,600 pieces of fresh bread and cakes daily and shipped them to a boys' town bordering Lima...which proved a wise public relations gesture. This helped bring Great Plains representatives into contact with President Manuel Prado and Prime Minister Pedro Beltran. At a private dinner they discussed the possibilities of increasing U.S. wheat imports." (Sorensen, "Kansas to the World: 'Eat More Wheat!.'") "The kitchen's doughnut machine, for instance, turns out 900 doughnuts an hour. They are distributed to orphanages, hospitals and schools. The bakery produces 25 loaves of bread an hour and these, too, are given to charitable organizations." ("The Distaff Side.")

[40] In India, buses of experts travelled to urban and rural areas to teach people how to use American wheat, and a bakers' training course was sponsored to train 300 bakers. Similar work was carried out in Japan. Survey teams were sent to Western Europe, Africa and the Caribbean to gauge interest in wheat imports. A companion programme allowed visitors from the UK, Italy, Greece, India, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru to observe and learn from American facilities. (Sorensen, "Kansas to the World: 'Eat More Wheat!.'")

[41] Six representatives of Peru's wheat industry visited Wichita, KS, in 1959 at the invitation of the Great Plains Wheat Development Association, the Kansas Wheat Commission, and the Wichita Chamber of Commerce, to study wheat processing. As a gift, they brought a llama, named Trigo (Spanish for wheat), which was bequeathed to the Garden Plain Zoo. ("Visitors from Peru: Wheat Industry Leaders Study Kansas System," *The Kansas City Times*, July 17, 1959.) Meanwhile, at the 1962 Pakistan International Trade Fair in Karachi, camel driver Bashir Ahmed (who visited the U.S. the previous year at the invitation of Vice President Lyndon Johnson) served as delivery man. ("The Distaff Side.")

Figure 68

Figure 69

Figure 68
Kerosene-fired oven, Small Industries Exhibition, Madras, 1959.
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Figure 69
Cartoon in *Ceylon Daily News*, 30 January 1961, p.6
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Public Law 480

These machinations relating to wheat were influenced in large part by U.S. Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, later referred to as the "Food for Peace" Act. Instituted in 1954, it aimed to create a secondary foreign market for U.S. agricultural products in food-deficient, cash-poor countries, to maximise use of surplus crops. The policy was widely criticised both for damaging the export potential of competitor countries like Canada and Australia (thereby creating animosity) and for discouraging recipient countries from developing their own agriculture. Although the next section will argue that this was not the case in Ceylon, it will also outline how international aid structures were used to change food-related policies in Ceylon and create dependence.

Commencing 1956, Ceylon received Title I aid, a foreign assistance loan programme that provided commodities to recipient governments to sell, unlike Title II, a grant programme of food assistance through private and voluntary organisations.[42] Title I had four objectives: (primarily) economic development, U.S foreign policy interests, reduction of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities, and the expansion of U.S. commercial sales. USAID reported that this represented a significant and positive balance of payments resource. The bulk of this aid comprised wheat flour. It should be noted that in 1977, with the completion of the Prima Flour Mill in Trincomalee (the largest mill of its type in the world at the time) this also included wheat. One of the goals of the Small Industries Exhibition's Wheat Kitchen, as reported by Washington Wheat Commission manager Wayne Gentry to regional American newspapers (but not mentioned in Ceylonese press releases) was potentially building new flour mills[43]. Despite discussions, the mill did not materialise until more than 15 years later, following two regime changes.[44]

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[42] The following section cites David I. Steinberg et al., *Sri Lanka: The Impact of PL 480 Title I Food Assistance*, A.I.D. Project Impact Evaluation Report (U.S. Agency for International Development, October 1982).

[43] "Craigmont Man Heads Wheat Fair," *The Spokesman Review*, January 4, 1961.

[44] According to economist Saman Kelegama, as of 2006, Singaporean company Prima operated the only flour mill in Sri Lanka (although this is no longer true). (Saman Kelegama, *Development under Stress: Sri Lankan Economy in Transition* (New Delhi ; Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: Sage Publications, 2006), 246.) According to their website, Prima's Trincomalee flour mill was established in Sri Lanka in 1977 following an investment agreement with the Government,

Failures in Translation

Of the various components at the exhibition, the Wheat Kitchen received the greatest response – and not all of it was positive. For example, one cartoon depicted two men, the first holding a doughnut while the other scoffed, "In the Soviet Union they make it without the hole!"[45] **(Figure 69)** The political motivations behind the exhibition were clear to locals, and the doughnut was perfectly positioned to act as a metonym for this struggle. A fairgoer who reviewed the Exhibition picked up on the incongruence of the doughnut maker at a small industries fair, describing it as typifying the whole fair's "accent on the consumer." Answering his own question, "What...could we do with a doughnut machine?"[46] 'A.J.G." speculated that it might be used to produce the similarly-shaped South Asian *ulundu wade*, although he was not sure what else it might be useful for. Altogether, while exhibition-goers readily consumed the doughnuts proffered to them, they viewed the entire wheat exhibit with caution.

The 1982 report on PL 480 aid in Ceylon/Sri Lanka, quoted above, offers some observations as to why the Wheat Kitchen received the greatest (negative) response in local newspapers. The report highlighted that rice was clearly preferred by the majority of the population; bread was considered a supplement to, but not a substitute for, rice. Their preference was so strong that they would readily purchase poor quality or higher-priced rice before shifting to a diet of wheat flour or other coarse grains. Unlike in India, wheat was not produced in Ceylon/Sri Lanka to a significant extent, so Title I aid did not create any direct disincentive for domestic wheat production. While a decrease in the production of coarse grains and cassava was noted, neither of these were staple foods.[47] The report describes this bias as personal preference, and only obliquely hints at the deep-seated cultural biases tied up in rice consumption. The following section discusses these biases.

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and was at the time "the world's largest flour-milling complex under one roof". ("About Prima: Milestones," *Prima Group*, n.d., http://www.prima.com.sg/abt_us/milestones.htm.)

[45] "Lanka Laughs (Cartoon)," *Ceylon Daily News*, January 30, 1961.

[46] "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama."

[47] Steinberg et al., *Sri Lanka: The Impact of PL 480 Title I Food Assistance*, vi, 24, 30.

Agricultural Fundamentalism in Ceylon

Ceylon's relatively large foreign reserves, accumulated during World War II, in part led to an incredibly ambitious welfare programme that eventually accounted for more than one half of the entire national budget. These services included free basic health services, free education, and a free weekly rice allotment.[48] This progressed into a strong basic human needs strategy, encompassing both western and traditional medicine, potable water systems, education, electricity, a road network, and a sophisticated agricultural research programme

Both left and right-leaning political elites allocated a relatively high proportion of the budget to this programme. The USAID report on PL 480 aid enthusiastically notes the resulting benefits, including high literacy, a declining death rate, increased life expectancy, and low infant mortality, concluding that "the Sri Lanka experiment has been sometimes described as an alternative development model in which equity predominates over growth."[49] When the Physical Quality of Life Index first attracted attention in the late 1960s, Ceylon's social performance far exceeded that of other nations with comparable per capita GNP. Literacy, life expectancy, and infant mortality measure in Sri Lanka were near Southern European levels at a time when per capita income was less than $150 per year.[50]

However, there were disadvantages as well. Financing the programme depended on high world market prices for Ceylon's agricultural exports and expending the accumulated foreign reserves, which could not be sustained following the decline in market prices for primary exports. The increased life expectancy led to a sharp rise in population, and the educational system produced graduates unable to find work in an agricultural economy.

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[48] Richard Stuart Olson, "Expropriation and International Economic Coercion: Ceylon and the 'West' 1961-65," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 11, no. 2 (January 1977): 206.
[49] Steinberg et al., *Sri Lanka: The Impact of PL 480 Title I Food Assistance*, 3–4.
[50] Ibid., 7–8.

The PL 480 report noted that Sri Lanka's significantly slow shift to urbanisation was unusual among developing nations. As of 1982, more than 75 per cent of the population still resided in rural areas (as of 1961, more than 85 per cent). While the report admitted that this had important implications for food policies, it made no direct mention of any correlation between the provision of social services and the country's lack of urbanisation. However, the fact that universal suffrage was introduced as early as 1931 (and the voter age lowered from 21 to 18 in 1959[51]) sheds some light on this. This, combined with high voter turnout rates, produced a pattern of regular changes of government. The majority of the population was rural at the time, so the success (or failure) of politicians depended entirely on the vote of the paddy farmer. Rural voters not allied with either of the two major parties, and the report noted that "politicians [were] careful to pitch significant elements of their campaign rhetoric (and subsequent performance in office) towards the constituency upon whose support they will stand or fall." While the SLFP systematically eliminated incentives for private investment] in almost all sectors of the economy, the one exception was in small-holder food production, where the political power of the small farmers prevented the extension of socialist ownership.[52] This perpetuated a focus on agriculture, even while other nations were looking to shift to industrialisation.[53]

Politicians enhanced this rural voter power in a number of ways. Ceylon's first constitution incorporated an electoral weighting system that provided 'extra' parliamentary seats on the basis of geography, sharpening the rural bias.[54] D.S. Senanayake's Citizenship Act of 1948 distorted the electoral balance even more markedly than before and made the Sinhalese rural voter the arbiter of the country's politics, and with each delimitation of constituencies up to 1976, the Sinhalese rural voters' position was strengthened.[55] This sheds light on many initiatives in Ceylon that produce contradictory results, including its massive welfare scheme. It also explains why Dudley Senanayake

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[51] However, the first election to use this system was the general election of 1965. De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 660.
[52] Steinberg et al., *Sri Lanka: The Impact of PL 480 Title I Food Assistance*, 3, 11–13.
[53] Economist Saman Kelegama notes that even strategies like import substitution were implemented 10-12 years later than in other developing nations. Kelegama, *Economic Policy in Sri Lanka Issues and Debates.*, 18.
[54] Steinberg et al., *Sri Lanka: The Impact of PL 480 Title I Food Assistance*, 11–12.
[55] De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 605–6.

paid the penalty twice (in 1953 and 1970) for attempting to "[disturb] the most cherished of the sacred cows of Sri Lanka's welfare system — the rice subsidy.[56]

This appears less odd than it would in light of Hennayake's explications on the matter of agricultural fundamentalism in Ceylon. D.S. Senanayake in particular had very strong views on this matter, which made him appealing to the rural voter base even as he pushed for a secularism that did not find favour with Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinists.[57] Under his leadership, massive land development and irrigation projects (including the ambitious Gal Oya Scheme) were initiated.[58] Social reformers like S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike emphasized self-sufficiency, self-reliance and sovereignty, which ran counter to views of the colonisers. Sirimavo Bandaranaike also believed that industry in the island should be "agro-based"[59] and during her second term as Prime Minister from 1970-1977 subjected the country to a closed economy as she attempted to achieve self-sufficiency in food production.

All of these projects stem from a sustained belief (that continues into the present) in Ceylon's past, present, and future as intimately tied to agrarianism. Both the Gal Oya scheme (the first major irrigation project since King Parakramabahu's era), and the multiple attempts to attain self-sufficiency in rice, follow this belief in the relationship between land and water resources. Hennayake also talks about the interdependence of the tank, temple, and the paddy field as "a powerful image of the village and...the triadic icons of ancient landscape." Again, the village is evoked as an icon of progress and holistic development.

Rice was therefore not just a consumer good, but intricately tied to national feeling and identity. In the Ceylonese mind, therefore, rice and wheat could *not* be interchangeable. Even in 1961, rural-based social patterns and values continue to dominate the structure of social relations in Sri Lanka. The sacred quality of rice was also emphasised; it was the staple of Sri Lankan culture during sacred

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[56] Ibid., 661.
[57] Kelegama, *Economic Policy in Sri Lanka Issues and Debates.*, 210.
[58] De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 620.
[59] S. Venkat Narayan and Read more at: http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/i-am-not-the-one-who-runs-away-from-defeat-sirimavo-bandaranaike/1/391531.html, "I Will Get Back: Sirimavo Bandaranaike," *India Today*, March 31, 1982.

festivals and important events (New Year, etc) that urban legends proclaimed that rice cooked with coconut milk was the first offering to Buddha, and that rice cooked in ghee or clarified butter was the favourite food of Muhammad.

Agricultural Fundamentalism in the USA

If these notions sound quaint or backward, it should be noted that former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson was making similar statements in 1960:

> We have always had a feeling that there is something basically sound about having a good portion of our people on the land. Country living produces better people. The country is a good place to rear a family. It is a good place to teach the basic virtues that have helped to build this nation. Young people on a farm learn how to work, how to be thrifty, and how to do things with their hands.[60]

U.S. founding fathers echoed these sentiments, particularly Thomas Jefferson, who was born to framing himself and claimed to be happiest close to the soil. Developers of the soil were, by dint of their profession, protected from the "corruption of morals" of city folk. Although others, like Alexander Hamilton, argued against the primacy of agriculture, the thrust of his argument was that agriculture and industry were mutually beneficial to each other. As it became more evident that a life in agriculture did not bring wealth and social prestige, propagators of the agrarian tradition became more vocal in its defence, even invoking the biblical tale of Cain and Abel as evidence for their claims. Abraham Lincoln was one of the few political leaders who was forthright about his view that there was no particular virtue in agriculture, although he did concede that since farmers were the most numerous class, their interests must "be cherished and cultivated". At the same time, this strongly sentimental concept also served as intellectual justification for legislative aid to farmers, and gave support to economic objectives including the maintenance of the family farm. A belief in these principles provided much of the resistance to industry and urbanisation in the early 20th century, which on a superficial level appears similar to explications of the village in Ceylon.[61] Interestingly, however, an argument can be made for the fact that given the nature of the grain, wheat was more

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[60] Ezra Taft Benson, *Freedom to Farm* (New York, 1960), 109

[61] Gilbert C. Fite, "Agricultural Fundamentalism in Ceylon," *Journal of Farm Economics* 44, no. 5 (December 1962): 1203–11.

conducive to creating a capitalist class and a farming monopoly than the cultivation of rice, which appears to hold some truth.[62]

Controlling Consumption

The imported doughnut machine was reportedly brought in to be 'in keeping with the "small scale industry" theme,'[63] and as noted before, it would not be difficult for exhibition-goers to conflate small implements with a small business. However, administrator of the Kansas Wheat Commission W. W. Graber demonstrated the kind of circular logic apparent in the larger exhibition when he asserted that U.S. foreign policy, directed towards encouraging development of the family-size, family-operated industry, would help preserve democracy, and would enable millions of Asian workers to earn enough income to buy U.S. wheat products.[64] In short, American machinery was displayed so that Indians, Ceylonese, and Ghanaians might use it to purchase further American goods, edging them further away from the USSR and China.

The Hickenlooper Amendment's Effects in Ceylon

In the 1950s the U.S. largely relied on Latin America's investment flows, trade, and aid programmes to protect U.S. investors. However, in light of a number of uncompensated nationalisation schemes – the Brazilian expropriations of 1962 in particular – led Congress to pass the Hickenlooper Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. This made it mandatory for the president to cut off grant aid and sugar quota purchases from any government that expropriated United States property without full and timely compensation in convertible foreign exchange.[65] However, the reality was that the U.S. wished to keep alliances open, even if they were shaky, with key nations. It is telling, therefore, that the Hickenlooper Amendment was only invoked twice: in the case of Ceylon in 1963, and against Ethiopia in 1979. In the case of Ethiopia, there were few strategic costs

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[62] Charles Post, *The American Road to Capitalism: Studies in Class-Structure, Economic Development, and Political Conflict, 1620-1877*, Historical Materialism Book Series 28 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2011).
[63] "Rexburg Man to Head Wheat Exhibit at Fairs in India."
[64] "Use of Northwest Wheat Growing in India." See also "Calcutta Citizens Turning to Wheat."
[65] Herbert Goldhamer, *The Foreign Powers in Latin America*, 1972, 73–74.

as the nation's Communist government was in the process of joining the Soviet bloc.[66] In the case of Ceylon, the island was small enough to serve as an 'example' to the rest of the world without hurting American trade, as Ceylon had few resources that were valuable to the USA.[67]

Acting upon the Hickenlooper Amendment's exhortations on the part of the U.S. had important implications for Ceylon in the realm of food consumption. When the UNP government returned to power briefly in 1965, one of its first acts was to settle the compensation as Ceylon's balance of payment difficulties were progressively worsening, whereupon aid programmes were renewed. However, with the setting up of the Aid Ceylon Club, consortium of foreign governments set up under the auspices of the World Bank to provide financial assistance, aid from the sources mentioned resulted in certain changes in Ceylon's foreign policy. Under Mrs Bandaranaike a close involvement with the socialist group of Afro-Asian powers took place, as well as with communist countries. However, with Dudley Senanayake's return to power, the island entering into a brief and unpleasant union with the West. It inevitably resulted in a dependence on international and other credit agencies for assistance, and marked the beginning of the island's debt crisis. IMF loans were served with severe restrictions, including the curtailment of social services, beginning with the rice subsidy.[68] While he launched a mini 'green revolution'-esque "Grow More Paddy" campaign, which made a virtue out of necessity, and recalled earlier agricultural efforts on the part of both Senanayake and his father, he went on to lose the election in 1970, wherein the island went in for a 7-year socialist experiment with a closed economy.[69]

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[66] Noel Maurer, *The Empire Trap: The Rise and Fall of U.S. Intervention to Protect American Property Overseas, 1893-2013* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), 332.

[67] "Ceylon's trade with the United States was from the U.S. perspective miniscule, and being a specialized agricultural exporter, Ceylon had no products of strategic or otherwise crucial value. Except possibly for the British, everyone can get along without tea." Olson, "Expropriation and International Economic Coercion: Ceylon and the 'West' 1961-65."

[68] Four 'Letters of Intent' to the IMF, in July 1965, July 1966, May 1968, and August 1969, signalled this shift, and for obvious reasons were not made public. A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, *Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[69] The Opposition used the rice cut as its principle election strategy. It promised to restore it if it returned to office at the next election.Ibid.

While the effects of the Hickenlooper Amendment are not directly related to the Small Industries Exhibition itself, they underscore how wheat, and by extension the Americans, could be clearly construed as a colonising element, which is not quite as transparent as with the other industrial exhibits. A theme of abundance could be seen as somewhat offensive in a culture who valued a type of imposed scarcity in the form of self-sufficiency and adequacy over abundance. This comparison of two grains that underpinned two economies yield both affinities that could have been capitalised upon, and differences that can be characterised more as competing ideological currencies than a clash between modernisation and traditionalism.

CONCLUSION

The first event on the U.S. Department of Commerce's 1961 trade fair programme,[1] the Small Industries Exhibition in Ceylon opened the day following John F. Kennedy's inauguration as President.[2] Kennedy's first trade fair message[3] was to welcome visitors to the exhibition in Ceylon, and in a quirky act of international diplomacy, construction workers assembling the U.S.-directed components of the fair also mounted a large print of Kennedy on the back of Ambathale Kumaraya, a pedigreed elephant whose ancestors carried kings and religious relics **(Figure 70)**. This assemblage appears at first glance to be as, if not more, inexplicable as some of those constructed by the USIA and OITF. It invites the same initial incredulity as the newspaper article 'No Place in US for Millionaires'; reading the individually rational pieces and the circumstances of their assemblage, however, allows for comprehending the logic behind the whole.

The Small Industries Exhibition does appear irrational and bizarre in its entirety, and this thesis has attempted, in pulling apart the pieces, to offer a glimpse into the act of assemblage to extract some of the motivations behind these actions, untangling the method to the madness, and illuminating some of the reasons for the exhibition's failure that stood outside of the actual event of the fair itself.

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[1] "U.S. to Sponsor Ceylon Exhibit," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, January 15, 1961.

[2] "Kennedy Will Send Message for Exhibition."

[3] "It is particularly gratifying to me that this, my first message to the people of Ceylon as President of the United States, is one inviting you to participate with us in this event, which we hope will bring our nations closer together and further strengthen the bonds of friendship which unite us...You will see here the manner in which myriads of small businesses are woven into the fabric of the American economic system and how effectively this system works to enrich the lives of the individual citizens who make up our nation." "Kennedy's Message to People of Ceylon."

Figure 70

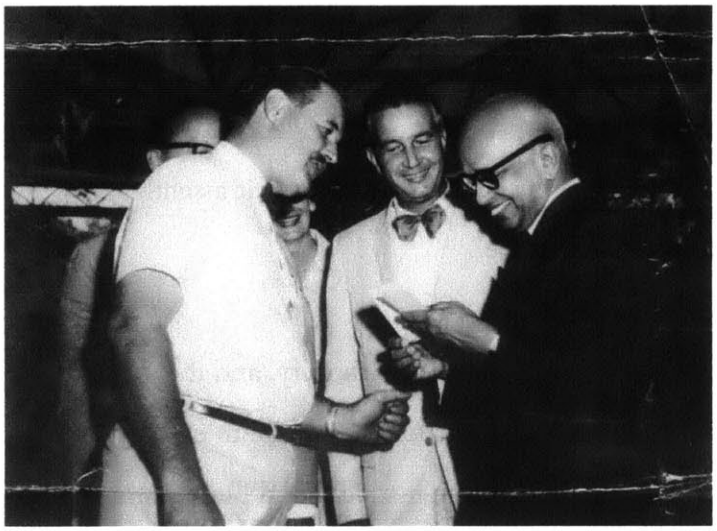

Figure 71

Figure 70
Photo of President John F. Kennedy on back of elephant Ambatale Kumanaya (descended from famous line of elephants that carried kings, nobles, and sacred relics of the Buddha), Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon, 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Figure 71
Ceylon Governor General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke looking at some of the pictures of himself developed with a Polaroid camera, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon, 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

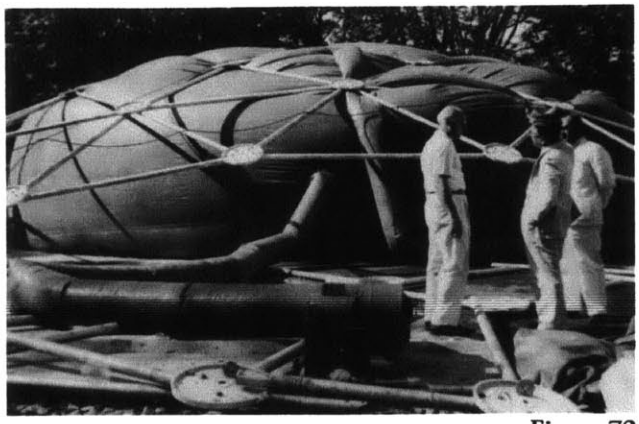

Figure 72

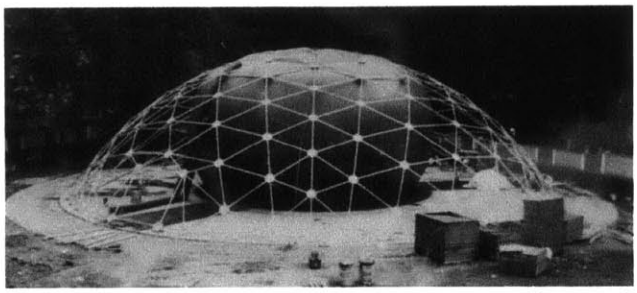

Figure 73

Figure 74

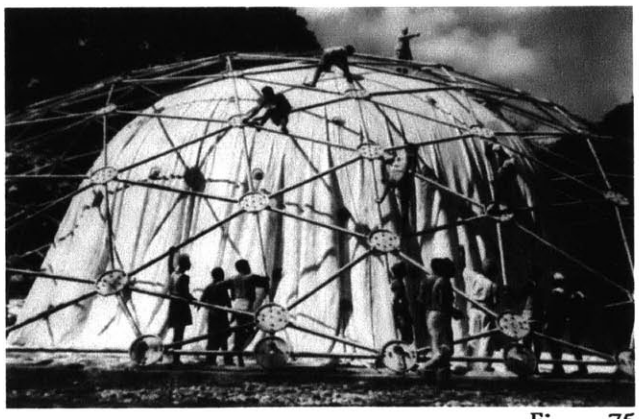

Figure 75

Figure 72, Figure 73, Figure 74, Figure 75
Assembling the Geodesic Dome housing the Circarama, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

Figure 76

Figure 77

Figure 76
Circarama, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon, 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka
Figure 77
Small Industries Exhibition, Accra, 1961
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

The Small Industries Exhibition was admittedly one of the more modest endeavours engineered by American propaganda teams during the Cold War, and its obscurity is owed in part to this modesty of scale, as well as the difficulty of measuring success despite the USIA's best efforts.[4] The exhibition was, and always is, intended primarily as a spectacle. From the Polaroid camera **(Figure 71)** and Circarama **(Figure 72-6)** in Ceylon to the go-karting equipment **(Figure 77)** in Ghana, the intention is to leave an impression that can be mentally replayed and recalled with pleasure.

Exploded into its constituent pieces, however, the Exhibition becomes an almost unreadable warren of historical and political mazes. Even the categorisation of industrial, agricultural, and spectacular pieces selected for purposes of this thesis risks being blind to the political and economic significance of the assemblage of these major pieces. The presence of a Circarama at an industrial fair, for example, is significant for a number of reasons.

Circarama

The films produced by the USIA for viewing in Circarama were intended to provide visual evidence of the wonders of the American system. These films would not have been created if not for a series of accusations in the 1940s that Hollywood was disseminating damaging notions about the USA to foreign audiences.[5] The film shown in Ceylon was similar[6] to that shown at the Brussels World Fair

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[4] *A Listing of Unclassified USIA Survey Research Reports: March 1955-July 1964* (Washington, D.C.: Research and Reference Service, United States Information Agency, 1964).

[5] For a thorough discussion of Walt Disney's role in producing film content for propaganda purposes, including the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Hollywood blacklist, see Sarah Nilsen, *Projecting America, 1958 Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair.* See also Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 26. andCull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 165.

[6] "The 22-minute film used shows the face of America covering locations across the entire country. Among these were New York City and its great harbour, vignettes of life in New England, the principal government buildings and monuments in Washington, D.C., Colonial Williamsburg, Detroit and the industrial regions around the Great Lakes, the agricultural Midwest, San Francisco and scenic wonders of the West. In the course of the picture one sees America's industry and commerce; highways and railroads; public schools, universities, and churches; livestock and agricultural crops; its great bridges, dams, and mines." "Circarama: A Wonderful Show," *Times of Ceylon*, January 21, 1961, sec. American Small Industries Exhibition Supplement. For a thorough discussion of Walt Disney's role in producing film content for propaganda purposes, including the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Hollywood blacklist, see Sarah Nilsen, *Projecting America, 1958 Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair.* See also Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 26. andCull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 165.

in 1958, if not the same piece.[7] The views of the U.S. were shot as though viewed while travelling in a car, which fitted in neatly with tropes of People's Capitalism, as well as displays including the driver trainer machine, auto repair shop, and machine shop at the Small Industries Exhibition. It epitomised the belief that 'dazzling gadgets' could only be a product of a democracy,[8] and that freedom was intrinsically linked to consumer choice.[9] It betrayed the fact that exhibition organisers saw the Ceylonese as potential consumers, despite the fact that in 1961 that the Ceylonese middle class was slender to non-existent.

It was also fitted into its own geodesic dome, a particularly striking object-object assemblage, given that the two objects were not built in tandem yet formally complemented each other. The Circarama was a popular feature with local fairgoers, taking in 500 people every 20 minutes to view the short film.[10] Curiously, USIA accounts of the Circarama in local newspapers were incredibly technical, describing briefly the wonders of America captured on film, but describing technical processes and material dimensions in laborious detail.[11] It contrasts with how local fairgoers enjoyed it purely for its "entertainment value,"[12] especially given that the television had not yet arrived in Ceylon (and would be introduced to the masses, again by the Americans, at the 1965 Ceylon Industrial Fair).

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[6] "The 22-minute film used shows the face of America covering locations across the entire country. Among these were New York City and its great harbour, vignettes of life in New England, the principal government buildings and monuments in Washington, D.C., Colonial Williamsburg, Detroit and the industrial regions around the Great Lakes, the agricultural Midwest, San Francisco and scenic wonders of the West. In the course of the picture one sees America's industry and commerce; highways and railroads; public schools, universities dges, dams and mines." "Circarama: A Wonderful Show."

[7] Nilsen, *Projecting America, 1958 Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair*, 75. Haddow, hoever, refers to the film as *America the Beautiful.* Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 110.

[8] Ibid., 64.

[9] W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth.* Quoted in Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 116.

[10] "Minister Opens U.S. Exhibition."

[11] For example: "The geodesic dome which houses Circarama is 28 feet high and 100 feet in diameter at the base, the circular viewing area is 48 feet in diameter. This viewing area is formed by a rigid framework of structural aluminium tubing which supports an elevated walkway five feet wide on which the eleven projectors are mounted. Around the inner circumference of this structure facing into the viewing area, eleven projection screens each 10 feet high and 13 feet long are mounted. ("Circarama: A Wonderful Show.") An equally technical account appears in "Work on U.S. Exhibition Almost Over." Local fairgoer "A.J.G" also paraphrases some of the technical descriptions in his review, "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama."

[12] "Doughnuts, Geodesic Domes and Circarama."

Despite their enjoyment of the panoramic film, however, Ceylonese suspicion is evident. Fairgoer A.J.G.'s comments on the Circarama are particularly telling:

> "This matter-of-fact description conveys no idea of the effect created by the circular motion picture. The viewer who stands in the middle of the theatre feels as if life is just flowing past him; indeed, as if he is himself taking part in the action, with people and vehicles making room for him. The only disadvantage is that he has only two eyes whose vision is confined to what happens in front of him. And the neck is not mobile enough to fast to follow the moving pictures. I almost got a crick in the neck by trying to do the impossible. Circarama is only an experiment, and its possibilities are limited to spectacle. It is just the thing to show us the face of America."[13]

His choice of words is curious; despite the positive description of his experience viewing the film, he dismisses it as 'an experiment' whose 'possibilities are limited to spectacle'. It appears almost as an insult, then, when he concludes that it is 'just the thing' to represent the USA.

Relatedly, Circarama also brings up the question of leisure, an issue at the heart of the tension between the labourer and the craftsman, embodied also in the gadget/AT divide. In an address to the Aspen Institute in 1958, the sociologist C. Wright Mills declared that

> The craftsman's way of livelihood determines and infuses his entire mode of living. For him there is no split of work and play, of work and culture. His work is the mainspring of his life; he does not flee from work into a separate sphere of leisure...[H]e expresses himself in the very act of creating economic value."[14]

Does the inclusion of the Circarama definitively signal the death of the craftsman? Not necessarily, although it both provides insight into notions of time in the U.S., and an underlying desperation in the war to 'win hearts and minds.' Read in tandem with the industrial objects that waver between gadget and 'appropriate technology', the Circarama serves as a means to read American anxieties about relationships of power and agency between workers and their machines, and the inevitable global projection of these concerns.

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty*, 226.

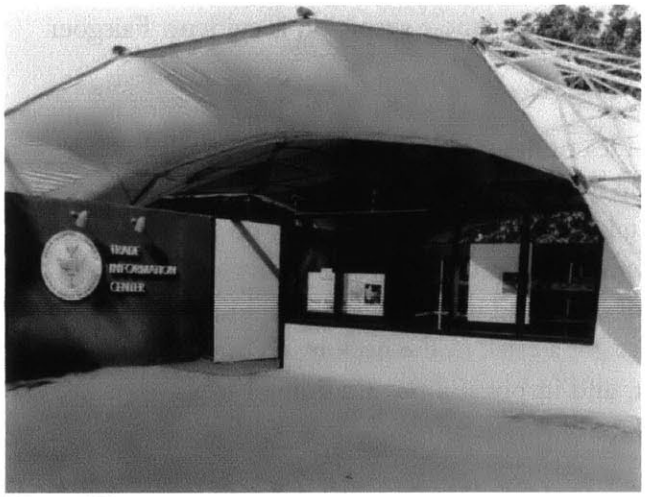

Figure 78

Figure 79

Figure 80

Figure 78, Figure 79, Figure 80
Views of the Trade Information Centre, Small Industries Exhibition, New Delhi, 1959
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

Trade and Labour Missions

The assemblage of the trade and labour missions **(Figures 78-80)** signals a significant moment in U.S. history, wherein business and labour interests found common ground in attempts of promote American consumerism and free enterprise abroad. Throughout the Great Depression and WWI the two groups clashed on issues including relationships between government and economy, functions and scope of the welfare state, and the role of unions in workplace management. However, the 1948 Taft-Hartley Act and an accompanying backlash against New Deal liberalism did much to attenuate tensions inherent in business-labour relations. Labour and business both embraced the idea that the federal government should ensure sustained economic growth and minimal expansion of the welfare state. These affinities inspired a partnership vital for U.S. international information programmes promoting liberal capitalism, free trade, and consumption.[15] Trade missions originally travelled as independent units; their fusion with interactive displays and entertainment was its own shrewd assemblage. An analysis of the Ceylonese labour unions also yields significant results. For example, contrary to their characterisations by American officials, labour unionism has been used by the 'right-wing' UNP and 'left-wing' SLFP, not only the Marxists, and has not had as great an impact on political life as exhibition reports would suggest.[16] These political manoeuvres indicate a significant inadequacy of language to describe many political machinations outside the USA and the mistake of conflating regions. It is also important to note that their roots were also in the plantation economy, given that trade unions emerged in the 19th century, before industrialisation. The island inherited some of its colonial infrastructures without their underlying impetus.

This thesis has touched upon a range of histories: industrial objects and their global dispersal, overlapping indigenous and international histories of modernisation, agricultural production and its ideologies, spectacle and consumption in the form of the exposition. Despite its modest status in the array of USIA exhibitions prepared during the Cold War, the Small Industries Exhibition influenced and was shaped by the multifarious movements and moments outlined above which appeared to take

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[15] Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*, 118.

[16] Robert N. Kearney, *Trade Unions and Politics in Ceylon. University of California Press, 1972.*

place independently but coalesced in the space of the exhibition to produce an event and an object worth studying. The exhibition was admittedly a contrived event, drawing together apparently unlikely political systems and technological spectacles. Pulling apart the pieces yields an appreciation of the contingent, the butterfly effects unexpected events, the illusion of control in the midst of chaos, and the richness of points of historical intersection, both those that appear coherent and those that elicit incredulity.

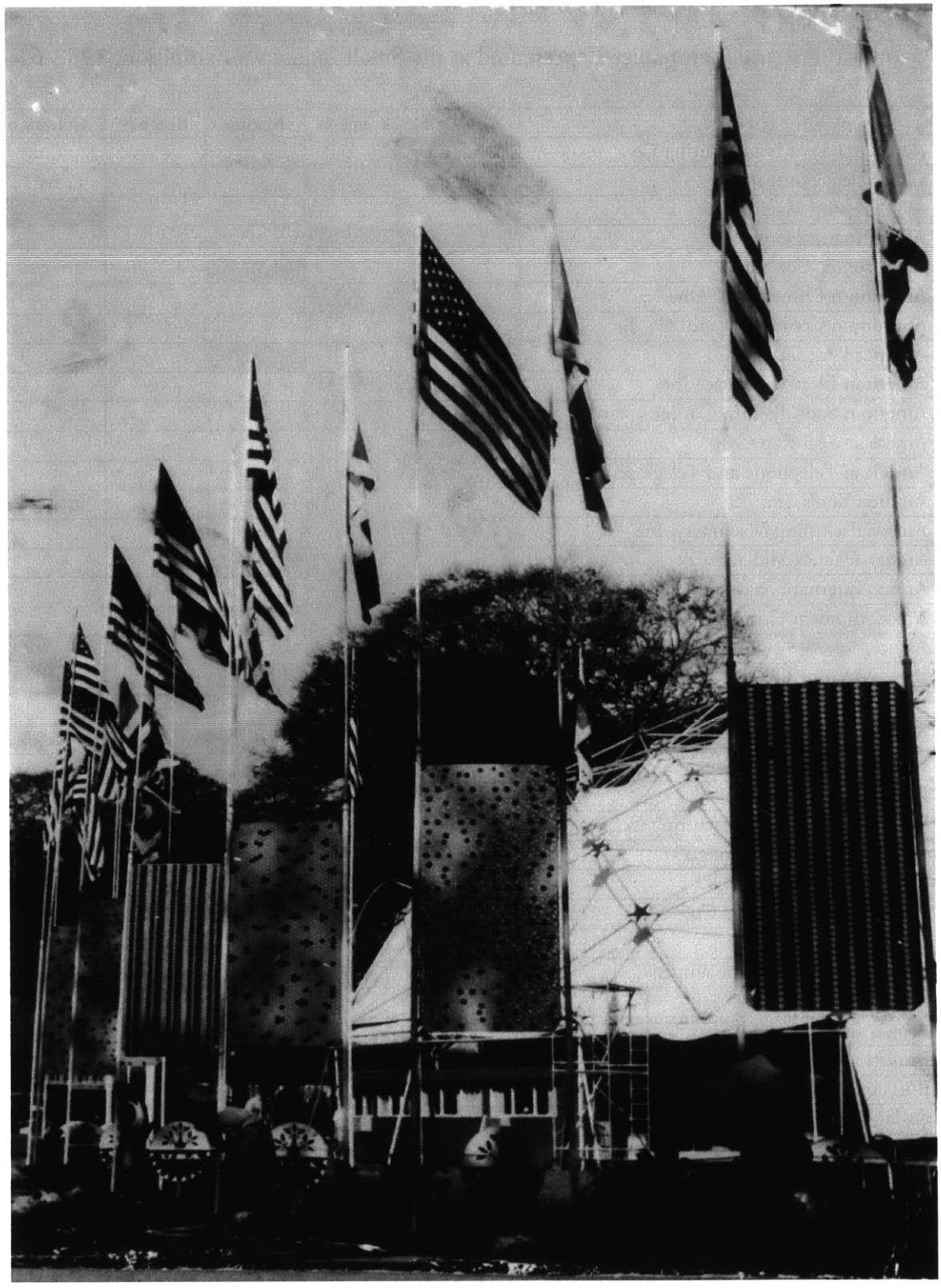

Figure 81
American and Sri Lankan flags circling the main industrial dome, Small Industries Exhibition, Ceylon, 1961
Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka

APPENDIX I

Manufacturers and Companies Represented at the Small Industries Exhibition, 1958-61

FIRM	New Delhi	Calcutta	Madras	Bombay	Colombo	Accra
Accurate Parts Manufacturing Co	■	■	■			
Carl Ahlers Company		■				
Ajax Pressing Machine Co					■	
Alloy Products Corp	■	■				
Albertson & Co, Inc			■			
Aluminum Company of America	■	■				
Aluminum Cooking Utensil Co, Inc	■					
American Art Clay Co			■			
American Electric Furnace Inc	■	■				
American Sand-Banum Co, Inc		■				
American Seal-Kap Corp	■	■				
American Telephone and Telegraph Co	■	■				
Ammco Tools, Inc		■				
Amsco Packaging Machinery, Inc	■	■				
Archer-Daniels Midland Co	■	■	■			
Armco International Corp	■	■				
Aro Equipment Corp	■	■	■			
Association for Applied Solar Energy	■	■				
Baird Machine Co			■		■	
Baker and Co, Inc	■	■				
Bausch and Lomb Optical Co	■	■				
Bead Chain Manufacturing Co	■	■				
Bear Manufacturing Co	■	■				
Black & Decker Manufacturing Co			■			
Blackhawk Manufacturing Co	■	■	■			
E.W. Bliss Co			■			
Bock Laundry Machine Co	■					
Boice-Crane Company			■			
Bonney Forge and Tool Works	■	■				
Brodhead-Garrett Co			■			
Brown and Sharpe Mfg Co			■			
Brunner Manufacturing Co	■	■				
Buffalo Forge Co			■			
Cedar Rapids Engineering Co	■	■	■			
Central Soya Co, Inc			■			
Chicago Rivet and Machine Co	■	■	■			
H.C. Christians Co	■					
Circo Equipment Co			■			
Clayton Manufacturing Co	■	■	■			
Coleman Co, Inc	■	■	■		■	
Coleman Lamp and Stove Co, Ltd	■	■	■			
Columbian Vise and Manufacturing Co	■	■	■			
Covel Mfg Co					■	
Craftools, Inc			■			

Dairy Society International						
Dake Corp						
Dambrow Brothers Company						
Detex Watch Clock Corporation						
Henry G. Disston & Sons, Inc						
Diversey Corp						
DoAll Co						
Dodge and Seymour, Ltd						
Allen B. Du Mont Laboratories, Inc						
Electroloy Co, Inc						
Emmert Manufacturing Co						
Engelhard Industries, Inc						
Easterbrook Pen Co						
Eastern Products						
Farmer City Grain Co						
J.W. Fecher, Inc						
Fisher Flouring Mills Company						
Food Machinery and Chemical Corp						
Foote and Jenks, Inc						
General Dairy Equipment, Inc						
General Mills						
General Time Corp						
Germantown Manufacturing Co						
Gilbert and Barker Manufacturing Co						
Girton Manufacturing Co						
Bill Glover, Inc						
Greenfield Tap and Die Corporation						
Harig Manufacturing Co						
Hobart Manufacturing Co						
Hoffman Electronics						
R.M. Hollingshead						
Honeymead Products Co						
E.F. Houghton & Co						
Hoyt Mfg Co						
Huebsch Mfg. Co						
Hupp International						
Hyster Corp						
ICA						
International Dairy Engineering						
Jackson Lumber Harvester Co						
King Tester Corp						
The King Zeero Co						
Kirkhof Manufacturing Co						
Krispy Kreme Doughnut Corp						
Kusel Dairy Equipment Co						
Lempco International, Inc						
Lincoln Electric Co						
Lindberg Engineering Co						

Manitowoc Engineering Corp						
Manning, Maxwell & Moore, Inc						
Manton-Gaulin Manufacturing Co						
Marathon Corp						
Marquette Manufacturing Co						
Masters Mfg Co						
May Brothers Mfg Co, Inc						
Metallizing Engineering Co, Inc						
Miller Electric Mfg Co, Inc						
Millers Falls Co						
Monitor Dispenser Co, Inc						
Paul E. Moss & Co, Inc						
National Combustion Co						
National Welding Equipment Co						
Nebraska Assn of Wheat Growers						
New Hermes						
Nicholson File International S.A.						
Nichols-Morris Corporation						
David Michael and Co, Inc						
Oliver Machinery Co						
O'Neil-Irwin Manufacturing Co						
Orr & Sembower, Inc						
Owens-illinois Glass Co, Inc						
Pantex Mfg Corp						
Peck Stow & Wilcox Co						
Pratt and Whitney Co, Inc						
Precision Welding & Machine Co						
Raytheon Manufacturing Co						
Resistance Welder Manufacturers Assn						
Tom B. Roberts Co						
Rockwell Manufacturing Co						
Sanford Manufacturing Co						
Savage Arms Corp						
Saylor-Beall Manufacturing Co						
Sel-Rex Corp						
Seth Thomas Clocks (Division of General Times Corporation)						
Sheldon Machine Co						
Singer Manufacturing Co						
Singer Products, Inc (Sin-Par Automotive Division)						
Simpson Electric Co						
Snap-On Tools Co						
M.L. Snyder and Son						
South Bend Lathe Works						
Southern Oxygen Co						
Soybean Council of America						
Sparta Brush Co, Inc						

Spencer Kellogg & Son						
A.E. Staley Manufacturing Co						
Stanley Works (Stanley Electric Tools Div)						
L.S. Starrett Co						
Storm Vulcan, Inc						
Sun Electric Corp						
Sunnen Products Co						
Sweden Freezer Manufacturing Co						
Swift Ohio Corp						
Taylor Instrument Companies						
Taylor-Winfield Corp						
Emery Thompson Machine & Supply Co						
Toledo Scale Corporation						
Tobin-Arp Mfg Co						
Tyler Refrigeration Corp						
Washington Assn of Wheat Growers						
Union Carbide International Co						
University of Wisconsin						
U.S. Industries, Inc						
Van Dorn Iron Works Co						
Van Norman Automotive Equipment Co						
Vapor International Corp, Ltd						
Waukesha Foundry Co						
Wichita Precision Tool Co, Inc						
M. Wildstein & Sons						
Wilson Refrigeration, Inc						
John Wood Co						
Yale and Towne Mfg Co						
John Yellott Associates						
Yuba Power Products, Inc						
Zenith Radio Corp						

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