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ELEVENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT OF UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION

LETTER

FROM

CHAIRMAN, THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION

TRANSMITTING

THE ELEVENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION, DATED MARCH 1956, PURSUANT TO SECTION 603 OF PUBLIC LAW 402, 80TH CONGRESS

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY
COMMISSION ON INFORMATION,
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY,
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN,
Washington 25, D. C., April 11, 1956.

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I transmit herewith copy of the Eleventh Semiannual Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, dated March 1956. This report is required by section 603 of Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

A copy of this report also is being sent to the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

MARK A. MAY,

Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Information.

(Enclosure: Eleventh Semiannual Report of the U. S. Advisory Commission on Information.)

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

To the Congress of the United States:

The United States Advisory Commission on Information was created by the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act (Public Law 402) enacted by the 80th Congress on January 27, 1948. This act requires this Commission to transmit to the Congress a semiannual report on all the policies and programs carried on under the authority of the act, including appraisals, where feasible, as to the effectiveness of the several programs and such recommendations as shall have been made to the Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) for effectuating the purposes and objectives of the act and action taken to carry out such recommendations.

In accordance with the act the members of this Commission serve without pay and represent a cross section of professional and business experience in the communications field. The members are: Mark A. May (chairman), director of the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass.; Sigurd S. Larmon, president of Young & Rubicam, Inc., advertising, New York City; Judge Justin Miller (former chairman of the board and general counsel of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters), Pacific Palisades, Calif.; and Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of General Electric Co., New York City.

On January 6, 1956, Judge Justin Miller submitted his resignation from the Commission to the President. It was accepted by the President with regret and appreciation for his years of loyal service. Judge Miller was a member of the Commission from its inception in 1948. In 1950, he organized the Broadcast Advisory Committee and was its Chairman until the date of his resignation. The undersigned members of this Commission wish to record their high regard for the many valuable contributions which he made to the deliberations of the Commission and its reports, both to the Congress and to the Director.

Although the United States Information Agency in Washington is an independent agency, in the field its officers constitute an integral part of the United States embassy and/or consulate. The major duties performed by these officers are considered by Ambassadors generally as necessary to the overall functions of the American mission.

This report covers the work of the Commission for the calendar year 1955. During the year it held six meetings: January 17, March 30, June 30, August 29, October 10, and December 8.

At its meetings, the Commission heard reports from Mr. Streibert and members of his staff on various aspects of the United States Information Service (USIS) program; it has also given consideration to a redefinition of duties and responsibilities of the Commission. It has submitted to the Director certain recommendations concerning

improvements in the organization and has prepared a document setting forth its own terms of reference.

During April–May 1955, two members of the Commission, Messrs. Sigurd S. Larmon and Philip D. Reed, made survey trips to the Near and Far East and surveyed USIS operations in the countries visited.

A third member of the Commission, Mr. Erwin D. Canham, was in Tokyo in May 1955 and in Rome in September 1955, and had an opportunity to survey USIS operations at these posts.

Since 1953, when USIA became an independent agency, the Commission has become more and more conscious of its need for a larger professional staff. During most of the year we were fortunate in securing the part-time services of Mr. Harlan Logan as a consultant. Mr. Logan was until recently director of public relations of the Corning Glass Works. We record our gratitude to Mr. Amory Houghton, chairman of that company, for making available to us part of the valuable time of Mr. Logan. Mr. Logan has moved to a new position as vice president, personnel administration and public relations, of General Foods, Inc., and we are glad to report that he will continue to give a limited amount of time to the Commission.

Advisory committees: Public Law 402 authorizes the Director of the Agency—

> * * * to create, with the approval of the Commission on Information, such advisory committees as the Director may decide to be of assistance in formulating his policies for carrying out the purposes of this Act * * *.

In order to keep the advisory work of these committees related to that of this Commission, each committee has as its chairman a member of the Commission. Mr. Miller was Chairman of the Broadcast Advisory Committee. Its present members are: Robert T. Colwell, vice president of Sullivan, Stauffer, Colwell & Bayles, Inc., advertising, New York City; Donley F. Feddersen, chairman, department of radio and television, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; Raymond F. Guy, manager, radio and allocations engineering, National Broadcasting Co., New York City; Jack W. Harris, vice president and general manager of Radio Station KPRC, Houston, Tex.; Henry P. Johnston, president and managing director of Radio Stations WAPI, WAFM, and WABT, Birmingham, Ala.; Frank L. Marx, vice president, American Broadcasting Co., New York City; Joseph A. McDonald, treasurer, National Broadcasting Co., Inc., New York City; Howard S. Meighan, vice president of CBS Television City, Hollywood, Calif.; Stanley R. Pratt, Jr., president of Station WSOO, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.; and Chris J. Witting, vice president, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. May is Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad. Its present members are: George P. Brett, Jr., president of the Macmillan Co., New York City; Robert L. Crowell, president of Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York City; Robert B. Downs, director of libraries, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.; Charles W. Ferguson, Sr., editor of Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Freeman Lewis, executive vice president, Pocket Books, Inc., New York City; Keyes D. Metcalf, former director of libraries, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; and Charles E. Odegaard, dean, College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

A third committee, Business Council for International Understanding, has been organized with Mr. Larmon as Chairman.

In our view, the time and attention given to the work of USIA by these committees of citizens is of great value. The recommendations of these committees to the Director, USIA, are reported in part II of this report.

The Broadcast Advisory Committee held four meetings during the year. It has been most actively concerned with the tremendous potential of television as an information medium throughout the world. It has made specific recommendations to the Director on budget and plans for the development of television by the Agency.

The Advisory Committee on Books Abroad held four meetings during the year. The main programs on which the committee advised and assisted the Agency were—

1. Distribution of American books abroad.
2. Informational media guaranty program.

At its last meeting of the year on December 9, the Honorable Michael A. Feighan, Congressman from the 20th District, Cleveland, Ohio, reported on his recent trip to the Far East where he observed the distribution of Communist and other books through commerical channels.

Respectfully submitted.

MARK A. MAY, *Chairman.*
ERWIN D. CANHAM.
SIGURD LARMON.
PHILIP D. REED.

CONTENTS

	Page
Letter of submittal	III
I. An appraisal of the need for and of the work of the United States Information Agency	2
II. Recommendations to the Director and actions taken on them	16
III. Recommendations to the Congress	19
IV. Appendix A	22
V. Appendix B	26

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ELEVENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION

This report is divided into three parts:

I. An appraisal of the need for and of the work of the United States Information Agency.

II. Recommendations to the Director and actions taken on them.

III. Recommendations to the Congress.

Part I

We address outselves to these topics:

1. The present challenge.
2. The tasks that lie ahead.
3. The capacity of USIA to meet the challenge and perform the tasks.
4. Aid received and needed from private industry and nongovernmental organizations.
5. Evidence of effectiveness.

Part II

We have recommended to the Director—

1. That more attention be given to program content and planning.
2. That the organizational structure of the Agency be reexamined.
3. That an Advisory Committee on Private Cooperation be established.
4. That a task force, consisting of representatives of the United States Information Agency and the Department of State, be appointed to study their respective programs of cultural affairs.
5. The appointment of a task force for increasing the distribution of American books abroad.
6. Recommendation on television.
7. Formulate program (with State, Commerce, and interested private organizations) to increase the flow of overseas visitors to the United States.
8. Status and effectiveness of the Commission.

Part III

Recommendations to the Congress—

1. That the 84th Congress, 2d session, appoint a joint House-Senate Committee on International Information.
2. That certain sections of Public Law 402, pertaining to the composition and work of the Commission, be amended.

3. That the name of the organization be changed from United States Information Agency (USIA) to United States Information Service (USIS).

4. That the legislation requested by the United States Information Agency for the establishment of a career service for its overseas personnel be enacted.

5. That appropriations to USIA for an increase in the distribution abroad of low-priced American books be substantially increased as requested.

6. In considering the request of the Agency for increase in appropriations for its various programs and informational campaigns, suggest that consideration be given to the tasks which face the Agency.

PART I. APPRAISAL OF NEED FOR AND OF WORK OF USIA

1. The present challenge

The events of 1955 have made it clear that the case of communism versus freedom will be tried in the court of world opinion. It will be a very difficult trial. To win it the United States must prepare and present its side of the case with the greatest possible skill. The Government must continue to recruit, train, support, and hold its very best talent. It must marshal convincing proof of its case and continue to improve the existing apparatus for reaching the eyes and ears of large populations of peoples of many languages, diverse religions, and different cultures. To make effective its communications with them, the United States Government must strive to understand their cultures, their ideals, aspirations, and systems of values; and help them to meet the menace of communism in their ways. At home and in an election year, careful consideration should be given to the possible good or bad effects in the court of world opinion of public utterances.

The gradual realization on the part of the Russians that the case cannot be settled by war came to a head at the Summit Conference in July 1955. After the failure of the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Geneva in October, Khrushchev and Bulganin lost no time in carrying their side of the case to the court of public opinion in India, Burma, and Afghanistan. They have announced an apparent reduction in their military forces but have said nothing about their propaganda effort. And, just to keep our side guessing, Bulganin announced, toward the end of the year, that an atomic war is still a distinct possibility.

Lenin said that the road to the goal of world communism is not straight. To reach it the Communists must zigzag. The United States must never be deceived by their zigs and zags, nor must the United States merely react defensively to Soviet tactics. It must push forward with strong affirmative programs.

In order to see more clearly the nature of the tasks which lie ahead, it must anticipate as accurately as possible the moves and tactics of its opponents. We can be reasonably certain that for the next year or longer the case for communism will be presented to the court of world opinion in the following ways:

(1) It will be presented with a smile. During the Stalin period, the truculent and remote figure of the marshal was a major propaganda advantage to the West. But Messrs. Khrushchev, Bulganin, and

their colleagues have changed all that. They are now—or have been—ambassadors of good will in the world, though it is clear that the objectives of Soviet policy have not changed significantly. A smiling Soviet leader is a far more formidable opponent than a scowling one.

(2) They will continue to present their case in the so-called spirit of Geneva, which ever since the summit meeting has been overworked as a Soviet propaganda theme. They will try to make people all over the world believe that the spirit of Geneva is the harbinger of a stable peace. One purpose of this is to weaken the foundations of our treaty organizations, particularly NATO, by the attempt to dispel the fear of military aggression.

(3) An important part of the strategy of the Russians for presenting the case of communism in the court of world opinion will be an attempt to show that the Communist form of government not only gives people a higher standard of living economically, but results in the development of a much higher level of culture and education than is possible under the capitalist system. We may expect therefore in 1956 many more glittering displays than heretofore in the Communist showcase of culture. More delegations will be officially invited to Russia to see this showcase and a larger number of Russians who have dramatic, musical, and other talents, including indoor and outdoor sports, will be sent forth as specimens of Soviet culture.

(4) They will make greater use of front organizations, such as Soviet friendship societies. In the past these groups have been very effective in spreading communism by personal contacts.

(5) The leaders of Communist parties in France, Italy, Japan, and other countries will seek political alliances with leftist parties under the slogan of "Unity of the Left." This is clearly a zigzag, because the hard-core Communists have for many years despised the Socialist reformers.

(6) They will try to win friends in the free world by offering economic aid in the form of loans and in connection with what Khrushchev has called the national liberation movement on the part of peoples emerging from colonialism. They will exploit to the fullest degree political and economic unrest wherever it may be.

(7) A central propaganda theme will be "peaceful coexistence" and respect for sovereignty. To strengthen their alliance with Red China they will endeavor to present their satellites as free and independent countries who have chosen Communist ideology.

Other items could be added to this list. One is that we may expect surprises from the Russians. They will continue to zigzag.

The task of the United States is not only to counter these moves and propaganda lines but to advance some bold,imaginative, and constructive moves and themes of its own within the framework of forward planning.

By their acts and pronouncements in 1955, the Russian leaders have made clear that the United States Government, more than ever before in its history, needs an apparatus such as USIA for rapid and continuous communications with leaders and large masses of people throughout the world. Our military defenses, strong as they are, our economic aid to others much as it is needed, our diplomacy clever as it may be, are not in themselves enough to assure our national security. The effectiveness of our defenses, economic aid, and diplomacy depend

to a large extent on how our acts and words are understood—the meaning they have to others.

2. The tasks that lie ahead

First, let it be said that the tasks of the USIA are determined to some degree by the nature and extent of its responsibilities. This Agency is not merely an apparatus for explaining to peoples of other countries the policies, positions, and purposes of the United States Government, for delineating those aspects of the life and culture of the people of the United States that will provide a background for a better understanding of its foreign policies and for unmasking Communist propaganda. Its task is obviously that of doing the best job that can be done with what it has to work with. Its responsibilities extend beyond those of operating a transmitting apparatus. It must share with other Government agencies the larger tasks of shaping the policies and, particularly, the pronouncements of the United States Government. As will be pointed out later in this report, significant progress has been made along these lines during the past year.

From the beginning this Commission has maintained if the international information agency is to discharge its proper functions, it must have some part in the development of policies and some responsibility for the language in which they are couched and announced. USIA is regarded by this Commission as a member of a task force for the work that must be done on the tasks outlined in the paragraphs that follow.

(1) The foundations of the treaty organizations NATO and SEATO must be strengthened. These alliances for collective security for political and economic cooperation rest to some degree on a foundation of fear of Communist military aggression, such as occurred in Korea. But the relaxation of tensions following the Summit meeting at Geneva dispelled much of this fear, with the result that many people and some leaders in the countries with which the United States has treaty alliances have accepted the Communist propaganda line that these alliances are not only unnecessary but a stumbling block to further peaceful negotiations between East and West. (See the report in Time magazine for Feb. 1, 1956.)

The dual problem is how to prevent our allies from being lulled into a mistaken belief that the danger of armed aggression by the Communists, and particularly by Red China over the Formosa question, is past, but also to implement the political and economic aspects of treaty organizations. At the same time these people must remain convinced that the collective military strength of free nations will be used only in defense of freedom.

The accomplishment of this task will require deeds as well as words. What these deeds might be is beyond the scope of this report. Insofar as it can be accomplished by words, USIA has already demonstrated its capacity to help other countries build public opinion in support of the formation of alliances for collective security. The output of the Agency will continue to stress some of the basic facts in the case such as these: (1) These alliances are genuine partnerships, not dominated or "run" by any one of the partners; (2) they have proved to be very effective "positions of strength" for dealing with problems of communism; (3) they represent a much needed type of unity and strength of free nations which at the present cannot be achieved by the United Nations Organization.

While the fear of a common aggression is a very strong motivation for a common defense by a group of nations with all that it entails in the way of harmony and cooperation, yet fear is not a lasting foundation. The more enduring foundations of peaceful and productive cooperation between nations are cultural ties, and recognition of economic interdependence. Thus an important task of USIA will continue to be that of promoting the interchange of culture as represented by music, drama, art exhibits, books, trade fairs, and more international travel by United States citizens.

(2) A second task stems from the fact that large segments of the population of the world still entertains fears that the United States will use her vast military power and stockpile of atomic weapons for starting a war while she is still out ahead of Russia and her satellites in the arms race, or else she will be provoked into a war by some "border incident," or by the boiling over of some hotspot like Berlin. Although we have no statistics on how widely this view is held, or of the importance of the people who hold it, yet we are sure that it is a major theme of propaganda by the Communists and that wide publicity has been given to the fact that the United States does have great atomic power.

There is no doubt but that USIA is faced with the very formidable dilemma of convincing a great many people—some of whom are at present in positions of power and responsibility—that the people and the Government of the United States genuinely and sincerely desire peace and will go to great lengths to avoid war, yet, at the same time making it clear that we will resist Communist aggression as we did in Korea. Furthermore, there is the task of convincing many people that the greatest menace to the peace of the world is Communist imperialism. The claims of Red China on Nationalist China, the announcement by Khrushchev that the danger of an atomic war has not passed, show clearly who it is that is the menace to peace.

Here again the effectiveness of the work of USIA in this task depends in large part on the solid substance that is provided for its messages. President Eisenhower's proposals for the peaceful uses of atomic energy opened up a vast and rapidly developing source of information. In our opinion, USIA has done a splendid job, and has the capacity for continuing it, nor only for showing the potentials for peaceful uses of atomic energy but also for convincing a great many people of the leadership of the United States along this road to peace.

The President's "open sky" proposal as a first step toward disarmament is further proof of the peaceful intentions of the United States.

The USIA has already prepared an exhibit explaining this idea and and how it could work. At the same time, the obstacles to achieving genuine disarmament are pointed out. If Russia should accept this proposal, then task No. 1, indicated above, would become harder.

(3) A third task arises from the fact that the lives of one-third of the world's population are managed by Communist dictators. Having experienced the oppressive yoke of economic "collectives," and having been denied common civil liberties—even the freedom of silence as one Chinese put it—thousands of them have in the past few years escaped to freedom; and millions of those who have stayed behind live in hope of greater freedom, if not for themselves, then for their children. These people may well deserve a considerable share

of the credit for the fact that the Soviet imperialists have been deterred from military agression. The question is what can be done to help these friends of freedom.

The Communist leaders and propagandists have shown extreme sensitivity to such phrases as "slave labor," "satellite governments," "Red colonialism," and "thought control." They realize, no doubt, the historic momentum of the "March of freedom" in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere in the past 300 to 400 years. Try as they may to avoid or sidestep it, the basic issue of communism versus democracy is the age-old one of human freedom versus human slavery. The court of world opinion will not accept this as the real issue unless the people and the Government of the United States are prepared to stand squarely by the friends of freedom wherever they may be.

In recent months the Russians have been emphasizing the possibilities of "peaceful coexistence" between their orbit and the free world on the basis of the political status quo. We are asked to recognize the legitimacy of their control over their satellites and particularly over East Germany. Having rejected this proposal, the USIA has the job of explaining why. It has the further job of explaining why we believe that freedom of all men is an essential condition of a lasting peace, and why we believe that this freedom will be achieved in time by peaceful means. This is not going to be an easy task, but the Agency has taken it on. How it will be handled has not been fully worked out.

(4) A fourth task of USIA arises out of programs of economic aid to newly developing countries. The problem of explaining to people why this aid is given is an old one. The thing that is new about it is the fact that Russia has recently announced her intentions of giving economic aid to other countries as a part of a national liberation movement. The purpose of this movement is to take advantage of old resentments, to create chaos, and pave the way for further despotism. USIA now has the double duty of not only explaining our aid, but of showing the real purpose behind and the strings attached to aid from Russia.

Ever since the Marshall plan was launched, there has been a growing feeling on the part of many Americans that the amount of understanding that has come to the United States for these billions of aid has been disappointedly small, although the returns in terms of economic restoration and political stability have been substantial.

Recently USIA, in cooperation with the Advertising Council of America, and with other agencies of the Government, have come up with a new approach to this problem. The real purpose of foreign aid is not to buy friendship. Its real purpose is to demonstrate to people how, by their own efforts, they can achieve their aspirations for higher standards of living and retain their freedom and self-respect. The Communists, on the other hand, wish them to believe that the road to their national aspirations is first a Communist government, with a dictator at its head, and a 5-year plan. The issue is between two roads to the goals of national aspirations.

The Communist propagandists have beclouded and befouled the issue of communism versus capitalism by misrepresenting capitalism as it exists in the United States and in countries of the free world. The capitalism against which Marx wrote has never really existed in the United States. Our brand of capitalism is something quite

different. USIA calls it "people's capitalism." We heartily agree that the United States has a very thrilling and convincing story to tell the world—particularly to the people who are beginning to industrialize—of how American industry, in a very real sense, is dependent on the needs, wants, and buying power of the people, and how they share in the ownership of banks, businesses, and factories.

(5) Neutralism presents a twofold problem to USIA.

One phase of the problem arises from the fact that neutralist countries, to be consistent, must give each side an equal opportunity to state its case in the local press, theater, and forums of debate; or completely disallow either side to conduct information programs. In either case, USIS does not receive much help or encouragement from Government officials, yet it may often have very friendly relations with local editors and other leaders of public opinion.

A second aspect of the problem is that in most of these so-called "uncommitted" countries, there is a Communist Party, which may be small but none the less vociferous. Although other parties may be opposed to the Communist Party in the way that political parties are generally opposed to each other, yet there is usually no avowedly pro-western or pro-American party in the sense that the Communist Party is known to be pro-Russian, and pro-Red China.

In our judgment, USIA has not discovered altogether effective methods of presenting its case to neutralist peoples. It has, however, decided to maintain a calm, objective tone and make no reply to harsh anti-United States diatribes in kind. It also is using in these countries a positive approach—standing for the great democratic values like free speech, the dignity of the individual, civic liberties, etc. The scientific and cultural achievements of the western world are presented but not necessarily in competition with the Russian cultural offensive.

(6) The cultural offensive of Russia, launched before Stalin died, is essentially an exhibit of the products of communism in the fields of art, music, drama, science, technology, and sports. Its purpose is twofold: First, it aims to demonstrate the finer fruits of communism to peoples who aspire to greater cultural achievements; and, second, create a more favorable image of a Russian in the minds of those who have come to think of him as an uncouth ruffian. There is nothing new about this offensive, except that some aspects of it have been intensified in recent months. For one thing, the Russians are stepping up their subsidized program of translation and distribution abroad of low-cost books. In some countries, their cultural offensive is aimed specifically at particular groups which nearly always include university students. The assaults on the citadels of learning, which Stalin said the Communists must storm and take, are renewed with greater fervor.

More than a year ago, USIA recognized the need for a greater effort in the field of cultural affairs. The purpose was not only to counter the Russian cultural offensive but also to build a foundation or background for a better understanding of our foreign policies. The appropriation by Congress of the President's emergency fund provided the financial support needed for sending abroad a fair cross section of American artists and musicians.

By agreement between the United States and the U. S. S. R., the magazine America will again be published and circulated in Russia. In return a similar Russian magazine will be circulated in the United

States. There remains the problem of extending further this exchange of books, magazines, and other materials.

Certain of the Agency's cultural activities are scheduled to be increased. One is its program of translation and distribution of low-cost American books.

The content of the output of informational materials by radio, television, press, motion pictures, and by direct personal contacts is controlled largely by these major problems. Some of it, however, exploits blunders and weakness in Communist propaganda. For example, USIA gave wide publicity to the unity of the Western Powers at the Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting at Geneva, and to the responsibility of the Russians for their failure to follow through on the "Spirit of Geneva."

These are some of the major tasks which the USIA must perform either by its own efforts or in cooperation with other agencies at home and abroad. The list given here is illustrative rather than exhaustive.

3. The capacity of USIA to meet the challenge and perform the tasks

During the year, substantial improvements have been made in the organization of the United States Information Agency.

First, the Director has been appointed a regular voting member of the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB). He has been invited by the President to attend the meetings of the National Security Council (NSC). A representative of the Agency has been invited to attend the meetings of the Planning Board of the NSC. Through these arrangements, the Director and top members of his staff are brought into frequent contact with representatives from other agencies who are concerned in the various aspects—military, diplomatic, cultural, economic—of national defense and international affairs. Thus the Agency is not only kept abreast of all advance planning, but has a proper part in it. An important byproduct of these contacts at high levels is that the Agency has an opportunity to "educate" their colleagues on the importance of the effects of policies, pronouncements, and actions on public opinion throughout the world.

Second, recognizing the primacy of the Department of State for the formation of foreign policies that are recommended to the President, USIA maintains daily contacts with the Department through its Office of Policy and Programs. When the United States Information Agency was taken out of the Department of State, there was a serious question as to how the matter of policy guidance in Washington and relations of USIS personnel to embassies abroad would be handled. Both have worked out extremely well.

One problem is that of USIA's relations with the Department of State as to the jurisdiction over responsibilities for certain cultural affairs. A task force worked out a plan which was agreed to at high levels on both sides, but we understand that it has encountered certain frictions at lower echelons.

Third, another important improvement in the organization that is well on toward completion is the establishment of the Office of Research and Intelligence. The main task of this Office is to collect from a wide range of sources, organize, digest, and distribute information that is relevant to the work of the Agency. Its policy is similar to that of the FBI—it collects but does not evaluate information. Evaluation is a function that belongs to each of the department heads, to the public affairs officers in the field, and above all to the Director.

The Office has close working relations with CIA, and the Intelligence Sections of the Departments of State and Defense.

Fourth, during the year, the Division of Personnel was thoroughly overhauled. The Agency was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. L. K. Little as its Personnel Director. Under his guidance, new programs of recruitment, training, and placement of personnel have been instituted. It is our impression that there has been a substantial improvement in the caliber of the staff, both in Washington and in the field. The proposed new legislation for establishing a career service for the USIA overseas personnel will result, we are sure, in still further advancement in the professional competency of the staff.

Fifth, in previous reports we have called attention to the lack of uniformity among American embassies in the matter of diplomatic status for USIS personnel. We are pleased to learn that significant progress has been made by working cooperatively with representatives of the Department of State.

Sixth, USIA has a great capacity for output and has developed an organization for reaching one-third of the world's population.

The daily output of USIA is truly tremendous. The Voice of America broadcasts daily at the rate of 100 words a minute or 6,000 an hour for 24 hours, in 38 different languages. The wireless file averages 6,000 words a day. Add to this the weekly output of printed materials, including books, pamphlets, photos, exhibits, and the monthly output of motion pictures, and the total reaches almost astronomical proportions. In the face of this large output, we believe there is need for a more adequate review for the purpose of securing the highest degree of relevancy to the major tasks of the Agency.

With these improvements, the Agency has earned a reputation of being well organized and competently administered. There will always be room for further improvement. Some aspects of the present organization, which were essential when the Agency was in the process of establishing its independence, have become outmoded. This Commission has made certain recommendations to the Director concerning organizational improvement. These are set forth in part II of this report.

4. Aids and hindrances to USIA in the performance of its duties

Although the major responsibility for the performance of the tasks indicated in section 2 is that of USIA, yet its success will depend to a large degree on the nature and extent of aid received at home from other Government agencies and from private industry and non-Government agencies; and the cooperation it gets abroad from Americans, and from the governments and people of other countries. In like manner, its lack of effectiveness in some places may be due in some part at least to obstacles placed in its way by Americans at home and abroad, and by other governments. A brief review of the more important of these aids and hindrances will give a closer estimate of the Agency's capacity to discharge its responsibilities.

Aids from private industry and nongovernmental organizations.—

(1) Through its Office of Private Cooperation, the Agency has stimulated, guided, and coordinated programs conducted entirely by private and nongovernmental agencies. An example is the preparation of a "tourist booklet" outlining the important problems of international understanding for distribution to American tourists.

The cost of this project has been borne by Republic Steel and the Common Council for American Unity.

Private organizations have purchased for distribution abroad during 1955, 650 sets of The American Bookshelf, a collection of 99 volumes of basic books about America. Twelve universities in the United States have found an "affiliate" university abroad with which a program of exchange of books, pictures, and other materials has been arranged. The Office of Private Cooperation reports that to date nearly 1,200 different groups of United States citizens have participated in more than 1,800 programs.

A successful program is that of international "salutes" between cities. In 1955, 12 American cities saluted 12 foreign cities with symphony concerts, broadcast over the Voice of America, and relayed locally in the city saluted.

(2) Aid from private industry in the production of program materials.

All the motion pictures used by the Agency are either produced under contract with private companies, or purchased from existing lists and adapted to the Agency's needs. The same is true of TV programs. Some are purchased from companies that make them; some are supplied free by their commercial sponsors. A program called This Is the United States is made possible by the cooperation of certain firms and local chambers of commerce.

Of the books distributed abroad, nearly all are purchased from publishers. A few are donated. Some books which are bought in quantities are acquired at reduced prices for special overseas editions. The Agency purchases most of the magazines that it distributes abroad. It plans to reestablish the magazine America for shipment to Russia. USIS publishes at certain posts in the field monthly or weekly magazines for specific program purposes. Most of the exhibits are produced under contract.

Most of the radio programs, however, are produced by the Agency either in Washington or in the field. Some of the program materials are acquired from the private networks, either free or at nominal costs. Local stations assist the Voice of America, both with reporters and engineers for the coverage of local news events of international interest. They also give technical support to VOA representatives sent out on special assignments.

Another medium which produces most of the materials sent out is the Press and Publications Service. It produces the daily wireless file and a vast amount of "feature" materials as well as photographs and pamphlets. Yet it receives much valuable assistance from private agencies. In 1955, it received free of charge the republication rights of 797 articles and 800 cartoons. The editors and publishers of 225 American newspapers, magazines, and other publications permitted USIA to use their materials without cost.

The question frequently arises as to whether or not the daily wireless news file of the Agency competes with or duplicates the international news service of AP, UP, and INS. This Commission has looked into this matter on 2 or 3 occasions and is convinced that the facts in the case are essentially these:

American news agencies sell their services widely to foreign papers. In response to the demands of clients, ultrasensational and untypical material is often included in the file sent abroad. These agencies are

not in business to promote United States Government policies. Their operations must show a dollar-and-cents profit and, in view of high transmission rates, they frequently do not carry the full text or even substantial excerpts of important United States policy decisions.

There are many countries which the United States commercial news agencies do not serve at all. Countries USIS serves which they do not, according to available reports, include Afghanistan, Belgian Congo, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Syria, Gold Coast, Kenya, and Tunisia. Countries receiving very limited files from American agencies include Ceylon, Egypt, India, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, and Turkey. In many of these countries, TASS, the Russian news agency, is active.

American commercial agencies find it economically unprofitable to operate in many countries, thus leaving the field to foreign news agencies, such as Reuters and Agence France Presse, which often do not express the United States point of view (to say nothing of TASS). In this connection, an editorial in the Ambala (India) Tribune (May 5, 1955) stressed the importance to public opinion of full speech texts.

For these reasons we have concluded the daily wireless file is useful and not seriously competitive.

(3) Aid from private agencies in the distribution of information abroad.

For the Voice of America programs, USIA leases the facilities of 30 transmitters in the United States of America. It also leases transmitting facilities from the British Broadcasting Corp. (BBC). The United States owns its other relay transmitters. USIS officers in the field offer to local broadcasters certain program materials of a cultural character. Much of it is used at their discretion.

USIS motion pictures are distributed abroad mainly by local groups in the fields of education, labor, civic organizations, film councils in small cities, USIS information centers, universities, and to some extent in commercial theaters. The only distribution outlet which does not depend on cooperation with local organizations and groups is that provided by the motion-picture theaters in the USIS information centers or the United States embassies.

In addition, USIS has specially adapted film mobile units, which generate their own current for use in rural areas, where communications and transportation are almost nonexistent. This vehicle is of tremendous importance, particularly in the Near and Far East and Latin America.

For the distribution abroad of the output of the Press and Publications Service, USIA is almost wholly dependent on the foreign newspapers, magazines, and organizations. USIA has very few foreign publications with wide circulation. Its dependence on others for the major distribution of these materials brings us to the sharp realization of the importance of maintaining friendly contacts among persons who control these important channels of communication.

The United States has three sources of distribution of books, magazines, and newspapers. The first is USIS libraries and reading rooms. These USIA controls. The second is the presentations program. This USIA controls. The third is the local bookstores and newsstands. Here USIA is in real competition with others, especially the subsidized programs for distribution of Communist books. To help

American publishers meet this competition, USIA has the informational media guaranty program. An appraisal of this program is covered in the Industry-Agency Task Force report (appendix B).

Liabilities to overcome.—In the first place, we are constantly reminded, particularly by USIS personnel overseas of the confusion that is produced by the many contradictory statements on American foreign policy, from individuals in high places in the Government. The American people for a great many years have been willing to expose their differences of opinion openly and freely even on delicate matters of foreign affairs. It is difficult for people of some countries to understand how it is that some individuals in our Government can speak out strongly in favor of, say, extension of foreign aid on a long-term basis, while others can speak out firmly against it. Even though this is a cherished civil right in our democratic form of government and nothing should be done to abridge it, yet on the other hand it is highly important that more and more people, whose names make headlines, should give thought to the effect of their utterances on the desperate need of the United States to win the case in the court of world opinion.

Secondly, a serious handicap stems from the same basic principle of free speech—this is the distribution abroad for profit, of American books, magazines, and motion pictures, which give a distorted image of what American people and life in America is like. As far as we are informed, the number of motion pictures distributed abroad through commercial channels, which produce a bad effect, is not a large percentage of the total volume. Unfortunately, however, several rotten apples can spoil the whole barrel. In our judgment this difficulty does not call for the enactment by Congress of censorship laws, but does require, on the other hand, understanding and cooperation between Government agencies that are responsible for our information programs and those individuals in the motion-picture and publishing industries. USIA is actively engaged in this problem, but results thus far leave much to be desired.

Thirdly, it is a well-known fact that the opinion of the court is going to be influenced more by what we do than by what we say. An example of this is the proposal in the United Nations by the United States for the establishment of an international atomic pool

Fourth, the unfavorable impression that is often created abroad by the behavior of American tourists. We do not dwell on this except to say that the American Express Co. is inserting in all of its travel packets a booklet, Ambassadors of Good Will, which outlines each traveler's responsibility as a representative of the United States.

5. Evidence of effectiveness

What evidence is there of the effectiveness of the work of USIA? Is it reaching its desired targets? Are its messages and materials favorably received? What actions have been taken by other people or their governments that may be attributed in whole or in some part to the work of USIA? What is the Commission's overall estimate of the effectiveness of the USIA?

First, let us consider the kind and size of audiences that are being reached by the Voice of America behind the Iron Curtain. Of particular concern are the size and structure of the audiences behind the Iron Curtain reached by Voice of America broadcasts. The potential

audience, i. e., the number of people who have access to radio-receiving sets that could pick up Voice of America signals, is estimated at 117 million (80 million shortwave). The unanswered questions are—

(*a*) Are we getting through the jamming and being heard and with what degree of success?

(*b*) Who and how many of what kinds of people listen to our broadcasts?

(*c*) What are their reactions and what do they do about it?

(*d*) What difference does it make whether they listen or don't listen; whether they react favorably or unfavorably, or whether they take positive action or do nothing?

These questions cannot be answered at the present time with any degree of reliability. One reason is that the major sources of information have not been tapped as completely as they can be. The Office of Research and Intelligence is at work on this problem. In due time it will report its finding.

Meanwhile, we have only spotty and sporadic reports from fan mail and from reports of defectors. Most of these items are favorable. We have also the reactions of the Russian radio and press to some of the Voice of America broadcasts. The very fact that Russia and her satellites go to the bother and to the expense of jamming it (approximately 1,500 transmitters—at an estimated cost of $35 million to $40 million a year), present certain prima facie evidence of effectiveness. But no man alive can give a reliable answer to the question as to whether the United States Government is getting its money's worth from the Voice of America, any more than he can answer whether we are getting our money's worth from our investments in guided missiles. All that can be said is that the meager evidence at hand indicates that we are getting through the Iron Curtain and giving those who listen a much appreciated diet of factual information.

In the free world, we have much better estimates of the sizes of the audiences reached by radio, press, and motion pictures. It is estimated by the Agency that the audiences reached with materials put out by its Press and Publications Service totaled 1 billion in 1955. These audiences are largely readers of newspapers and of pamphlets distributed from USIS information centers. The volume of materials offered by USIS to local papers and magazines and actually used by them is truly enormous. But here again our information on how readers react to these materials is spotty and indirect. We know that editors of papers try to print materials that will interest and hold their readers. Perhaps our best evidence of favorable reaction is the fact that by and large they keep using it and coming back for more.

Through library services, exhibits, music, lectures, discussion groups, and other activities, the centers reach more than 40 million people annually. There are 160 information centers in 60 countries.

During the year the Information Center Service (ICS) sent USIS libraries 530,278 copies of books; 79,227 copies of back issues of magazines, and placed 42,227 magazine subscriptions. In addition 400,000 volumes were presented with the compliments of the United States Government to key individuals and institutions. But here again reliable data on what these people think of our books and magazines can only be inferred from the fact that they are in demand. They must like them, or they wouldn't read them.

USIA exhibits have been very popular. An estimated 6 million persons in Europe and South America have seen the exhibit on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Favorable reactions have been expressed in correspondence asking for further information.

We could mention the size of the audiences who have seen USIS motion pictures, and who have attended concerts by American artists, and who have seen displays at international trade fairs. In each case the story is the same. The audiences are large and apparently appreciative. But we do not know to what extent they have learned to respect us, and believe that we are sincerely concerned with their welfare.

There can be no doubt about the tremendous capacity of USIA to disseminate information; to prepare programs that will attract and hold crowds; to send out books and magazines that will be read by millions; to develop motion pictures that will depict global themes. But through no fault of its own it has a great incapacity to measure audience reactions.

Appraisals of the effectiveness of the work of USIA must therefore of necessity be impressionistic. All observers in the field, and those who have been abroad and returned, are bound to have certain general impressions as to how things are going. A number of American ambassadors have contributed their testimony as to the importance of the work of USIS. A few foreign correspondents have done likewise. During the summer of 1955 more than 100 Members of the Congress made trips abroad, a dozen or more went to Moscow. Two members of this Commission visited USIS posts in Southeast Asia, the Far and Near East. Mr. Reed visited Australia, Indonesia, Thailand, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Japan. Mr. Larmon visited Greece, Egypt, Pakistan, India, Hong Kong, Japan, and Formosa. In each country visited, the work of the USIS in the area was reviewed with the chief of mission, the public-affairs officer in charge and with members of the staff. Messrs. Reed's and Larmon's comments and recommendations based on these reviews and other observations in the field were transmitted to the Commission and USIA on their return and are reflected in this report.

During the year the Soviets have obliged us with their view on the effectiveness of USIA. In May 1955 the Kommunist—a leading party magazine—carried an article which admits that—

> American imperialist is still succeeding in deceiving large numbers of people * * * it cannot be argued that the propaganda efforts of the American imperialist have not had results.

The main results, so says the writer, have been our success in arousing fears of Soviet aggression thereby masking our imperialistic plans for aggressive actions.

The article credits the United States Information Agency with having recruited and trained a corps of "phychological warriors" who in the name of science have developed diabolical techniques for—

> creating and utilizing various morbid states of the human psyche—such as panic, demoralization, and depression * * * various methods of subversive propaganda, especially the technique of spreading rumor and creating panic and provocations have reached unheard-of developments.

The writer claims that we are hitting below the belt with these diabolic schemes of psychological warfare. But the most unforgivable sin of

all is the fact that we have desecrated the sacred honor of Lenin and Stalin by putting out a book on What Is Communism?

In the month of September, Mr. Khrushchev gave a group of American Senators visiting Moscow some advice on the effectiveness of the Voice of America. He complained about its unfriendly tone but hastened to add that it was after all "ineffectual." The import of his remarks is that he would be pleased if these Senators would abolish the Voice of America. Later the leading Communist paper in Czechoslovakia, Rude Pravo, came out with an article on wasted dollars and advised the United States Congress to find a better use for its money.

Despite the fact that the preponderance of testimonial evidence, both from our friends and enemies, is favorable to the United States Information Agency, yet there is another side to the picture that must not be overlooked. It is the distance that lies between us and our goals. In the past 10 years we Americans have learned a great deal about how to carry on a worldwide information service. For example, the United States has learned how to build exhibits that will win prizes at international fairs and that will attract thousands of visitors. It has learned how to tell its story through the mediums of the motion picture, by music, drama, and the graphic arts, as well as by the printed word.

The United States has an inspiring story to tell. It is the story of how we won our independence and how we have become a united nation composed of people whose ancestors came to our shores from almost every country in the world. This gives us a kinship that no other nation has. There is another story: and that is of our industrialization. Almost every undeveloped nation in the world today has industrial aspirations. Everybody wants steel mills and factories.

Despite the fact that the Government learned the techniques of communication with people of other languages and cultures, and that it has something to communicate in which it believes they are interested, yet somehow and for some reason we are falling far short of our potential. What does capitalism mean to millions of Asians? We suspect that it means feudalism which is precisely what the Communists want it to mean. What does democracy mean to the tax-ridden peasant or to the impoverished city worker? It means what it meant to pirates—share and share alike. Ask any Asian or African, who has never seen an American, what his conception or image of an American is. What will it be?

We know how utterly fallacious the Marxian theory of history is, and how illogical and unfounded are most of the doctrines of Lenin and Stalin, yet they have a strong appeal particularly to young intellectuals. Why is it that in many places and with many people the ruthless materialistic Communists can outinspire the idealistic Americans? What is the answer? Could it be that the United States knows how to disseminate information but does not know how to win converts to a cause?

These remarks lead up to the observation that the top officials of the USIA should give more thought to these matters. Which brings us to part II of this report.

PART II. RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE DIRECTOR

During the year 1955 the following recommendations have been made to the Director:

1. That more attention be given to program content and planning, and that the various programs be made more flexible.
2. That the organizational structure of the Agency be reexamined with special attention to the Office of Private Cooperation.
3. That an Advisory Committee on Private Cooperation (nongovernmental) organizations be established.
4. That a task force consisting of representatives of USIA and the Department of State be appointed to study their respective programs of cultural affairs and agree on their respective areas of responsibilities.
5. On the advice of the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad (USIA), it was recommended that a task force be appointed to study how the Government could cooperate effectively with American book and magazine publishers to remove barriers to the distribution of books and other publications abroad.
6. The Broadcast Advisory Committee, of which Judge Miller was Chairman, filed with the Director a protest on the reduction in funds allocated for the development of television.
7. That a plan be formulated (with State, Commerce, and interested private organizations) to encourage and stimulate tourism to the United States.
8. That this Commission be assigned new quarters and that its staff be increased.

Here we shall comment briefly on each and report the actions that have been taken.

1. More attention to content and planning

The tendency for top officials to become preoccupied with pressing administrative details requiring immediate decision is understandable. Often a special effort is required to give first priority to consideration of substantive matters. Our recommendation pertained entirely to relative emphasis. Our suggestion was not that content was being grossly neglected but that the heads of departments need to be reminded over and over that their offices and staff exist primarily for the most effective collection, production, and presentation of the words and pictures that are disseminated throughout the world. We have made a few specific suggestions on how this recommendation can be adopted. These are in the text of our report to the Director (appendix A).

This recommendation was received by the Director as a welcome reminder.

He immediately set about putting it into effect. In a later edition of United States Information Agency News (a monthly bulletin for employees) Mr. Streibert wrote:

> In Washington today, program content is occupying the major share of our attention. It has taken precedence over organizational matters.

2. Reexamine the organizational structure

It is easy to forget the obvious fact that organizational machinery exists for the sake of getting a job done. As the nature of the task changes, corresponding changes are often needed in the organization.

When USIA became an independent agency in 1953, its organization was drastically overhauled. This new structure with its primary emphasis on field work, with Washington office activities existing for service to the field, served its purpose well. But as indicated in sections 1 and 2, part I, of this report, the USIS is facing new problems and new tasks. One is the problem of widening the scope and increasing the effectiveness of cooperation with private organizations. Therefore, one change that we have recommended in the organization is that the Office of Private Cooperation be elevated in status in the organization and that its head be an Assistant Director.

The Director has replied to this recommendation by stating that he had invited Mr. Ray Dickey, former General Counsel of USIA, to make a careful study of the organization of USIA. Mr. Gus Thomason of Time, Inc., was to assist Mr. Dickey. Unfortunately, Mr. Dickey was unable to complete this survey. The Director has reported that Mr. Tracy Voorhees has been requested to make a report on the organization. Mr. Voorhees was a member of the task force which developed the organization of USIA when it was removed from the Department of State in 1953.

3. The appointment of an Advisory Committee on Private Cooperation

This Committee has been formally organized and will be known as the Business Council for International Understanding. Mr. Larmon is Chairman. Its present members are: Carl Anderson, secretary, Merck & Co., New York; A. K. Aurell, vice president, Singer Sewing Machine Co., New York; William Batt, former chairman of the board, SKF Industries, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.; Meade Brunet, vice president, Radio Corporation of America; Fitzhugh Granger, International Harvester, Chicago; A. C. Hancock, director of publicity and publications, Remington Rand, Inc., New York; Harlan Logan, vice president, personnel administration and public relations, General Foods Corp., White Plains, N. Y.; Charles F. Moore, Jr., vice president, Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.; Samuel W. Pryor, Jr., vice president Pan-American World Airways System, New York; Theodore Repplier, president, the Advertising Council, Washington; and Edmund S. Whitman, director of public relations, United Fruit Co., New York.

4. The appointment of a joint USIA-State Department Task Force on cultural affairs

In January 1955, this Commission met jointly with the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange to discuss responsibilities for international cultural affairs. There had arisen previously a friendly jurisdiciional dispute over an interpretation of the intent of Reorganization Plan No. 8, which established USIA as an independent agency, on the extent to which USIA was responsible for the direction and management of cultural affairs in Washington. It was clear that overseas all cultural affairs including exchange of persons was to be administered by USIS personnel. At this joint meeting, representatives of USIA and of the Department of State presented their respective interpretations of plan No. 8. It was agreed that a joint task force should be established to develop mutual understanding and relationships between USIA and the Department of State on cultural affairs.

Action: The task force was appointed. A report was prepared and accepted by the Department of State and USIA, which defines the respective areas of responsibility and has resulted in an improvement of relations. However, we understand that minor frictions still exist.

5. The appointment of a Task Force for Increasing the Distribution of American Books Abroad

This recommendation was made to the Agency by the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad. The Committee on Books Abroad advised and recommended to the Director of the United States Information Agency that a task force be set up to do the following:

(1) To state or restate the need for sending more United State books abroad, and to consider ways for overcoming some of the present barriers to the distribution of American books through commercial channels.

(2) Evaluate the success and the failure of the informational media guaranty program to get sufficient United States books abroad.

(3) Suggest a new program to supplement the informational media guaranty program which will assure enlisting the interest of foreign distributors in effecting wider distribution of United States books abroad.

The Director appointed this joint Industry-Agency Task Force. Its main recommendations are attached in appendix B. Most of the recommendations that can be carried out by USIA have been accepted and are being implemented. One will require new legislation.

6. Recommendation on television

The Broadcast Advisory Committee has submitted to the Director a report on the tremendous potential of television as an information medium throughout the world. This report is critical in that the Committee does not feel that the Agency is making sufficient use of this medium in its planning and actual output. The report further criticizes the Agency for the severe cut in the allocation of funds for this medium for the fiscal year 1956.

The Commission has been advised by the Director that the allocation of funds for fiscal year 1956 for television is at the level which the Agency is able to spend profitably. The past several years have been experimental in this area, since television is relatively new outside of the United States. The Agency assures us of its interest in television and that a substantial increase is projected for 1957.

7. That a plan be formulated (with State, Commerce, and interested private organizations) to encourage and stimulate tourism to the United States

It is our considered judgment that the objectives of USIA would be importantly furthered if the number of overseas visitors to the United States could be greatly increased. We can think of no more effective way of improving international understanding than by encouraging people from other countries to visit the United States, to meet Americans from many walks of life, to observe our ways and to appraise at first hand our attitudes and intentions.

The fact is, however, that tourism to this country has received practically no public attention as an easy and uniquely effective way

of achieving a greater world understanding of the United States, her people, her way of life, and her goals.

Although the task of encouraging more nationals of other countries to visit the United States is principally in the field of private enterprise, important assistance and stimulation of the project can and, we believe, should be given by the Government. Our administrative regulations for welcoming foreign travelers are unusually severe, including complicated, often officious, requirements for obtaining a visa. Our fingerprinting requirements for all foreign visitors—unique in the world today—is particularly distasteful.

It is not within the scope of this report to spell out in detail the steps which should be taken by government and private organizations to develop a program designed to increase the flow of overseas visitors to our shores. But we can, and do urgently recommend that this subject be explored by the interested executive departments (including State, Commerce, and USIA) and by organizations concerned. We also suggest this subject be considered by the Business Council for International Understanding.

8. Status and effectiveness of the Commission

During the year, this Commission has reexamined its own status in relation to USIA, and its role in the international information field. One result of this study has been the formulation and adoption of a document setting forth its terms of reference and its rules and regulations in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 402. Under the law, we are dependent upon USIA for funds to cover the salaries of our office staff and travel. In order that we may more fully discharge the responsibilities assigned to us by Public Law 402, we need more full-time staff. In order to emphasize our independent status and to make the services of our staff more accessible to the public, we have requested that our offices be moved to the ground floor of 1734 New York Avenue, NW.

The Director has acted promptly and favorably on both of these requests.

PART III. RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONGRESS

1. That the 84th Congress, 2d session, appoint a joint House-Senate Committee on International Information

For the past 3 years this Commission has believed that the appointment of such a committee would be instrumental in strengthening the work of the United States Government in this field. We would not ask the Congress to add another committee to the almost overwhelming number that now exist were it not for the inescapable fact that the importance of information in international affairs, and for our own national security, is rapidly increasing. One sign of this is the fact that more and more Members of Congress are concerning themselves with the overseas work of our Government by making trips to the field.

We are pleased to note that on August 1, 1955, Congressman Feighan from Ohio introduced Joint Resolution 433 which provides for the establishment of such a joint committee. We have read this resolution and trust that this Congress will act favorably on it.

2. That certain sections of Public Law 402 pertaining to the composition and work of the Commission be amended

(1) Amend section 602 (a) to increase the size of this Commission from 5 to 7. The reasons for this recommendation are: (*a*) the members of this Commission are busy men. It is difficult to find times when as many as 4 of the 5 can meet. A larger number would provide a quorum for more frequent meetings; (*b*) section 602 (b) of Public Law 402 specified that the members of this Commission "shall be selected from a cross section of professional, business, and public service backgrounds." We do not regard ourselves as an adequate cross section. The addition of two members would make the Commission more representative of the public interest.

(2) Amend section 602 (h) to specify that the Commission shall have a professional and technical as well as a secretarial and clerical staff. The present law implies that the Commission needs only a secretarial staff. Actually it needs also a small professional and technical staff in order to discharge its duties as prescribed in other sections of the law.

(3) Amend section 603 to require this Commission to report semiannually to the Director (instead of quarterly), and annually to the Congress instead of semiannually. The reasons for this change are that experience has proved that this recommended schedule of reporting is all that is needed. We believe that a report to Congress late in January or early in February can be very useful, but a second report late in July or early in August will come too close to time for adjournment to serve any useful purpose.

3. That the name of the organization be changed from United States Information Agency (USIA) to United States Information Service (USIS)

Although Public Law 402 does not name the organization, it is named in Reorganization Plan 8: the United States Information Agency. We are glad to endorse Mr. Streibert's request that the word "Service" be substituted for "Agency."

4. That the legislation requested by the United States Information Agency for the establishment of a career service for its overseas personnel be enacted

At the last session, USIA submitted to the Congress certain amendments to Public Law 402, 80th Congress (United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948), which included legislation to authorize improvements in its overseas personnel system. This legislation is contained in section 1013 of S. 2410, which was subsequently introduced by Senator Smith of New Jersey, with Senator Fulbright and Senator Mundt. The legislation provides statutory authority under which the Director of the Agency can select and appoint a category of top personnel for duty overseas who will have career status similar to that enjoyed by the State Department Foreign Service officers. The legislation is intended to authorize an overseas personnel system for the Agency which would be similar to and compatible with State Department's Foreign Service System.

The legislation was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees. Hearings were held last July before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

headed by Senator Mansfield, but the bill has not been reported out by the subcommittee. On the House side, it is anticipated that hearings on this bill will be held before the Foreign Affairs Committee during the present session.

This legislation will encourage competent young people to enter and remain in the Service. It would greatly aid USIA in recruiting, training, and holding the type of professional personnel who are becoming more and more essential.

5. *That appropriations to USIA for an increase in the distribution abroad of low-priced American books be substantially increased as requested*

The Advisory Committee on Books Abroad further recommends that—

In view of the present world situation resulting from the Geneva Summit meetings, it is imperative that large quantities of books be translated and widely distributed in certain areas.

For this purpose, the Agency is requesting about $4.5 million. The justification for this request is that American publishers cannot compete with the Communist-subsidized book exporters. The commercial market of books is no longer a free market. The Communists are engaged in a vast international program of subsidized distribution of their books. They are seeing to it that anyone anywhere who wants to read a Communist classic or who wants a college textbook on any subject can get what he wants in a language that he can read and at a price that he can afford to pay. Communist-subsidized printing establishments in Moscow and Peiping exported in 1954 more than 5 million copies of attractively bound low-priced books. In 1955 they exported to the United States 375,300 copies. They attach a great deal of importance to the distribution of their books at low prices. It is an effective means of spreading Communist ideology among college students. The distribution of technical books creates demand for tools and equipment that meet the specifications of these books. The trade tends to follow the book. An important part of their cultural offensive is to create an image of the Russian as a great humanitarian, scientist, and artist.

We are informed that there is an increasing hunger abroad for American books, particularly from those who have recently learned to read English. To satisfy this hunger the Russians are distributing huge quantities of the Communist classics in English. For those who read other languages they have a vast translation program. For example, they are translating into Spanish and distributing to the Spanish language countries large numbers of their textbooks, technical and medical books as well as their so-called ideological classics.

In view of these facts we agree with the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad that it is in the public interest for the Congress of the United States to increase its appropriations for the translation and distribution abroad of selected American books at prices which will compete with those of subsidized Communist books.

In recent months, a group of citizens in Chicago has expressed interest in the translation and distribution abroad in low-price editions of the Classics of Democracy. We agree thoroughly that a substantial number of the books to be included in the Agency's program of low-cost translations should be of this nature. Some should be complete

volumes in original form, others could be collections of basic documents, assembled and described by eminent scholars.

We are glad to note that Congressmen Barrett O'Hara of Chicago and Michael Feighan from Cleveland have been working with this group of citizens on this matter and are taking an active interest in the need for a greater distribution abroad of American books and particularly translations of the Classics of Democracy.

6. In considering the request of the Agency for increase in appropriations for its various programs and informational campaigns, we recommend that its financial needs be measured by—

(1) The magnitude and seriousness of the tasks to be performed in part I, section 1 of this report; and (2) its opportunities and capabilities for effectively presenting the case of the West and of the United States in the court of world opinion. We believe that the tasks which lie ahead will require a greater effort than in previous years and that the capabilities of the Agency in doing a larger and more effective job merits substantial increases in its appropriations.

IV. Appendix A

The United States Advisory
Commission on Information,
Office of the Chairman,
Washington, D. C., October 17, 1955.

Memorandum.

To: Mr. Theodore C. Streibert, Director of the United States Information Agency.

From: The United States Advisory Commission on Information—Mark A. May (Chairman), Erwin D. Canham, Sigurd S. Larmon, Justin Miller, Philip D. Reed.

This series of recommendations, submitted in answer to a request made by you on June 30, 1955, is grouped under three headings:

A. Recommendations for strengthening—for making more effective and more flexible—the content of the Agency's program.

B. Recommendations for what the Commission believes would be constructive changes in the organizational structure of the Agency.

C. Recommendations for improving the presentations made by the Agency before the Appropriations Subcommittees of the Congress.

We feel that it is best to present our recommendations in summary form, and not to develop detailed statements until we have discussed the individual items with you. Each recommendation is, however, made with a specific objective in mind; and the sum total will, we believe, add to the effectiveness of the overseas information program.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING—FOR MAKING MORE EFFECTIVE AND MORE FLEXIBLE—THE CONTENT OF THE AGENCY'S PROGRAM

The United States Information Agency has, over the past 2 years, made remarkable advances in the orderliness and efficiency of its operating procedures. Unquestionably it is providing services for the

field more satisfactorily and more economically than was ever done in the past.

There is, however, a strong feeling on our part that machinery and procedures are given too much prominence by the Agency's management, and that ideas or content receive secondary consideration.

The shifting of this emphasis is not easily accomplished, but we consider it to be of primary importance. We also believe that an emphasis on content can be effectively established only if it stems directly from your office.

It seems an obvious truism that all other departments of the Agency exist only to make it possible for the content producers to do their work with maximum efficiency and minimum interference. However, as obvious as this point is, it has not yet been fully accepted throughout the Agency.

Administration, the Legal Department—even policy and programs—seem to forget that they too have a responsibility to carry forward the process of providing materials for the field, and that they exist only to make it possible for those who produce the actual words and pictures to work more effectively.

We know that during the early days of your directorship, you had no option but to give these matters precedence. We also realize a shift in emphasis has begun. What we are saying is that we would like to see you accelerate this shift; and we suggest the following specific recommendations as meriting your consideration:

1. That the Director analyze the allocation of his own time—determine what percentage of his time he is now devoting to matters of content—and decide whether it would not be possible to increase this percentage.

2. That at least one of the regular Agency meetings presided over by the Director be a "plans board" type of meeting, with emphasis given to ideas and to encouraging the creative process within the upper levels of the Agency's management.

3. That with the Assistant Director of Policy and Programs as chairman, a committee made up of the heads of the areas, the media, private cooperation, etc., meet weekly for a "brainstorming" session—a session where substantive ideas are given free and full discussion. At these meetings all talk of administrative, budget or legal matters would be barred.

4. That there be established a more effective method of obtaining content suggestions and content evaluation from the field. At the present time there seems to us to be a noticeable lack of first-rate reporting from the field on substantive matters. It is our belief that this deficiency might be corrected by increasing the number of special reporters the Agency employs—by having these reporters cover the currently important areas or countries—and by using the material they provide primarily for two purposes:

(*a*) To improve the content of the materials currently being produced by the Agency.

(*b*) To increase the amount and quality of the cross reporting from one country to another now being done by the Agency's press and radio.

To be effective, these roving reporters would need to be men with broad newspaper or radio experience who are accustomed to digging out, organizing and presenting simply the facts about a given situation.

5. That in the field and among the services in Washington which supports the field, the shift in emphasis from areas to countries be accelerated. Based on their own experiences in the field, the Commissioners feel that the area designations are often meaningless, and that plans and programs must be tailored to fit country needs. We realize that you now have "country plans," but we believe that there is a good deal of waste motion in discussions of "area" problems. We would like to see country programs and personnel needs placed in the spotlight and given the full attention of Assistant Directors and Media Chief.

6. That hereafter at the meetings of the Commission with the Agency's representatives, a substantial portion of the time be devoted to a discussion of program content. It seems to us particularly important that the Assistant Director for Policy and Programs and the media heads discuss with the Commission the substance of the Agency's current program and their plans for the immediate future.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WHAT THE COMMISSION BELIEVES WOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGENCY

While the present Agency structure unquestionably served a useful purpose during the early days of the separation from the State Department, it seems to us that as the Agency matures and its position and function become clearer, a number of changes would be beneficial.

For one thing, we feel that the Director must increasingly be freed from all but the absolutely essential requirements of his position. There are certain responsibilities, such as his appearances before the Appropriations Committees of the Congress, his contacts with the White House and the State Department, his field trips, and his overall administrative responsibilities, which he cannot delegate.

There are, on the other hand, many duties which he might delegate if he were strongly supported by the right men in the right positions. Our recommendations are directed primarily toward revising the organizational structure to make it possible to get top-level men for what we consider to be the key positions.

If the new organizational structure is logical, and if the right men are obtained to fill the key positions, we believe it is axiomatic that the Director's task will be easier and the Agency's performance will be improved.

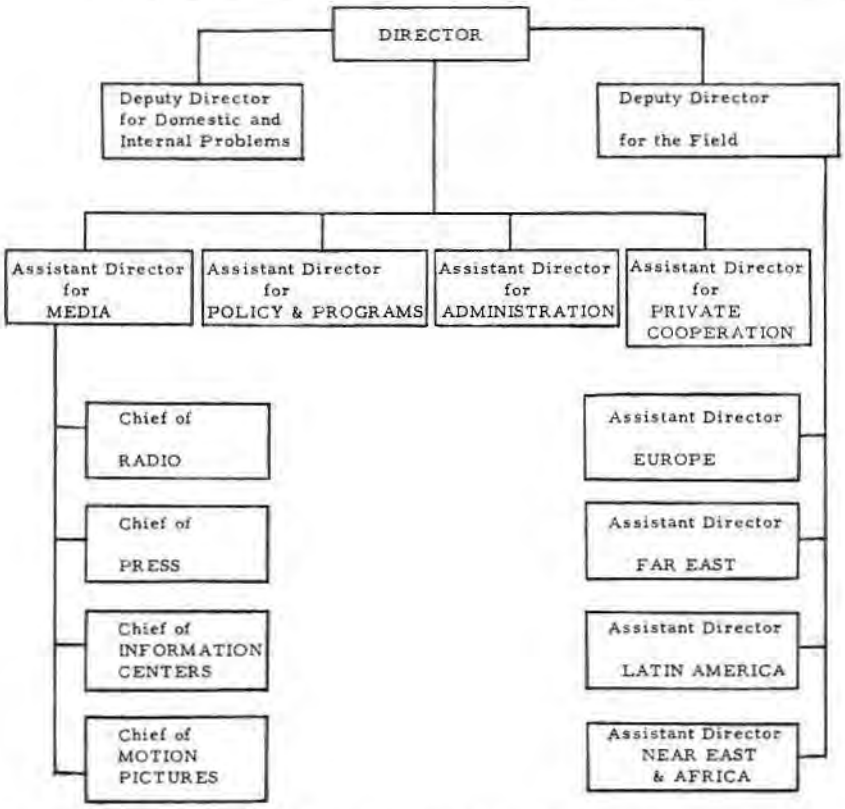
Again, as in our first group of suggestions, we are not making detailed comments, but we will be glad to discuss with you any questions which may grow out of the following recommendations:

1. That instead of one Deputy Director there should be two

One deputy should serve as executive officer of the Agency and as alter-ego for the Director in the *domestic* operation of the Agency.

One deputy should serve as the Director's representative in the field, and as chief area officer. The four Assistant Directors for the areas would report through him to the Director.

(See suggested organization chart.)



2. That an Assistant Director for Media be appointed

We believe that the effective development of the media requires this type of representation, and that it will be possible to find for such a position a man who can make an overall creative contribution to the Agency's program.

With this type of man as the principal media representative, it would then be practical and sufficient to have as Chiefs of Radio, Press, Motion Pictures, and Information Centers, skilled technicians and administrators. Without this creative Assistant Director, the effectiveness of the media will never rise above a fraction of its potential.

3. That an Assistant Director for Private (nongovernmental) Cooperation be appointed

In recommending an Assistant Director's title for the head of the "private cooperation" activities of the Agency, the Commission hopes to see an increase in the contribution to the information program of all types of non-Government groups. We recognize the value of the work now being done by these groups, and we would like to see it extended on national, State, and local levels—with individual companies, with industries, associations, service clubs, fraternal, religious, and educational organizations—in short, with any organized body which might be of assistance in carrying forward the overseas information program.

It is the Commission's belief that only by elevating the position of the man in charge of private cooperation, by increasing his budget and enlarging his staff, can full advantage be taken of the opportunities for cooperation which we believe to exist.

If the position of Assistant Director for Private Cooperation is created, it should be possible to fill this position with an able, creative man who will have top-level connections. Both within the Agency and outside of it, his job would be made easier by the fact that the Agency considers the importance of his work to be on a par with that of any other major activity.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE PRESENTATIONS MADE BY THE AGENCY BEFORE THE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS

The Commission recognizes the extreme importance of this series of presentations, but is inclined to believe that they could be just as effective, without the time of so many people being devoted to them.

It is our belief that the Director is the keystone of the entire presentation arch, and that the introduction of a number of area assistant directors, media chiefs, etc., adds unnecessary confusion. Our recommendations, therefore, are as follows:

1. That the basic presentation be made by the Director, and that he be supported actively by only two other men—the budget officer (or the Assistant Director for Administration) and the Chief of Research and Intelligence. A budget officer must be present because it is obviously unfair to ask the Director to carry budget details in his mind, or even to be able to locate these details in the prepared materials.

   It is recommended that the officer in charge of research and intelligence be present because frequently the most harassing questions deal with evaluation or results. Properly prepared and allocated a sufficient amount of time, this evaluation section could be one of the most effective portions of the presentation.

2. That a series of simple charts and graphs be used by the Director to give emphasis and visual impact to the key points of his presentation.

3. That the United States Advisory Commission be asked to preview the appropriation presentation some 2 or 3 weeks in advance of the first scheduled appearance before the House subcommittee.

V. Appendix B

The Task Force for Increasing the Distribution of American Books Abroad, November 30, 1955

FOREWORD

In response to a resolution passed by the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad at its meeting of June 6, 1955, the Director of the United States Information Agency appointed a task force for increasing the distribution of American publications abroad which consisted of the following members:

Mr. David Ballard, of Time-Life International
Mr. Charles E. Griffith, of Silver Burdett

Mr. Dan Lacy, of the American Book Publishers Council
Mr. Donald Stedman, of Curtis Publications
Mr. Aley Allan, of the Office of the General Counsel, United States Information Agency
Mr. Robert Beers, of the Information Center Service, United States Information Agency
Mr. Howard Penniman, of the Information Center Service, United States Information Agency, Chairman

In accordance with the resolution of the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad, the task force received instructions—

A. To state or restate the need for sending more United States books abroad;

B. To evaluate the successes and failures of the informational media guaranty program to get sufficient United States books abroad;

C. To suggest legislation or other proposals to supplement the informational media guaranty program for enlisting the interest of foreign distributors in effecting wider distribution of United States books abroad.

The task force met for the first time on August 10 and held three further meetings in September and November. After considering the comments on the preliminary report of the task force, which were made by the Advisory Committee on Books Abroad at its October 5 meeting, the task force reached the following agreement on the tasks it had been requested to perform:

THE NEED FOR SENDING MORE UNITED STATES BOOKS ABROAD

The task force agreed upon the necessity of a high-level public statement of the need for sending more United States books and other publications abroad. This requirement has been satisfied by the message sent by Mr. Nelson Rockefeller of the White House to the Chairman of the Conference on Books Abroad which met at Princeton, N. J., September 29–30.

The task force also agreed that an instruction should be issued to the staffs of United States missions abroad which would emphasize the importance of their efforts to stimulate the sales of American publications abroad. The instruction would at the same time encourage the assignment of this responsibility to some one person in the overseas mission.

It was the opinion of the task force that extension of IMG to the following countries would help to increase the sale of United States publications: Spain, Thailand, Argentina, Brazil, and Burma.

THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF THE IMG PROGRAM

The principal assignment of the task force was to prepare recommendations covering the role of governmental assistance in expanding the sales of United States publications abroad. At the same time the task force agreed that the effectiveness of the Government program and the success of the total effort to increase overseas sales of United States publications hinged on measures to be taken within the publishing industry.

I. In evaluating the successes and the shortcomings of the present informational media guaranty program (IMG), the task force agreed that the worldwide shortage of dollar exchange is one of the principal barriers to the free flow of American publications abroad, and that IMG in certain countries has proved to be an effective means of overcoming this barrier. However, the task force expressed concern over the delays encountered in the operation of IMG, which resulted in part from the need to obtain the foreign government's approval on each IMG contract application. The task force also urges that the present procedures in negotiating IMG agreements be reexamined, in the hope that less time-consuming methods may be adopted.

Specifically, the task force recommends that a clause pledging the governments concerned to remove barriers and restrictions which impede the entry of American publications be made a part of all treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation by the United States.

It was pointed out that the UNESCO Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials (the so-called Florence Convention) which is dedicated to the overcoming of import barriers, might represent a quicker channel than the renegotiation of existing treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation. The task force recommends that the Agency explore the possibility of securing United States ratification of the Florence Convention.

The task force agreed that governmental assistance along the following lines is required to overcome the major obstacles to a wider distribution of American publications through commercial channels abroad:

1. The present authority to guarantee currency convertibility should be continued. However, the present guaranty-contract provision pertaining to the rate of exchange applied in converting foreign currencies to dollars for American exporters requires that the rate be fixed as of the date the exporter applies for conversion. Several weeks may elapse between the time the exporter is paid by the foreign importer and the time the exporter is able to make such application. During this period, if the foreign currency is devalued, the exporter may incur a substantial loss. Because his foreign currency may only be converted under his guaranty contract at the devalued rate, he has no means of protecting himself against such a loss. The present policy governing the rate of exchange applied to the conversion of foreign currencies should therefore be revised to provide that the currencies will be converted at the same rate at which the exporter receives settlement.

2. The present authority to guarantee investment of American capital in overseas publishing enterprises, including protection against expropriation and blocked returns on the investment, should be continued;

3. The Federal Government should have authority to underwrite credit extension to foreign importers by American publishers though the publisher should be responsible for the importer making ultimate payment. Frequently, foreign wholesaler importers do not have sufficient working capital to stock American books in quantity since the wholesaler himself must extend long credit terms to retail outlets. In some instances, as long as 12 months may elapse between the time a foreign distributor places an order with an American publisher, and the time the books are

actually sold by the local retailer and payment is made to the importer. Were the American publisher to wait 12 months for payment, this would add significantly to his foreign-sales cost (and thus to his prices) by virtue of his working capital being tied up for so long. Accordingly, where necessary, the Government should make payment to the American publisher at the time of shipment: when the importer makes payment to the publisher 4 to 12 months later, the publisher would remit this payment to the Federal Government. If such payment is not made within a stated period the publisher will refund the original payment to the Government, thus assuming the credit risk himself.

II. The new program should be organized and operated under a setup which would meet the following requirements:

1. Its administrative-cost allowance should be flexible enough to permit increases or decreases in operating expenses to conform to the level of program activity. The fees charged to exporters for guaranty coverage should be sufficient to offset the Government's cost of administering the activity;

2. Funds made available by the Congress for the purchase of local currencies should not be subject to annual appropriation, since the program cannot operate effectively on a yearly renewal-of-authority basis. It is possible that local currency operations could be financed out of a revolving fund established by the Congress and replenished by appropriated funds as needed;

3. The operation of IMG should be summarized annually in business-type financial statements, to provide the Congress with a complete account of the out-of-pocket cost of the program.

III. The task force suggested that one of the major difficulties in initiating informational media guaranty operations is the uncertainty of the foreign government concerning the use of the local currency acquired under the program by the United States Government. The task force was informed that an interdepartmental committee had been established to study this problem.

IV. It is further recommended that provision be made in the new program for the establishment of an advisory committee, including industry representatives, which would be designed to insure the close cooperation between industry and Government, which is required for the success of the program.

OTHER PROPOSALS TO EFFECT WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF UNITED STATES BOOKS ABROAD

The task force recognized that achieving currency convertibility and credit extension would remove only two of many barriers to the wider distribution of American publications. The other major barriers considered by the task force were price, lack of promotion, poor overseas knowledge of American publications, and inadequate overseas production, and distribution facilities. The task force also recognized that measures to overcome these barriers must be taken by different means. In some instances private industry is best equipped to take the necessary action, in others, Government. Perhaps in most instances a combination of the two would be required.

The task force agreed upon the following additional proposals, not requiring legislation, for enlisting the interest of foreign distributors

in effecting the wider distribution abroad of United States books and other publications:

I. The export guaranty program should be expanded and extended to help increase the sale of more American books beyond existing institutional markets. The details of the program should be worked out later, but the task force wishes to note some requirements, some possible courses of action, and some problems that must be faced.

Both Government and publishers have a stake in an expanded export guaranty program. Industry, though it may make no profits in the short run, has a long-range interest in the development of a market which may in time become self-supporting. Government has an interest in increasing the distribution of American books of program value.

An expanded program seeking to reach more individual purchasers requires that books be—

(*a*) Stocked and displayed in local book outlets where individual purchasers can see them, examine them, and buy them;

(*b*) Priced within the means of the individual purchasers;

(*c*) Reviewed and advertised locally;

(*d*) Promoted by exhibits, promotional listing, and similar means.

Most of these requirements can only be met by joint Government-industry action.

Special "export editions" priced well below the original price of the book should be produced by industry. Government should provide incentive for export pricing by taking on some or all of the following commitments:

(*a*) To purchase from the publisher at cost copies accepted as returns from foreign booksellers;

(*b*) To purchase specified numbers of review copies to send to editors of foreign media;

(*c*) To purchase specified numbers of promotion copies to send to influential people;

(*d*) To promote "American export editions" as a line;

(*e*) To assist, perhaps through the American publisher, the local booksellers in advertising the special editions.

The task force makes no final recommendation concerning the books to be covered under the expanded guaranty program. Two things, however, are clear:

(1) The program should apply only to those books whose sale could be significantly increased by a 40–60 percent reduction in prices;

(2) The numbers of books by the program would have to be limited in order that the cost to Government not be prohibitive. With these problems in mind, the task force recommends that an effort be made to define categories of books which would come under the program in order to eliminate so far as feasible a title-by-title selection of the books.

II. The book industry should take the lead in developing a descriptive and extensive listing of new books which could serve as a regular and continuing basis for overseas promotion activities. The Government should stand ready to help with this project.

III. The United States Information Agency should encourage executive-branch action to bring about a lowering of postal rates for the international mailing of publications.

IV. The United States Information Agency should explore the possibility of executive-branch action to assist in the lowering of air and ocean freight rates for the shipment of American publications abroad.

V. The United States Information Agency should increase promotional activities overseas which enhance interest in American publications, including such means as—

(*a*) Sponsoring book and magazine exhibits at international trade fairs as well as international book fairs, including special displays, such as a model United States public library;

(*b*) Publishing monthly book-review magazines, like those currently prepared and distributed by USIS Tokyo and Bonn.

VI. The United States Information Agency, in order to facilitate action aimed at overcoming the barriers impeding the sale of American publications abroad, should assemble, from sources in and out of the Government, trade information on a country-by-country basis, including details on the size and nature of the potential market for United States publications, the national book and magazine trade and library system, the barriers to publications imports, current imports of publications, and local publications of American writing.

VII. The task force recognized the need for more effective Government-industry collaboration in the promotion of American publications in areas where the potential market does not make possible more extended efforts by individual publishers, exporters, or sales representatives, acting singly. The task force believes that the cooperation of Government and the industry in achieving a wider distribution of American publications, particularly in critical areas in which trade relations have not yet been well established, could be considerably aided if American publishers and sales representatives were able to set up a common mechanism which would not disturb existing sales arrangements but with which the Government could work in joint efforts to advance the distribution of American publications. The task force recommends that the establishment of such a mechanism be explored.

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